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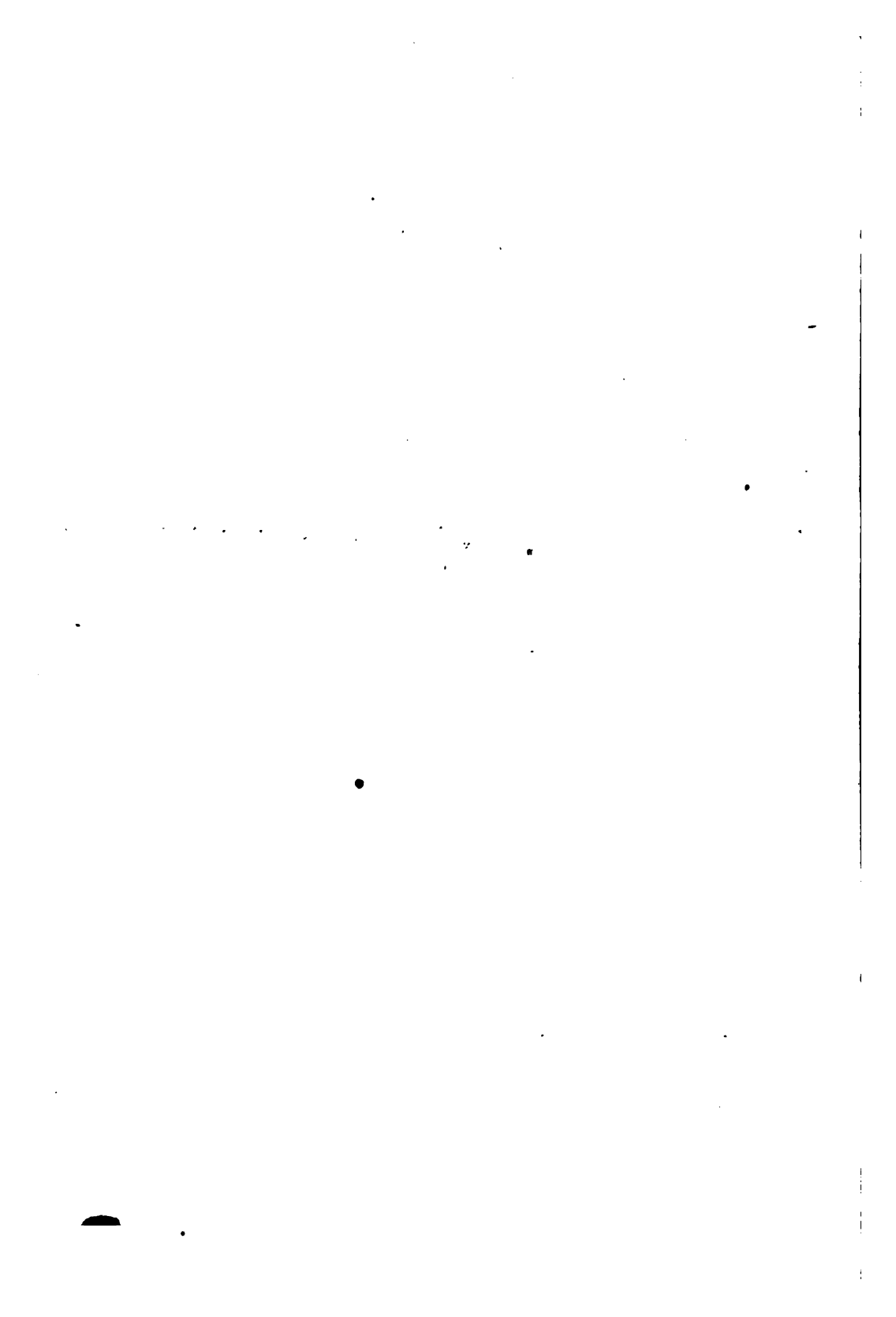
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Reformed church review
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THE
MERCERSBURG
QUARTERLY REVIEW,

Published by the Alumni Association of Marshall College.

VOLUME V.—1853.

Neque enim quæro intelligere ut credam, sed credo ut intelligam.—*Anselm.*

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THE

MERCERSBURG QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1853.

ART. I.—THE REVIEW AND THE QUARTERLY.

At the meeting of the Alumni Association of Marshall College in September last, the following question was proposed for the consideration of that body: Shall the Mercersburg Review be published another year? The more immediate causes, which led to the discussion of this question, were in the first place, the financial condition of the Review, and in the second, the fact that the Rev. Dr. Nevin, its leading contributor, or editor, upon whom it had mainly depended for character and reputation, had expressed his intention to withdraw from its editorial supervision at the close of the year. After the matter had been taken into serious consideration, the general opinion seemed to be in favor of its continuation, in case it could be carried forward without involving the Association in pecuniary difficulty; and the Publishing Committee were accordingly instructed to make provision for its publication during another year, if its accounts should be found to be in a condition to justify them in the undertaking. The withdrawal of the able and learned contributor referred to, who for the last four years had devoted much of his time and attention to its columns from a disinterested love of the truth, and given it a widespread celebrity, occasioned general regret, and some doubt as to the propriety of continuing its publication any longer. It had been called into existence more particularly with the view of providing some suitable organ for the discussion of certain principles, of which he had become the acknowledged representative and defender, and hence under the circumstances it was thought by some, that it was no longer called for, that it had accomplished its object, and performed its mission. There were, however, reasons that were deemed sufficient to justify

the Association in sustaining a publication of the kind, apart from the special object, which originally suggested the idea of a Review. The religious communion, from which it has received most of its patronage, has come to occupy a position of influence among other denominations of this country, and seems to require some such a Theological organ, more so now than at any previous part of her history. Her peculiar circumstances and wants, her origin, history, and general spirit, appear to render it necessary, that, in addition to her weekly periodicals, she should have some organ of a permanent character, by which her piety and religious life generally may be properly represented, and at the same time improved. Like other denominations she has her own problem to solve, and questions are constantly arising in the course of her history, intimately connected with her welfare, that could not be discussed elsewhere with so much propriety as in a journal especially devoted to her interests. The German Reformed Church is under obligation to contribute her part of the sum-total of religious influence brought to bear upon the mind of this country, and to lay her stone with her name and superscription in the monument now in the course of erection in the American Church. Her theological tendencies and affinities have a right to be heard of, known, and defended, even though Theology has become a cheap article, and the markets are already stocked with it in infinite variety. She dates her origin back to the Reformation-period, and feels herself honored by her descent from the Church of Germany, of all other churches the most theological. Hence she would indeed dishonor her name and history, if here in this country she failed to manifest some degree of interest and activity in the discussion and settlement of theological questions. Just at this time the internal struggles of the mother Church, and the herculean labors of her most gifted sons, excite every where much attention, and they have already made a deep impression on many minds in this country. The Reviews of our various religious denominations have of late bestowed much labor in bringing German Theology into notice with the view either of condemning or approving, and in many directions a desire has been awakened to understand its true character, and to arrive at a just appreciation of its value: for no one can view it in the wide extent of territory over which it ranges, without feeling that such a stupendous amount of intellectual activity must sooner or later leave its mark in the history of the Church and the world.

Germany is eminently the land of scholars, of authors, of books, and, we may say, of theologians also. Whilst other nations, such as our country and England, are devoted to outward interests, such as manufacture, commerce, or politics, she expends her chief energies in the world of thought and reflection, and there engages her master minds in intense and persevering labor. But if English and American divines rival each other in exhuming the rich treasures of German learning, and in employing them for their own uses, they, who have a claim to those treasures by the right of inheritance, may engage with much more propriety in the same work. Duty as well as self-respect would seem to require this at their hands. They may well feel themselves animated to a work of this kind by the example of others, or rather should themselves feel the first and strongest impulse to take part in it. If the Theology, of which we have spoken, have any value, then it ought by all means to be valuable to the German dispersion in this country, to persons of German origin, feelings, and sympathies; they of all others should cherish it, and be among the first to recommend it to others, or to defend it against the assaults of those who have no proper acquaintance with its character or merits. Other denominations have created for themselves organs, of which they avail themselves in calling attention to their histories, and in holding up for imitation the bright names which adorn their annals. The Presbyterian and the Puritan point us to Scotland and England for instruction, and pride themselves on the piety and learning of their ancestors: they thus manifest a filial reverence for the Churches from which they spring. It would be, therefore, anomalous, if German churches, or clergymen in this country, should so far forget themselves as to take no interest in cultivating, or holding up to view, what is truly valuable in the Theology of the fatherland, and in this way turning it to practical account for themselves and others.

It is therefore believed that the Reformed Church at the present time needs a Review; that such a journal in her midst has a distinct and important field to cultivate, and that it may be made productive of much good to the interests of the Church and of true religion. Her ministry and laity, so far as an opportunity has been enjoyed to consult them, have generally expressed an earnest desire to have the present publication continued. As long, accordingly, as her Synod does not see proper to establish an organ of this kind to be strictly

denominational, it may be taken for granted that she is satisfied with the present journal, and those who have been more intimately concerned in carrying it forward, will not for a moment feel that they are seeking a patronage which is not freely accorded.

But whilst the circumstances of a large and influential religious communion seem to call honestly and sincerely for the present publication, the association of young men, who originally called it into existence, feel that their intellectual and spiritual wants may be promoted by it at the same time. The Alumni of Marshall College, and such as were formerly connected with that Institution, temporarily as students, have already become a large body, and scattered over every part of the country, are rising to eminence and usefulness in their various callings or professions. It is impossible that they should very soon forget their literary associates, or cease to take interest in the promotion of literary objects. The impressions made upon their minds during their college-days, as is the case with students generally, must necessarily remain. Neither time, nor distance can erase them. The ties, which bind them together and to their Alma Mater, are rather strengthened than diminished by intervening years; for time and distance in their cases have this advantage, that they cover over the difficulties and rivalries of college life with the mantle of oblivion, and leave in prominent view the brighter parts of that season as green oases on the plain of memory. This is exemplified when after the lapse of years they meet each other on the thoroughfares of life. There are few whose hearts at such times have not leaped for joy as they grasp the hand of an old college-friend after years of separation. Commencement-Days, when old students revisit the scenes hallowed by many interesting associations, and meet their early friends and preceptors around the same literary board, are occasions full of reason and soul, and serve to round off the sharp angles of life with a pure enjoyment. There are many ligaments that must forever bind the students of Marshall College together as one body. Their collegiate training has been all along in some respects peculiar. From the beginning the systems of Metaphysics and Philosophy, which they were taught, were not the same as those which are admired by most persons who speak the English language. Locke was never held up to their view as the beau ideal of a philosopher, at a time when his chief merits have been consigned by the most competent judges to the past. They were introduced to the

more spiritual philosophy of Germany, a philosophy whose general aim and tendency they will not soon forget, and from whose attractive influence few, who have given it serious attention, can entirely divest themselves. This has more or less entwined itself around all their thinking, and served very materially to establish their moral and intellectual habits. All honor to a Rauch and a Nevin, who led their students through the thorny mazes of German metaphysics, not merely with the view of exercising their intellects, as at a game of chess, but of confirming their religious faith, of planting in their minds sound principles of Ethics, and of awakening noble and generous emotions.

The same training begets a congeniality of taste and sentiment, and establishes many points of unity in minds that are otherwise differently constituted. To continue and increase this fellowship of mind and heart among those of the same literary and philosophical school, to cherish the sacred associations of the past, to turn these interesting relations into a source of mutual edification in the discussion of important principles, and to promote a literary and scientific taste, were some of the objects which were originally designed to be accomplished in the establishment of the Review; and it is believed that they can still be promoted, without interfering with a just attention to other objects, which the Review proposes to subserve. Few of the persons referred to will fail to appreciate considerations like these, and most of them have doubtless already experienced their practical force, as the *Mercersburg Review* has made its visits to them, and called them from the distractions of life to engage in serious thought over its pages.

The considerations already adduced, the interests of a religious denomination, and of what might be called an Anglo-German school of Philosophy and Theology, together with those of a more general character, that should always co-operate in the publication of a religious periodical, such as the cause of Theology, Literature and Science, of Religion and the Church, have combined to justify the continuance of the present enterprise. How far it is destined to meet the objects which it has in view, time must determine. Everything under present circumstances will depend on the industry and care with which appropriate matter shall be prepared for its pages by its friends. With no responsible head further than a Committee of Publication, it is now thrown into the hands of those who desire to see it pursue the even tenor of its way, and looks

to them for character, support, and the regular supply of interesting and suitable articles for publication. There is no reason why the ministers of the Reformed Church should be less active than those of other denominations in the preparation of valuable articles for the public press. Though the character of their respective fields of labor may give them less leisure for the study and investigation of theological subjects, yet they have this advantage, that denominational literature in their midst is thus far in its infancy. Much less has been said from their stand-point, and designed for their use, than in most other religious bodies of this country. The field, therefore, which the Review opens up for their intellectual activity is for the most part a new one, and the subjects upon which proper articles may be prepared for publication are almost endless. Its pages are thrown open for their use, and earnest articles from their pens written with taste, will be thankfully received and published. It is confidently believed that as soon as their attentions are turned seriously to the claims of the present enterprise, they will feel that it falls in with their proper calling, and deserves from them a generous zeal in carrying it forward.

It is of course also expected that the members of the Alumni Association will engage freely in preparing articles of interest and value for the columns of the Review. The duty of giving is based upon the fact that something has been received, and he who realizes that he has derived pleasure and edification from others, will feel himself prompted to make a return of the same character. If, therefore, the present enterprise should at all meet the objects which it contemplates, by becoming a stimulus to thought and reflection, it is hoped that the members of the Association may be found rivalling each other in contributing as well as receiving. The new auspices, under which their present publication now appears, increase very materially their responsibility in this respect. Will it in the end fail for any lack of zeal on their part? *Verbum sapienti sat.*

The principal cause of hesitation, however, in proceeding at once to meet the claims, which the public may have upon this publication, had reference to its ability to sustain itself in a pecuniary point of view. As ministers are expected to live by the Gospel, it is a plain case that a Theological Review ought to live by Theology; and that if no sufficient interest be taken in it to enable it to meet its just liabilities, it is not called for, and that they who have the charge of it will be exonerated

from further labor in keeping it up. The solution of this question was left mainly with the Publishing Committee, who were in possession of the necessary facts to arrive at a proper conclusion. They have seen no reason why the Review should be discontinued on this account, and have accordingly made arrangements to carry it forward under a form that will incur the least expense. Its financial condition at the present time is much better than could have been expected under the circumstances. Most journals of the kind are compelled in their incipient course to struggle with serious difficulties, in order to maintain themselves, as was the case with Hengstenberg's *Kirchenzeitung*, Blackwood's *Magazine*, and we believe the *Princeton Review* and others in this country. The *Mercersburg Review* has thus far, we may say, sustained itself, and if all its subscribers would do the Treasurer the favor to pay their subscriptions promptly, a handsome sum would be left in his hands to be devoted to the promotion of its best interests. When every thing is taken into consideration, it may be regarded as something remarkable, that a periodical of its peculiar character should have been able to sustain itself at all against the fearful odds that were against it. There is no publication in the country that has made less effort to court public opinion,—to spread its sails to catch the popular breeze. For the most part it has waged war against what has been considered established opinions, and venerated dogmas. It has not feared honestly and candidly to point out dangers, where they have been least expected, to hold up truth where it has been oppressed, and to make light of the many idols which the public has taken into its embrace. That it should on this account meet with angry rebuke in some directions, and that a friend now and then, who had walked with us, should turn away and walk with us no more, was nothing more than what might have been anticipated. The object of the Review, as was evident from most of its articles, was not so much to reflect the opinions of the greatest mass, and thus to agree with the greatest number, but boldly to advocate important principles, and then to let it rise or fall by its own issues. Theological Reviews are in most cases strictly denominational. They present views that meet with sympathy in particular sections of the Church, and hence they may reckon with safety on patronage, at least in the sphere in which they are more particularly designed to move. But it is a very different thing, when a periodical rises above denomi-

national limits, and aims at a true catholicity. In this country as yet the very idea is feared and dreaded. The general is for the most part made subservient to the particular, and in the religious world, where the process of disintegration has gone forward to such a fearful extent, the very idea of a "Holy Catholic Church" is lost sight of more and more. The man, therefore, or the association of men, who rise up against this general tendency, can expect little favor at the hands of the public; their books, or writings are placed under the ban of public opinion, which can control the press as despotically as any European Autocrat; and as it regards their persons, the most they can look for is a species of martyrdom, if they receive even that much attention. To the Publishing Committee the fortunes of the Review often became an object of intense interest, and at times we may say of amusement. When far out on the wave conflicting with wind and tide, some of its old friends seemed to be inclined to leave it as a sinking vessel, other new ones of a sudden appeared from another direction, and gave it a helping hand. Occasionally when a subscriber near at hand with "hot haste" sent in the request to have his copy discontinued at the close of the year, soon after a new subscriber was announced from Alabama, Maine, or even from Edinburg, Scotland. The fact, therefore, that now after an exposure of four years to fires of greater or less intensity, the Review has not been consumed, may well animate its friends with new courage and hope for the future. The righteous are never forsaken, nor their seed found begging bread.

The precise relation which the Review is to sustain to the future *Quarterly*, it is now difficult to determine, as that will depend very much on the tenor of the leading articles that may be sent in for publication. That there will be some modification in the new series, sufficient to justify the slight change which has been made in its name, will be evident from the change of editorial supervision that has taken place; and that there will be at the same time more or less sympathy between the two publications, may be taken for granted from the fact, that the one wishes to be in some sense the continuation of the other. It is not likely that the pages of the *Quarterly* will be very soon favored with articles of the same vigor and compass, as have emanated from the pen of the leading writer in the Review, except as that pen may continue its contributions under the new arrangement, as is hoped and desired. Few

persons will be found anywhere to write with the same earnestness and logical ability. No one can have read his articles in a very cursory manner without perceiving a degree of metaphysical skill seldom met with in this country. This is seen in the articles on "Cur Deus Homo," "Human Freedom," a "Plea for Philosophy," and others that might be mentioned. A metaphysical writer of ability in our region of the world is a *rara avis*, though nothing is more common than to witness in many writers a morbid ambition to appear metaphysical. The truth is, metaphysics is not every man's business, and the talent is as rare as that of poetry, or of any of the arts. In a practical country like ours it has few encouragements to call it forth: if it come at all, it must break through a storm of opposition, and manifest itself mainly in consequence of its own internal vigor; for strange to say, that in this case at least, the rarity of the article does not enhance its value, and that though there is a superfluity of practical talent of a high order among us, the cry is still for more and nothing else, whenever a serious, earnest, and calm theorizer stands up alone and attempts to give a safe direction to practical life.

It is also not likely that the Quarterly will be furnished with articles of the same ability on the general subject of the Church Question, though contributions may be made from time to time to fasten attention to its claims, and to keep up the interest already awakened in its behalf. It is a subject which few have had either the time or the ability to investigate so thoroughly in its manifold aspects as the writer in the Review. It was with him a matter of deep and thrilling interest, and this caused his pen to move freely, and encouraged thorough investigation. With the same general object in view he has produced during the last few years a series of original and learned articles, or rather treatises, all looking more or less to the solution of the same general question. The readers of the Review will still remember with what ability the Sacramentarian controversy of the Reformation was revived, and with what new interest and importance the history of that period became invested. Subsequently after having taken a glance at the middle ages, and made it appear that the Church had an existence during that dark period, and was performing in her own way the work of christianizing and civilizing Europe, attention was turned to the early ages of Christianity, first in the celebrated articles on "Early Christianity," and then in others on the church father "Cyprian," as the living, personal

representative of the Christianity of his time, and the exponent of much that went before and after him. Here the controversy, if controversy it may be called, for very little to the point has as yet been said on the other side, became invested with deep and fearful interest, and drew attention, we may say, from all sections of the Christian world, Protestant and Catholic, according as the discussion seemed to turn in favor of one or another religious interest at present existing. The immediate object of these discussions, however, has it is supposed in some degree been accomplished. They have served to direct attention to the importance of the general subject, and shown that it has a very wide and practical significance to Christians generally, from the humble sectary in our American wilds, up to the high-churchman, who thrives in the splendor of his admired hierarchy. The ground which they respectively occupy, together with that of all who are intermediate to them, is seriously affected by the solution of the question concerning the nature, character and attributes of the Church. At the same time, Christianity has been proved to be historical, not a transient phenomenon that appears from time to time, and in places best adapted to its growth, like a luxurious crop of vegetation. It is the product of ages, starting from a single point in the person of Christ, and then striking its roots down into the soil of human society, until it has become a tree beneath whose branches the whole world has sought for repose. This conception serves to invest the history of the Church with a living interest to the Christian. Next to the Bible, she presents an open volume, which he will find to be "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." Any thing that is calculated to make the history of the Church important to Christians, and ministers especially, accomplishes a very desirable object, as at the present time the living, active present almost exclusively engrosses attention, and the earnest, serious, mellowed voice of truth, addressing us from the dim, distant shores of the past, is scarcely heard amidst the noise and commotion around us. Why the church-fathers should not become as familiar to ministers of the Gospel and Theological students, as the ancient classics, no sufficient reason can be assigned. What is proper in one case, is just as proper in the other, and indeed far more so. We presume there are few, who have risen from the reading of the articles on the Church Question in the Review, without feeling a desire to know more of the state of the Church in the past. If from

no other feeling but that of self-defence, he will most likely become far more wakeful in the study of ecclesiastical history; and facts, which he may have conned over in Mosheim, whilst he was half asleep, must sooner arrest attention and promote reflection. But no one reads history merely in order to sustain his own position, unless he has ceased to be wise. The proper form, which the Church of Christ is to assume, that she may appear decked and attired at his coming as his Bride, must necessarily become more and more a subject of earnest reflection with all true believers; and as the early Church throws a flood of light upon this point, its history must be studied with new zeal. To know what the Church is, or what she ought to be, she must be viewed in the light of her own history. If our thoughts extend no further than her present aspect and condition, we can never get beyond the mere surface of the question. We remain in the position of the Geologist, who attempts to explain the structure and history of the earth from a hasty glance at its external features. But the true Geologist does not proceed in this way. He descends into the earth, explores her primitive rocks, and from them deduces his theory. Thus it must be with the person who wishes to arrive at correct conceptions of the Church. He must dig among her primitive formations, and examine attentively the foundations upon which her present superstructure rests for support. If this be done honestly and diligently, who can object? What more force can objections to this have, than those which in the beginning were employed against the geologist? Geology advanced, correcting itself as it proceeded, until her results were turned into a science, entitled to respect and confidence. Thus it will be with all earnest theological investigations respecting the nature of the Church. The Review has performed a work of this character for the purpose of arriving at a true knowledge of its internal structure. It has contributed its part to the solution of the question proposed. A valuable accession, it is believed, has been made to the literature of the general subject, which they, who wish to pursue the subject further, will find it profitable to consult. Whether every position taken in the Review be regarded as tenable or not, its investigations will serve to invest the controversy with interest and importance, and supply abundant stimulus for further study and research. But though the Quarterly does not expect to compete with the Review in the vigorous, original, and peculiar style in which the Church-

Question has been discussed, it is not to be understood, that articles on that subject are not desired or expected to appear in its columns. The interest already awakened in its behalf will doubtless prompt others to resume the subject, and to present it under other aspects. The controversy with Rome, needs to be carried on more thoroughly and earnestly, and this must lead necessarily to discussions respecting the nature, attributes, and form of the Church itself. A periodical like the present cannot overlook a question of such importance, if it wishes to subserve the interests of the kingdom of Christ, or to be true to itself. It lies at the foundation of the Christianity of the present day, and needs earnest, prayerful attention from every one who desires that his religious hopes may rest upon something more substantial than the drifting sand. Let the discussion proceed within proper bounds, and though we may at times feel ourselves fearfully tost, and be required to yield up a favorite prejudice, or some cherished error, our spiritual interests will be promoted in the end. The present is the militant state of the Church, and no soldier of the cross expects a full respite from labor and care, until he enters the Church triumphant above. The winds, that toss the forest-oak from side to side, and deprive it of a branch or two, give it after all a proper symmetry of parts, and cause it to strike its roots deeper into the soil at the same time.

Whilst, therefore, the Quarterly must necessarily be somewhat modified by the auspices under which it makes its appearance, it is nevertheless believed, that the general tendency, with which the Review originally commenced, as indicated in its Prospectus, should be maintained and carried out as something sound and wholesome. It proposes to build on an old foundation, and asks for respect and confidence, only so far as it may have claims to be called a healthy historical development. It is desired by some that it should be more popular and practical in its character; by others, that articles of a more purely literary character appear in it from time to time. These would doubtless be desirable improvements, and efforts shall be made to promote them. Let those, however, who wish to see them brought about, manifest proper diligence with their pens, and the object will be accomplished. But the general spirit of the Quarterly ought to be one and the same, showing itself more or less in all its articles; this we have said ought to be the same as that of its predecessor. In order, therefore, to show the *animus*, with which it is thought it ought to be pervaded, it

may be proper to refer to the leading ideas with which the old Review commenced as announced from time to time in its various Prospectuses. These are religious, as they should be, because the character of a book, as of an individual, must always be determined by its relation to religion. Scientific or philosophical discussions have no true value, except in their bearings upon our eternal destiny; these bearings, though remote and indirect, should always point to God, the source of all Truth.

In the first place, the motto remains the same. According to this, faith must precede knowledge, and not the reverse, as the Rationalist would have it. This sentiment, borrowed from Anselm, is the universal voice of the Church respecting the relation of faith to knowledge. Augustine had long before affirmed the same thing. *Fides præcedit intellectum*. He himself learned it from the more sure word of prophecy. If any man will do the will of the Father, says Christ, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself. John 7: 17. And in another place he tells us what it is to do the will of God: This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent. John 6: 29. In our days it is doubtful whether this truth is felt as properly as it should be, or as honestly embraced. The circumstances and relations, in which we live and move, all combine to reverse the rule, that is, to place knowledge before faith. As ours is an age of light and knowledge, nothing escapes the severest critical investigation. Knowledge is everywhere regarded as power, and supposed to be the grand lever by which the world is to be elevated in a civil, social, and spiritual point of view. Most of the improvements of the times spring from the dissemination of knowledge, and the application of known scientific truths. The useful arts are all indebted to science for their proud achievements. Agriculture is promoted by the application of simple principles elaborated in the room of the chemist; the arts of war and navigation are reduced to fixed principles, and reach their highest perfection when these are the most vigorously applied. The same may be said of railroads, telegraphs, and other useful conveniences of the age. They either derived their origin from scientific men, or their operations are simplified and brought to perfection by their discoveries and investigations. Under these circumstances the danger and the temptation, to make knowledge occupy a similarly prominent place in the sphere of religion, are plainly manifest, and we

accordingly find that the holy mysteries of revelation are subjected to a profane criticism, and received or rejected as they may appear to suit the mere subjective understanding. This tendency has broken out in wide-spread Rationalism of various grades and descriptions, which proceeds with more or less boldness, until everything mysterious, or above reason in revelation, is rejected, or frittered away in cold speculation.

The rule, however, which seems to work well in nature, works disastrously in the world of grace. It is by our natural understandings that we arrive at a knowledge of nature, and its various phenomena; but this is not the case with reference to the spiritual world; this is revealed to us only by faith. The kingdom of heaven has been, and it will continue to be a mystery to man in his natural state. No amount of human learning or knowledge can enable him to reach it, or comprehend it; no cultivation of the heart or the understanding can bring him to see it, or to love it. Not many wise, not many mighty, not many noble are called. The philosopher here stands on a level with his illiterate neighbor, and is equally as helpless in his own resources in arriving at the knowledge of this mystery. The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are *spiritually discerned*. 1 Cor. 2: 14. Faith is everywhere in scripture made the first and fundamental requisite for the attainment of true wisdom. It is the first act in which men are called to engage, when they earnestly seek their elevation above nature and sin. Believe and thou shalt be saved, is the message repeated from age to age, that must serve as the infallible guide to the regeneration and renovation of the world. But salvation, which is the result of faith, includes knowledge, and every other spiritual endowment. Faith introduces the soul into union with Christ, by virtue of which it is regenerated, that is, made the bearer of a new life, from whose mysterious depths the new man is to arise in the beauty and symmetry of a new creation. Life every where precedes the organs or parts of the body, to which it gives rise; it is the most fundamental of all our activities, and underlies them throughout in their manifold operations. Thus religion, as a divine life in the soul, must lie back of all our religious activities, whether in the understanding or the affections, and lead to their proper growth and expansion. Wisdom and knowledge, as its fruit, must come afterward, or with it in its onward development.

From this point of view the Quarterly, like its predecessor, can have no sympathy with those whose general tendency is, to reduce religion to a cold, intellectual system, divested as far as possible of all mystery. It regards Rationalism as one of its natural enemies, which it has obligated itself to oppose at all times and in all circumstances, as an intellectual virus, that is stealthily penetrating the Church and corrupting its life. Turning from the caricatures, which this spirit has made of the gospel, it would exclaim with Paul, *Great is the mystery of godliness*, without being ignorant of the fact, that in an opposite direction lies another extreme, which we do well to fear also. The gospel has always been a mystery, and to deprive it of that character now, is to deprive it of its chief glory, its depth, its length, its breadth; rationalism appears to elevate man, but at the same time certainly renders very shallow the fountain of all truth. The very term revelation has reference to the gospel under this character, for it is only the successive unfolding of that which was concealed before. Whilst it was hid from the heathen world for thousands of years, it was committed to a single nation, the Jews, and made known to them only through dim types and shadows. The advent of Christ into our world did not change its character in this respect; it is still a mystery, incomprehensible to the world, and seen by the holiest of men only through a glass darkly. It is a treasure, which its Author keeps concealed from the gaze of the profane, for they would be blinded by its ineffable light, and like swine would try to destroy it; whilst he reveals it to faith in proportion as it is enabled to endure its divine glory. It is a pearl of great price, hidden in the "dark unfathomed caves of ocean," to be obtained only by such as seek for it. No gem or diamond was ever confined by iron bands so firmly, as the divine mystery is from men living in the element of nature. To suppose that the truths of revelation may be measured by the finite reason of man, is as irreverent as the practical manifestations of the unbelieving spirit in the world generally. Humbling as this truth is, and desirable as it might seem, that we should be permitted to take the loftiest flights in the spiritual world whilst we are confined to time, it is but right and proper, that under our present circumstances, some limits should be set to the excursions of the intellect—that it should be under the necessity of obeying the command, *Thus far shalt thou go, and no further.* The Maker has a right to require implicit faith in his word, especially where the truth is of such a

character as to be incapable of being brought down to finite comprehension. Human pride, which concentrates itself in the intellect, must be subdued before it is ready as a docile child to sit and learn from the divine truths. Mysteries so far from being injurious are essential to the very existence of religion. Apart from their necessity in a supernatural revelation, they have not only an humbling influence; they serve to arrest attention and promote reflection; they give the imagination ample room to throw around eternal truths the bright colors of the heavenly Paradise; they awaken admiration, awe, reverence,—a glow of spiritual feelings, that have no place in the worship of the cold rationalist, but which are an essential part of all true religion or worship.

But faith is by no means opposed or inimical to knowledge. It is only the right relation of the one to the other that is to be insisted upon as a vital point, whilst proper regard is paid to both as necessary factors in the Christian life. Faith introduces life and health into the mind, and prepares its faculties for vigorous activity; it restrains its wayward flights, and brings it back to God, the source of all truth, knowledge, science; it lays the solid foundations, upon which every intellectual structure must rest, to be firm, or permanently useful. Christianity has always been friendly to knowledge, and as far as it has advanced, it has continued to spread light. It turns knowledge to practical account, employs it for the highest and best of purposes, and thus gives it the character of true wisdom. If it must be obedient to faith, the subjection is not an arbitrary one, for faith seeks to be guided by the Divine Eye, and not its own; if the world cannot comprehend this knowledge, it is its own fault, for this knowledge is wisdom only to the "perfect." In thy light we shall see light. Psalm 80: 9. Knowledge under such restraints is a blessing to the world; in its pathway it spreads a benignant light, and is the only safe director to man, tost from wave to wave of doubt, without compass or helm, and without object or aim. For the spread of truth under this form, the Quarterly unites with the Review in cordial co-operation, and by its side would raise its voice for the right, until all knowledge, arts and sciences, are made contributory to the kingdom of heaven, and are brought cheerfully to engage in the service of the Church.

The Quarterly aims further, according to its Prospectus, to be honestly and sincerely Protestant. By assuming this position, however, it does not endorse every thing that calls itself

Protestant, or every form of Protestantism, that may appear from time to time. Its sympathies are much more with the Protestantism of the Reformation-period, or what may be regarded as its proper historical development, than with much of what has come to be regarded as an improvement on the original work. The Protestant Church, as is known, is now unfortunately divided into a variety of interests, many of which are but remotely related to each other, and are bound together only by slender ties of sympathy. As a whole it has its *conservative* as well as *radical* tendency, and the Quarterly has no hesitation to choose the former as the safest position to occupy, whilst it would contribute its part to check the extravagances and extremes into which the latter is constantly running. That there is such a thing as ultra-protestantism, just as there is an ultra-montanism in the Church of Rome, there ought to be no manner of doubt. In the nature of things, it is something that might be expected in so large and active a body as Protestantism, though this necessity does not divest it of its dangerous character. Here, as well as elsewhere, the centrifugal force is ever active, and in danger of running out into a tangent, instead of describing its own proper orbit, and it requires all the power of the opposite force, to restrain and prevent a return to chaos.

This radicalism shows itself in various ways. For fear of superstition, it rejects all mystery in the Christian faith, and runs blindly into as absurd an extreme in the other direction. The pendulum has swung over into the region of rationalism, that haughtily rejects whatever is above reason. We find as an evidence of this, that the very word, mystery, with its derivatives, excites fear and alarm in the minds of many pious people, and with some they are identical with priestcraft, imposture, and the lowest superstition. How inimical to revelation such a feeling may become is plainly manifest. Let a generation, or a community, once learn to hate or despise mysteries right heartily, and who does not see that there is but a step between them and open infidelity, a step which their more adventurous children will most likely take? No matter how much imposition has been practised under the name of mystery, it is a word that occurs frequently in Scripture, and to set it aside in any way, will only serve to set aside that to which it refers. Liberty and the gospel themselves are sometimes abused in the same manner.

Private judgment came in with the Reformation, and it has

always been regarded as something essential to the proper life of Protestantism. It is indeed its honor, as to it we are indebted for the extension of the area of human freedom. But what is the strength of Protestantism may become its weakness, and what is its honor may be turned into its disgrace. This has already been exemplified in the rise and spread of sectism, to which a wrong view of private judgment has given the impulse. Sectism has become a virulent plague in the Protestant world. It has split the Church of Christ into various ecclesiastical bodies, representing so many shades of religious opinion, that it seems difficult to divine what new principle, or part of a principle, the next religious reformer shall make use of in raising up for himself a party. It has allied itself with radicalism, and entered into most of our ideas of reform, where it sets at defiance the laws of human progress, and runs out into a rabid revolutionary spirit, that can destroy, but not build up. The progress of society, it is supposed according to this spirit, ought not to proceed gradually, by preparing itself for each higher epoch, towards which it tends, but should be raised up by a sudden and violent rupture, whether it be prepared for the change or not. Thus it is a common opinion with many that republican institutions should be transplanted to European countries, in order to relieve the groaning masses, without any regard to the circumstances, or the previous history of the nations, who are to be thus highly favored. The liberty-cries of Europe receive for the most part a respectful hearing in this country, and excite throughout our land a flood of sympathy. Christians here participate largely in this feeling, and the cause of European liberty accordingly becomes identified with our Evangelical Churches. It is supposed by many persons that the interests of religion may be promoted by thus swelling the tide of opposition to the time honored institutions of the old world. But let us remember what this method of warfare implies, and in what position it places our Churches. It evidently presents the incongruous spectacle of Christians in America co-operating with the radicals of Europe in disturbing governments, in promoting disorder, confusion and revolutions. Some time ago this palpable inconsistency came strikingly into view in the case of a distinguished clergyman, who, believing that he ought to "unite with *all* the great movements of the age," advocated Kossuthism and war against Austria, after having been a long and tried friend of the Peace Society. Recent events, and the revolu-

tions of '48, have served, it is true, to dissipate very materially our views of the propriety of transplanting our institutions to European soil; it is seen that the period for such a regeneration is now apparently more remote than ever, since what promised so much in the beginning, has only resulted in an accumulation of evil. But wrong views of the progress of society still remain. These are radical in their nature; they have no regard for the past, and as they are selfish, and look for no support in history, they can never rectify themselves. Persons who entertain such views of progress, have no conception that it is something like leaven, which proceeds silently and unseen until the whole frame-work of society is penetrated by its quickening influences. They have no sufficient reliance upon the word of God, that liveth and abideth forever, or the living powers, that go forth from his Church to regenerate and save the world; and as they thrust out of view history as an essential element of social progress, they disregard the command, Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

Because of the sympathy, which many Protestants give to the spirit of modern radicalism in the forms already mentioned, as well as in others, the enemies of the Protestant faith have come to identify it with these extravagances. It is asserted and maintained with much assurance, that Protestantism and radicalism are identical in spirit, that the one leads necessarily to the other, whilst both tend in their ultimate consequence to infidelity; that Protestantism is an essentially negative and self-destroying interest, which, instead of containing any principle of life, involves in it only the principle of dissolution; that the Reformation, instead of being what its name denotes, has only served to disorganize society and the Church—to set into operation a system of disintegration, which is now beginning to work out its results, and which will continue to do so until nothing is left for it to operate upon. This is the picture, which our opponents draw of us, and it is truly one that we can take no delight in looking at. How then can we feel comfortable, when the reality, in some respects, at least, is spread out before us every day in the false forms of Protestantism? No one who has any veneration for the faith, in which he was born, can look with composure at caricatures of that faith thrown upon him by an unfriendly hand; how can he then look with less composure at the living, actual caricatures, that meet him every day? If his feelings be sound and

healthy, he must feel himself constrained to rise up in opposition to those who take shelter under his Protestant name, but conceals under that name a foreign spirit. Infidels are known to laud Luther to the skies for encouraging free discussion, whilst they have no respect for any positive tenet which he promulgated.

But Protestantism, when properly understood, is not radicalism, and its friends have a historic right to deny the imputation. A history of three hundred years has proved, that it can promote in the highest degree the interests of society and man; and that instead of being a virus, it has been the salt of society. The Reformers were themselves far from being radicals. They all fought against the radical tendencies around them, and were the first to throw back the charges preferred against them of sympathising with them. Luther frowned upon the Anabaptist movement, and destroyed it with the breath of his mouth. Calvin wrote his Institutes with the object of convincing the king of France and the world, that Protestants were not to be classed with the wild spirits that had at that time broken loose from their confinement. The gentle Melancthon, whose spirit is beginning to rule more and more in the Protestant world, was, of all of them, the farthest removed from this pestilential atmosphere. The historian Balmes errs, when he asserts that the Reformation was the mere explosion of the inflammatory material which had accumulated for ages in Europe. There was at that period doubtless any amount of such kind of material at hand, and ready at any moment for a general conflagration. Providence, however, ordered that the volcanic eruption should not take place, and employed the Reformation to do what the old Church, after many earnest efforts, could not do. It was the antidote, that kept Europe from the deluge of radicalism and infidelity, which were beginning to manifest themselves in various directions. It rose up and gave a positive and religious direction to the public mind, when faith had declined, and men had become desperate enough to engage in any enterprize. We believe that pure Protestantism is attended with similar results at the present day, and that its friends, so soon as they discover the direction into which our modern ultraism would lead it, will turn back aghast. It has a recuperative force, derived from the divine life which it embodies, that will save it from the evil tendencies springing up in its midst. Its character, as progressive Christianity in opposition to one that is stationary and fixed, gives

it a peculiar facility not only in passing beyond particular dangers from without, but its own weakness also, the sin that doth so easily beset us.

There is room then, we may say, for the advocacy of a conservative Protestantism, in opposition to that which is radical, ultra, unhistorical, untraditional, and disobedient to father and mother. We believe it shall eventually inherit the land, and that its days shall be long therein, which shall be its reward for its filial reverence and obedience, whilst that which is opposed to it shall lose the inheritance. It is somewhat remarkable that various particular cases of recent radicalism were denounced from the Mercersburg standpoint before their character had become known, and whilst they were still in their glory. This was true of the Ronge movement in Germany and this country, the World's Convention, the Kossuth intoxication, and the anti-Catholic phrensy, lead on by the monk of La Trappe, and favored by many bearing more honorable names. Time will show whether the predictions uttered from the same position, concerning a certain Italian priest in England, were not also well founded, and whether it was wise on the part of many good Protestants to stake the credit of their cause and faith on his veracity. A position, which can expose movements of this description, and do it too from settled principles, ready at hand, ought to be regarded as entitled to some respect. The Quarterly considers it as the safest in this age of shallow notions and profound impositions.

The Quarterly, finally, whilst it seeks to be Protestant, has no hesitation in seeking to be truly Catholic at the same time. This results naturally from the character of the Protestantism which it professes. If it turn away with horror from the abuses of private judgment, if it fear rationalism and radicalism, it looks for support in true catholicity, and finds in it the most effective weapons of defence. The antidote for all kinds of radicalism is to be found in the study of history and reverence for the past. In religion it is love for the Holy Catholic Church and her history. He who lives in an organism so vast and comprehensive as the Church, overtopping him by its lofty domes, and leaving him a mere pigmy in its wide halls, is not likely to remain the prey of his own subjective fancies, or the slave of a party. He breathes the pure atmosphere of that which is general, and feels his individuality not destroyed, but purified and elevated by it. It does, we believe, the cause of Protestantism a gross injury, to say that it possesses nothing of

a Catholic nature in its constitution. The word still remains in most of her symbols, and is often uttered without constraint in her devotions. Her most earnest prayers and aspirations look for her emancipation from the shackles of sect and party.

An extreme in this direction is doubtless to be avoided. We do not wish to confound Catholicity with Roman Catholicism. So far as this latter can be shown to be truly Catholic, all should sincerely rejoice; the interests of truth as well as of piety conspire to render it a consummation most devoutly to be wished for, that it may be made to appear from good reasons that its character is higher and better than is generally supposed in this country and England. But the objection against the system as a whole, that, notwithstanding its huge organization, it lacks in Catholicity, and therefore cannot cover the whole ground occupied by the catholic Church of Christ, is still of force. It has taken up into its life many elements of human nature, and a great variety of religious tendencies, often of an apparently opposite character, and brought them into the service of religion; but it rejected Protestant Christianity, and could find no room within its wide pale for the free, intellectual, and vigorous nations, derived from a German origin. It rejected the stone which the Builder designed for the corner-stone, whilst it gathered from the highways material of a less valuable or permanent character. To this day it has not seen or acknowledged its error. It still fights against the nations, which it once had under its tutelage, and tries to detract from their claims upon the respect and confidence of the world. In its more ultra adherents it would annihilate the fair inheritance which they have gained for Christ and his Church. With a stroke of the pen certain writers in this country and Europe would blot out every blessing which Protestantism has conferred upon men. Its faith, its learning, its literature, its institutions, have no value, and they might be dispensed with as readily as heathenism, with which it has been compared.

A system or church that cannot lengthen its cords or strengthen its stakes, and cover so noble a race of men as are found in the Protestant world, cannot claim for itself a true catholicity, without a limitation. It must have within it diseases, errors and corruptions, that prevent it from expanding to the full measure of a Holy Catholic Church. Hence it has never become more than Roman Catholic. The doctrines and tenets which it holds in opposition to the Protestant body have

not yet become general, and it is difficult to see how they can be made to appear to be of this character, until the other side of the Christian Church comes to endorse them as such.

The Quarterly with the Review looks, hopes, and prays for a higher position than the Church has yet reached, when there shall confessedly be one shepherd and one fold, one Lord, one faith, and one baptism; and bases its confidence in the memorable prayer of Christ, that his people may be one, as he and the Father are one. What is impossible with man, and impracticable in the ordinary course of human affairs, is possible with God, and practicable in his Church, where Christ lives and the Holy Ghost is shed abroad.

T. A.

ART. II.—PAROCHIAL, OR CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS.

"Ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." Eph. 6: 4.*

THESE words furnish the foundation, and the leading thoughts, required in the present Article. We are here taught that children are to be "brought up" religiously—that this is to be done by the combined use of two kinds of means, nurture and admonition, or discipline—that this duty rests upon their parents—and that it is to be done in the Lord.

These are precisely the ideas that lie at the foundation of that system of religious training known under the name of Parochial Schools. In those countries where the State recognizes only one denomination of Christians, a certain district is assigned to a congregation as its limits; this district is called a *Parish*; and the school, under the direction and supervision of that congregation, for the instruction of all the children in that Parish, is called a Parochial School. We retain this name. With us it means a school in a congregation, and under its oversight, for the instruction of all the children in the families of that congregation; and all such others as may desire to embrace the advantages there afforded. It requires that the Bible be read and explained; that the Catechism be used as a form of doctrine; that prayer and singing be heard and taught, and that a religious life be cultivated in the hearts of the children in connection with the development of their minds.

* The above article is the substance of a sermon delivered by appointment at the meeting of the Synod of the German Reformed Church, in October last, in the city of Baltimore. It is now published by request of that body.

It demands that the teacher be pious, and that he labor with, and under the direction of the Pastor; and that to instruction, be added a wise and Christian administration of discipline. In this way the school becomes a Church School, it secures to the children a training in the Lord—a training which includes the two elements of nurture and admonition.

The word *nurture* has a sense of its own, which we will do well to fix definitely in our minds. It is not to be taken as synonymous with the general terms, training, instructing, teaching or educating. Its meaning lies beneath these; in other words, these are the fruits or effects of nurture. The word nurture designates that which the mother is to the infant—the medium source of its life—the cause of its growth toward perfection. The word educate, and its kindred terms, designates a mere *drawing out* of what is already at hand. Education is a training and trimming of branches, nurture is a feeding of the roots. The word education is not used in the Scripture, evidently because the Scriptural view of our nature does not allow the idea that we can become what we ought to be by a mere drawing out, or educating, of what is in us.

Nurture *precedes* in order, education or training. As the germ of the vine is nourished in the bosom of the earth and nurtured out of it, before it can have the training hand applied to it, so the life of nurture is moulding the infant being before it is sufficiently aware of an outward world to be affected by its reasons and its regulations, in such a way as is involved in the idea of education. Hence nurture includes those more hidden, and more delicate appliances which exert so great an influence on the infant being, without its own will, knowledge, or co-operation. Nurture is to the child what the warmth, the moisture and the fat of the earth are to the roots of the infant plant—what the light and love of the mother's eyes, the warmth and nourishment of the mother's bosom are to the unconscious babe which is there—and is there gladly, but knows not, and cares not why.

According to the true sense of nurture, children are to be nourished *in* the Lord, not educated *into* Him. As plants are nurtured in the ground and from it, so children are to be nurtured in the Lord and from him.

Does the Scripture allow us to regard our children as in the Lord? If we are Christians—yes. The covenant and promise bestowed upon parents included their seed. If one of the parents is a believer then are the children holy, says the apostle. By baptism they are planted together in the likeness

of the Saviour's death, that in that position they may rise in the likeness of His resurrection. Those who are baptised into Christ have put on Christ. Those who are baptized are represented as in the same position as Noah was in the ark—saved, if they go not out of it. Those in covenant are saved if they break not out of it. To be nurtured in covenant is to be nurtured in Him. Hence we find that the Scriptures always speak of those that are covenanted in Baptism as His people, as in a gracious position and state, as children and heirs. They are always addressed as such: You are my people, forsake me not—you have a God, seek not other gods—you have promises and hopes, cast them not away.

Children in the Church are represented as planted in the house of the Lord, where they are to "grow in grace," being nurtured into the full stature of men in Christ, by the resources which the Church furnishes. In short the nurture of the Church is to be to the spiritual part of the child, in all its wants, what the nurture of the mother is to the infant in a physical point of view.

Nurture implies the evolution of the *whole being in a uniform way*. Education may refer to the development of some one part of the being, in some one department of knowledge; but nurture is that deeper leaven, which leavens the whole, or that deeper life of the mustard seed, which causes all its roots, its branches, its leaves, blossoms and fruit, to appear in their season, and in their place, not in monstrous distortion, but in beautiful proportion and symmetry.

It can be shown, from the history of Education, that the idea of education in the form of nurture was never understood except by the Church; and that it can never be carried out, but by the Church. As it is impossible, however, in the short space of time allowed for this discourse to treat the subject historically, we must attempt to illustrate the point in a shorter way: By reviewing different systems of Education without any reference to the time of their existence. We shall see that no system ever yet reached the idea involved in nurture in the Christian sense of that term. It will be seen that all these systems were partial, one-sided, fragmentary—a mere outward daubing or patching,—a mere trimming of branches, and generally the trimming of one branch to the entire neglect of all the rest. They make their man as did the ancient Egyptian sculptors, among whom making heads, arms, legs, bodies was each a separate business, separately carried on, by separate

persons—the man was afterwards joined together out of all these separate parts. There was no nurture needed there. In like manner the Christian idea of nurture can have no place in a system of education which proposes to make the real man by a similar aggregation of parts, made to order in separate places, and by different hands.

I. Let us glance at what we will call the Pagan System.

All pagan systems may be characterized in general, as making the spiritual, and the eternal, subordinate to the bodily or the earthly—or, as was often the case, leaving that side entirely out of view. The body must be trained for war, the soul for the state. What they taught of the gods, of immortality, and the future life, was, for the most part, because it was believed that these ideas furnished useful checks upon the minds of citizens, and contributed towards making them better citizens. Eloquence was studied to move the populace to attachment to the State: poetry and history to recount the heroic traditions of their ancestors, to inspire love of country. All centered in the State. Shooting the bow, launching the javelin, and all kinds of athletic exercises, calculated to make the physical system expert for war, stood prominent in their views of education. All was adapted to make them hard and heroic.

No training which would exert a softening or refining influence was allowed. The Egyptians, for instance, regarded Music as a useless, dangerous and mean diversion. Philip, the Macedonian, said to his son Alexander, who sung with skill at a feast: "Are you not ashamed to sing so well." The Romans treated music with contempt. The Greeks, among whom it received most favor, found at last that it combined, with dancing and the stage, to ruin the State.

"In Carthage" says Rollin, "the study and knowledge of youth were for the most part confined to writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, and the buying and selling of goods; in a word, to whatever related to traffic." They were trained to do business, and make money. The Persians, Cretans, and Lacedæmonians did not entrust the education of children to their parents; even the divine order of the family was broken in upon, that the State might train them for its own ends. Their aim was, "To form the soldier and the citizen." Parental responsibility as well as filial duty were in effect abrogated. Lycurgus, "regarded children as belonging more properly to the State than to their parents, and wished that patriotism should be still more carefully cherished in their breasts than

filial affection." His great maxim was : " Children belong to the State, their education ought to be directed by the State, and the views and interests of the State ought in it alone to be considered." In this system of education the children were detached from the families to which they belonged, and gathered together in public establishments, where they were entirely under the care of teachers appointed by the State.

Here there is a conflict between the family and the State. Instead of being citizens of the State *in* the family, they are made citizens of the State *out* of the family. The family is in the State, but is at the same time ignored, and its educating influences declared dangerous. According to the divine order the State is not constituted of individuals *out* of families, but of individuals *in* families—as the family produces individuals for the State, so it is also to educate them for citizenship. In religion filial love and patriotism are not in conflict with each other, but in harmony. The best child will make the best citizen.

We see that in all these pagan ideas, man's immortal nature is left out of view, or at least made subordinate. Earth excludes heaven. Time excludes eternity. The body ignores the soul. The State abolishes both the Church and the family, instead of forming with them, as is done in the divine order, the great *triad*, in which all the help, hope, and harmony of earth are bound up.

In this system man is educated in part, but not nurtured as a whole.

II. The idea of nurture is not reached in another system of education which I will call the *infidel system*.

While the system to which we have alluded, under the previous head, proposes to educate the natural man for natural ends, this proposes to cultivate the natural man, as a natural man, for ends higher and better than nature. The system to which we allude proposes merely to cultivate nature by following nature. It leaves the doctrine of human depravity entirely out of view. It regards human nature as needing, not renovation, but simply reformation ; it supposes it to be good in its roots, and that it needs education only to draw it out and make it better. It is not the nurture of a new life of grace in the soul, starting from Christ in baptism, but it is the education of nature starting in nature. That which is to be educated is not the being which is born of water and the Spirit, but it is that which is born of the flesh and which is flesh ; and which, when

educated, will be flesh and nature still, which however refined, cannot inherit the kingdom of God.

This system, had, if not as its father, yet as its master expounder, the celebrated Rousseau. He sets out with the proposition: "Our business in bringing up children should be, to second and to call forth nature." We must be careful, according to this system, in no way to forestal or mislead nature. All we dare do is very gently to stimulate nature to develop itself. We must nurture nature, and train up the child, not in the way we think it should go, but in the way it will go. Listen again to the oracle on education: "With great care prevent the child from forming any habits whatever. Prepare him for the enjoyment of liberty, by preserving to him the exercise of his natural abilities, unfettered by any artificial habits." Suppose we should treat the trees in our nurseries thus! "Sacrifice not the present happiness of your child for the sake of any distant advantage." That is, subject him to no discipline; nature must be free! "Be not over-anxious to guard him against natural evil. Seek not to impress him with ideas of duty or obligation." That would be to restrain, or at least to tax his liberty. He must grow up free like a weed, ; all you have to do is to work nourishment into the soil. A luxuriant monster it would make!

Hear again: "From the hour of his birth till twelve years of age the education of Emulus must be purely negative. Could we bring him up healthy and robust, and entirely ignorant till that age, the eyes of his understanding would then be open to any lesson: free from the influence of habit and prejudice, his passions would not then oppose us; and we might render him the wisest and most virtuous of men. If we can but lose time, if we can but advance without receiving any impressions whatever, our gains are unspeakable." *

All this, in the form in which it is presented by Rousseau, seems not only profane, but nonsensical and ridiculous; but look closely, and you will find that this very system, in substance,

* "Perhaps, in the midst of society, it may be difficult to bring up our pupil without giving him some idea of the relations between man and man, and of the morality of human actions. Let that, however, be deferred as long as possible."

There are various means to be used to keep the child's mind free from the idea that one thing is right and another wrong. One is this: "If the child sees one angry, we should tell him that he was affected with a fit of sudden illness. This will prevent the unhappy effects of the example."

"The first moral notions that should be communicated to the child are those of property."

has been baptized into the Christian name, and reigns under Christian patronage. What else is the educational system of Unitarians, but an attempt at educating nature into grace. In their system, grace is not a basis to educate from laid in baptism, but grace is something to be attained to by education—the beginning is nature, the end reached is grace. A plant without a soil. Education is a leading forth of nature; if not of nature, then of nothing; for according to their view baptism does not lay a basis of grace in the infant heart. May we not say, in refutation of this idea, that which is educated of the flesh, is flesh.

Could Rousseau's idea of keeping the child negative up to twelve years, be realized, what could better suit the Baptist's system? He believes in no grace given in Baptism which warrants the parent in believing that his child may, from that point on, be nurtured in a real divine life, so that no technical experience, or sudden violent transition, is afterward needed to constitute him a Christian. He does not believe that God has made such provision in His system of grace, that a child may be inserted in grace, and may be brought up in the Lord's nurture. He does not believe that the child has gracious life, how can he nurture it? The beginning of that life which is to be nurtured, only begins in the conscious faith of the adult. What then is he educating or nurturing in his child, if he educates anything? What but nature? for nothing else is there, according to his own confession! If there is nothing there to educate, and he educates nothing, then it is his policy to see that the child is kept negative. He cannot train the good in him—he cannot train grace for there is no basis of grace there. He dare not with the Unitarian, train nature, for he believes that to be depraved! and that would only make the case worse! What can he do that is consistent, but adopt the very language of the master of the infidel system, "With great care prevent the child from forming any habits whatever—seek not to teach him ideas of duty or obligation, for whatsoever is not of faith is sin—teach him not to pray, for he has not yet exercised faith, and is therefore unregenerate, and the prayers of such are abomination to God—bring him up healthy and robust and entirely ignorant—his mind must be kept purely negative; for all the progress he makes, is but an evolution of his depraved nature, and an increase of his sinfulness!" Such, without caricature, is this infidel system when set to work under Christian patronage. They begin to

feel it in New England where the system reigns in bleak blue glory. "Our very theory of religion," exclaims one troubled, and a troubler among them *—"Our very theory of religion is, that men are to grow up in evil, and be dragged into the Church of God by conquest. The world is to lie in halves, and the kingdom of God is to stretch itself side by side with the kingdom of darkness, making sallies into it, and taking captive those who are sufficiently hardened and bronzed in guiltiness to be converted." Thus there is no hope for children but their growing up in sin—their habits are formed in unregeneracy—those very years, during which their susceptibilities are tenderest, and when formative influences could most easily do their work, are hopelessly sold to nature and Satan; and in adulthood, when the tide of life, as it has all along flowed, is most determinate in its own direction, the spirit is to be jerked, by a kind of holy violence, into a regenerate state!

Thus the Church lives not by nurture, but by excitements; for in this way only, it is supposed, can adult sinners be reached and conquered. Children in the Church, grown up without Christian or gracious nurture, in adult age, present the appearance of a neglected field overgrown with those weeds, and briars, and thorns which spring up naturally from the earth, which when the summer is past is nigh unto cursing—it is a wilderness of combustible matter, which can only be cleansed by a conflagration—and when the fire has passed over it, how desolate!

Speaking of this system in contrast with the system of true nurture, the same author, just quoted, confesses thus: "We have worked a vein till it is run out. The churches are exhausted. There is little to attract them, when they look upon the renewal of scenes through which many of them have passed. They look about them with a sigh, to ask if possibly there is no better way, and some are ready to find that better way in a change of their religion. Nothing different from this ought to have been expected. No nation can long thrive by a spirit of conquest; no more can a church. There must be an internal growth, that is made by holy industry, in the common walks of life and duty."

This system is mere education, not nurture. In so far as it even seems to be nurture it is nurture *in* nature, and *of* nature, instead of nurture in the Lord. Besides, it excludes entirely one side of education: it admits of no "*admonition*"—restraint

* Dr. Bushnell on Christian Nurture.

or discipline. It insists that nature must be free, all we dare do is to "second" and "call it forth." This system then, however much it may, in some of its details, be favored among some professedly Christian sects, is not a Christian system, and does not reach the true idea of Christian nurture.

III. There is a system of education in which intellectual and religious training are *severed*, and treated as interests that may be separately carried forward. Wherever this idea prevails the true idea of Christian nurture is excluded; for nurture proposes to develop the growth of the entire being in a uniform way—one part of his nature cannot be left to stand still while the other is going on. The intellectual and religious are not different natures, but only different branches of the same nature, and they must be nurtured together in the unity of one life.

The system which we are here reviewing errs in two extremes. When it is attempted to cultivate the religious at the expense of the intellectual; or, when it is attempted to cultivate the intellectual at the expense of the religious.

First, religious culture which overlooks and leaves behind the intellectual. This has in some ages, and in some lands, been the error of the Roman Church. That communion has not, and does not now, value in due proportion the intellectual culture of the masses. In that Church, as we believe, the priestly and kingly offices have too much crowded out of view the prophetic office. We think this will appear as truth from an impartial observation of the cultus of that Church. It may be seen in all their services that the prophetic office stands but faintly in view. In what they do teach there is not full justice done to man's intellect. What they teach is rather something to be believed, than something to be known. That intellect should bow to faith is, of course, all right; but intellect should not be ignored by faith. The Roman Church we believe does not full justice to the intellectual side of its members. In this way it does,—though perhaps not intentionally—give some appearance of reason for charging them with holding the motto that, "Ignorance is the mother of devotion." For some reason or other, there is not, in that communion, a zeal for the intellectual elevation of the masses, such as we believe the best interests of their religious life demand.

In the Greek, and other oriental Churches, this want of attention to the intellectual side of man prevails in a worse, and a wider form. What the masses there are taught, is for the most part a mere by-rote knowledge, and lies in the mind

only as a habit, and as a cold, formal, husky tradition. Their priests are generally themselves ignorant of all except the tread-mill services of which they live, and through which they pass in the most lifeless monotony. Children are taught to say over religious formula, like Mahomedans say over the Koran, without knowing or caring whether it contains any reason or any sense.

The same evil, and the same error of which we are treating, is also found among some of the modern sects. There is however this difference, that while those ancient organizations ignore intellect by faith, these ignore it by feeling. With them feeling is the most prominent part of religion. Knowledge is regarded as dangerous—or at least as being a matter only and merely for this world, and as being of no account in reference to the next world. All wisdom is regarded as the wisdom of this world, just as if there were not also a feeling of this world, as well as a wisdom of this world. This is a partial view of man's nature. It proceeds upon the false principle that the intellectual and religious sides of our nature are in conflict with each other, and that the whole man can be nurtured and perfected by leaving one side of his nature wholly out of sight.

Secondly: There is another extreme into which this error runs; it is when there is an attempt to cultivate the intellectual at the expense of the religious, or independently of the religious. This error proposes to keep the two interests separate. It is admitted that children should have religious culture, but then that is a matter to be separately attended to. The intellectual is to be attended to, and the religious is to be added to it in due time. The school is regarded as having only to do with the intellectual, leaving the religious for the family, the Church, and Christian charity. The child is to take to school nothing but its mind; and is there to be nurtured as a mere intellectual being. This is the error which reigns most extensively on the Protestant side of the Church and has its systematic exhibition in our common public school system.

On this system we must offer some strictures, for it stands more directly, and more formidably than all the others, in the way of Parochial or Christian Schools. In offering what we shall offer on this point, we are not ignorant that many of the best men, with the best of motives, have been, and still are, the zealous friends of this system; neither insensible of the pain, which the conclusions at which we shall arrive, shall cause that class of philanthropists, should they carry the same force

to their minds as they do our own. Nor would we claim the honor of making any discoveries in this department, but desire only to give intelligent or definite expression to what we are sure is fast becoming a general feeling.*

The Common School System makes no provision whatever for the religious wants of children. Religious culture there is studiously excluded and prohibited. The child may have any views, or no views, in religion. It is to be taught nothing in that direction. No book giving religious instruction "shall be used as a school book, nor admitted into school." The Bible is barely tolerated—it may be read, but, "without comment by the teacher." No religious qualifications are sought in the teacher. In short, mind, and mind only, is to come in play, and to be dealt with in the culture of common schools. The system aims only at educating part of man. It aims only at preparing him for the State and for business, not for the Church. It takes in only time and earth, not eternity and heaven.

In this system education is taken out of the hands of the family, and of the Church. Those who have charge of the educational interests, are not the pastor, church officers, and pious school-masters, but "Directors"—a kind of committee for the time, who attend to the duty in the same spirit as they would to laying out a road. The school-house no more stands on the green beside the church—where all religious associations congregate—where the spirit of religion lies, like sweet sunlight on every object around, and where the graves are!—but they are stuck, like milestones, wherever a cold mechanical system assigns them their place. It may happen just as well as not, that the associations of childhood may be bound to the top of a bleak hill; in the region of some miserable marsh with its ponds and mud; or near some gloomy old still-house with its styes and its stench! Parents, whose highest concern it is to have their children's minds expanded in a religious element, are compelled to send them to a place where no pious whisper is allowed, where religious instruction is contraband and unlawful, and where the teacher may be an infidel. Where the director may be any one at all—one whose highest ideas of education are reading, writing and cyphering—one who perhaps cannot read at all. What parent can comfortably submit his children to such a system of miserable orphanage!

* It is proper to premise, that the strictures we make are intended to apply directly only to the Common School System in Pennsylvania, and to the system of State schools in other States, only so far as they are similar to this.

The system of Directorship, as established by law in these schools, however well it may look in theory and in law, does not answer the purpose in practice. All the directors generally do, is to procure a teacher and firewood, and one is generally procured in the same spirit as the other, with least trouble, and at the lowest price. After the school begins directorship in effect ceases—the teacher and the school are then left to direct themselves. The consequence is disorder, which gets ever worse. Already there are many parents who decline sending their children to the common schools, on account of the profanity, vulgarity, and rudeness which are found to reign there.*

It is but a comparatively short time (1885) since the common school system has been established in various parts of our State; yet there is already that in its history which condemns it. Almost every year the school law has been altered and amended. Defects were discovered in its workings, and the Legislature was called upon to remedy them. The history of the School Law in Pennsylvania, reminds one of an attempt to patch the rents of a rotten garment—the contraction required to mend one makes two worse ones. This altered, amended, renewed School Law is sent out with its tables, its charts and supplements, as a guide to Directors to whom it is as unintelligible as the statement of an algebraic equation to a child that just begins to spell. It was the confession of a lawyer, of twenty-five years' practice, to me, that he had evidently given up the idea of ever understanding the Common School Law. The very fact of its constant changings and amendments, shows that it is a system without system—that it is a dabbling in experiments without sure principles to regulate or define. To such a ship of sails without rudder, floating at random, we are to entrust the educational interests of our country. Every successive and ever-changing Legislature is to be permitted to subject the system to its own caprices, and, if they choose, to launch out into new experiments. Think of it! to a system of education which ignores religion in its teachings, a system in the hands of a new Legislature every year—with yearly a new superintendent, new laws, new directors, and generally a new teacher—to such a system we are to entrust the nurture of our children. Who can comfortably build his house on such a foundation of rolling pebbles and floating sand!

* Children learn from example *before* they can understand the grounds and reasons of moral obligation; hence the injury which they receive from the bad examples which are constantly before them in common schools.

We can also show, from the confessions of its warmest friends, that the system is radically defective. The fact they see, but seem not to see the reason of the defect. In 1812 Philadelphia was authorized to establish public schools for the poor. It was soon seen that there was something defective in the business. A committee was appointed in 1816 to inquire into the weak points of the system. They report that many do not attend at all during the year, though \$22,000 were spent to educate them. But this is not the worst; such was the character of these schools that, "Such as were absent suffered less by their inattention than many of those whose morals have been thus undesignedly injured at the county expense." Not the worst yet: "In every view, therefore, of the existing plan of public education, with which your committee are furnished, they are reluctantly and sorrowfully compelled to declare, that from its first establishment to the present time, it has, in their opinion, been not only injurious to the character of the rising generation, but a benevolent fraud upon the public bounty." The patrons of this system forgot that educated mind without religion is educated vice; and that mind can only be stimulated to seek its improvement by something higher, deeper, and more earnest than itself. Now they are reminded of it by the failure of the experiment.

This testimony to the inadequacy of the system which we are reviewing is so much the stronger from the fact that the Christian system is praised in contrast with it by the same committee. I start in quoting farther from the same report at the very next sentence where I left off: "It is a consolation, however, to reflect, that during the last eight years, in the course of which almost \$200,000 have been spent upon a scheme of public instruction so uselessly, there have been in successful operation numerous schools for the free education of indigent children, superintended from the most praiseworthy motives by respectable citizens; and that in these institutions many pupils of charity have had their minds imbued with sound morals, and been otherwise fitted for the proper discharge of their various duties in future life. But for this reflection, the prospect would indeed be gloomy; for in these benevolent labors, it is hoped, a redeeming principle has been established, the happy effect whereof may yet be manifested."

These extracts need no comments. We see in them the difference between education without religion, and education with religion.

The present Common School System in Pennsylvania has only existed some eighteen years. Already it is deeply felt to be wanting. It does not answer the purpose. We will not speak of the general mutterings of dissatisfaction which are heard especially among the Christian community; but we will quote from the confessions of its very foster parents, to show that it bears the elements of degeneracy in its own bosom—that it cannot sustain sufficient interest in itself to carry out its own regulations, and to reach forward towards the securement of its own ends.

I will quote from the Report of January, 1850, by Thomas H. Barrows, the most zealous friend of the Common School System in Pennsylvania: "Whoever shall closely examine the annual reports of the Superintendent of Common Schools, will find, that very soon after the establishment of the system, say about the year 1839, a certain degree of progress had been effected towards its perfection; but that, since that period, little if any improvement has taken place in its most essential particulars. School-houses have, it is true, been erected by thousands, and teachers in the same proportion have been employed; hundreds of thousands of pupils have been brought into the schools, and the gross expenditure of the system has risen to ten millions of dollars; but when he comes to the true test of its efficacy and utility—the *pay of teachers*, and the *duration of teaching* in each year—he finds a sad falling off. In the years 1838, 1839, 1840, teachers seem to have been better paid, and consequently their services better appreciated, than at any time since; and in 1837 and 1838, the duration of teaching was one-fifth greater than in 1847, '48, and greater than in any year between those two eras, or since. These indications are unerring. They point to one or other of two inevitable results—either that a system which thus fails in accomplishing its great object, viz: that of giving sufficient instruction, by means of capable, and, therefore, well paid teachers, must go down; or that it must be so strengthened as to effect its noble purposes."

Again, he says: "But among the evils of the system . . . is the want of an efficient head—a sufficient driving power in the system." That it lacks this, he says, is evident from the falling off just mentioned. "This manifest want of vigor, the committee believe, exists in the head, not in the body of the system."

Here we have the true, and what is worse, the incurable

weakness of the system exhibited. It degenerates—is less efficient by far in 1847 than it was in 1837. It started, like all false systems, with a spasm, and gradually died down to a tame level. The plant shoots up with extraordinary facility, just because it has no real depth of earth, and then pines away for the same reason. It lacks motive power, it lacks vigor, it lacks a head. Thus it lacks all; for what is that worth which has no head, no vigor, and no driving power. All these, which a state system that regards nothing in man but mind, must ever lack, are supplied in a system which connects the School with the Church. Where the Church underlies the School, imparting her nurture to the whole being, regarding him in his eternal as well as temporal interests, there will be head and motive power in abundance. The vigor of her infinite earnestness will be infused into all her educational operations. Then the School Law will be the law of life and grace in Christ Jesus, and not merely the pamphlet laws of an ever-changing legislative body, to be administered by an ever-changing committee of directors. The teacher will be no hireling for a few months, but a functionary of the Church, whose piety insures his faithfulness—a teacher who is not merely asked by a committee, Do you know science? but one whom the Saviour himself asked over and over, “Lovest thou me?” before he gave him the awfully solemn and responsible commission: “Feed my lambs!”

Whoever will read the annual reports of the Superintendent of Common Schools with care, will feel convinced that the evils which are the burden of ceaseless complaint are essentially in the system, and cannot be cured. We hear without end of the “sluggishness of Directors and parents;” and of “the carelessness and unfitness of teachers.” In the report of 1849 we read: “The practical effects of the plan are truly deplorable. Scarcely a mail arrives that is not loaded with complaints of the inability of the teacher, of his immoral habits, and of the bad condition of the schools. Petitions to the Superintendent, for redress of grievances over which he has no control, are frequently presented; and expressions of dissatisfaction are not rare against the continuance of the system.” Report of 1849.

This indifference and opposition are not to be ascribed to a want of interest in education, but to a want of interest in schools without a soul or a God. There is an instinctive sense of the false principle upon which the system rests; and its

practical exhibitions daily increase that suspicion. Hear the Report of 1850: "Complaints are heard from various quarters that the system has failed to accomplish the purposes for which it was designed, and that the funds of the State are wasted. These expressions of dissatisfaction must not be ascribed entirely to ignorance and prejudice; they come, in too many instances, from honest, intelligent citizens, true friends of Education." Even the zealous advocates of the system betray that they know where the difficulty lies. They feel that the "motive power," which they say the system lacks, could be furnished by religion. "Ministers of the Gospel," says the report of 1848, "could exert an influence, which might reach every fireside, *opening the eyes of the blind, and unstopping the ears of the deaf*, on the subject of rational and moral education." So they might, and so they would, were not they, *in the capacity of ministers*, virtually shut out from the schools. If parents are sluggish in sending their children, how can they be moved to duty except by the higher "driving power" of religion; but this is contraband in the system. Shall ministers be expected to manifest zeal for the education of immortal beings for this world merely? The Common School System can never, in its present form, gain the confidence of the Church and ministry; even if the system did not itself virtually exclude their influence, the false principles which it involves are too radical, and in their practical workings too disastrous, to receive either favor or toleration. The time is not yet, and it never will be, when those, who alone have received the commission, "Go ye, and teach all nations," will surrender their responsibilities into hands which they know are not adequate to the task. They must first forget their own accountability, and lose all respect for the will of Him, whose they are, and whom they serve.

It is all idle. The interests of education cannot be long sustained and vigorously carried forward, unless religion underlies the movement as its motive power. It is well known that colleges do not flourish except under the auspices of the Church. It is Christianity, and that alone, which wakes man to industry and earnestness in every sphere, and consequently also in reference to the cultivation of mind. It is the feeling of immortality that is the impulsive power toward all ambition in expanding the intellectual faculties. It is sin that darkens the mind, and its removal must accompany all attempts to brighten and expand the intellect. All history declares that

religion is the mother of science—that faith is the mother of knowledge.

In the establishment of our Common School System there was professedly at least an aim at imitating the Public School System of Prussia. In 1836 Professor C. E. Stowe, who was about to make a tour through Europe, was requested by a resolution of the Legislature of Ohio, to collect facts in reference to Public Schools. In 1837 he made a long report, in which he dwells principally on the Prussian system, and recommends it in the highest terms; this report was published by order of the Legislature of Ohio. In 1838, the same report was ordered to be published by the Legislature of Pennsylvania. In the same year a large pamphlet of seventy-eight pages was published in Philadelphia, "On the System of Education adopted in the celebrated Common Schools of Prussia." All this was intended to effect a conformation of our system to that of Prussia. But how great is the deception! Almost the only thing in which our schools and those of Prussia are alike, is that they are both public, state schools. Farther than this there is no resemblance at all. How do they differ? In their system religious instruction is included by law; in ours it is excluded by law. In their schools religious instruction is the first thing; here it is not at all. There the religious element pervades every thing connected with the school; here it is contraband in every thing. That is religion as the mother of education; this education without religion. That is nurture in the Lord; this is nurture without the Lord.

"The first vocation of every school," says the law of 1819, (the system went into operation in that year) "is, to train up the young in such a manner as to implant in their minds a knowledge of the relation of man to God, and at the same time to excite in them both the will and the strength to govern their lives after the spirit and precepts of Christianity. Schools must early train children to piety, and therefore must strive to *second and complete the early instruction of parents*. In every school, therefore, the occupations of the day shall begin and end with a short prayer and some pious reflections, which the master must contrive to render so varied and impressive, that a moral exercise shall never degenerate into an affair of habit. All the solemnities of the school shall be interspersed with songs of a religious character." In another section of the law it is enjoined that the Bible and the Catechism shall be used. The New Testament shall be read by the smaller children in the

common language; and by the youths in the gymnasia, in Greek. It is also provided that, "In all the parishes of the kingdom, without exception, the clergyman of every christian communion shall seize every occasion, whether at church, or during their visits to school, or in their sermons at the opening of classes, of reminding the school of their high and holy mission, and the people of their duty towards the school." *

Now contrast with this, our own Public School System. "No catechism, creed, confession, or manual of faith shall be used as a school book nor be admitted into the school." "The Old and New Testament may be used in reading, but without comment by the teacher," 1838. The difference between the Prussian system and our own is that of direct opposites; and yet we are told that "the province of education in the two countries are nearly the same, except that the Prussian system aims at higher objects than the common education of this country." Only this difference! as if this were a matter of no importance! The "higher objects" may be set aside. So think these sages of the State, in the face of all history—in the face of the wisdom of the wisest men that ever lived—and in the face of the holy instincts of all pious parents. "The fear of the Lord, is the beginning of wisdom."

One who, in a publication in 1838, exhibits the Prussian system by way of lesson and example to the friends of the Com-

* It is argued, by those who are in favor of excluding the Bible from the schools, that children become profanely familiar with it, that they are apt to lose all reverence for it, and that it creates in after life a feeling of distaste and even disgust for it. Never was any idea more false. The direct reverse is true. Are not those things that were most common and familiar to us in our childhood the dearest and most cherished by us now? When we, after years, return to the dear scenes which our infancy knew, how strong and affecting are those feelings awakened in our bosoms by the smallest and most trifling things. Every tree, every stump, and every stone, preaches to us silently till we stand and weep. A similar feeling is bound up with our associations in reference to those passages so often read from the Bible, in our school-boy days. Many of us know it by experience; and the Scriptures, when we read them now, have a new glow of warmth and power of attraction, because they connect our present life, deep in our memories, with childhood's happy, happy days. Reading the Bible in school make it tasteless and profanely familiar!—as well might we argue the same of the love of a mother. No, there is a light in which all things are sacred; it is in the light of those impressions which memory receives in childhood. In the language of one who knew better to preach than to practice,

"Long, long be my heart with such memories fill'd!—
Like a vase, in which roses have once been distilled—
You may break, you may ruin the vase if you will,
But the scent of the roses will hang round it still."

mon School System in this country, makes a remarkable confession. After expatiating on the excellencies of the Prussian system, he says: "But if these schools only taught letters and science, if they formed no moral principles and habits; if they took no cognizance of the laws of duty—none of the defenceless state of a mind uninformed of the evil that is in the world—if they never turned the attention of the young to the Providence of God, and his divine attributes; if they never connected the present life to the eternal; if they afforded no expositions of morality; if they presented it only in negations; if they referred it exclusively to the Sunday, the minister, the Church, and the casual Sunday-school, and the self-culture of ripe age—to what mere worldliness and technicality, to what selfishness and implied materialism, to what small effects and low purposes, would they be employed, and how much would they leave undone, which their broad policy, and tried efforts actually accomplish?" Every word of it is true. And every word a just judgment and condemnation of our ten-times helpless, wretched, and ruinous Common School System.

To show how perfectly inadequate our system must be, we need only remark, that even this Prussian system, so thoroughly religious, is pronounced a failure, by Samuel Laing, Esq., an English traveller of much weight, on account of its subserviency to the State. Says this learned traveller in 1842: "If the ultimate object of all education and knowledge be to raise man to the feeling of his own moral worth, to a sense of his responsibility to his Creator and to his conscience for every act, to the dignity of a reflecting, self-guiding, virtuous, religious member of society, then the Prussian educational system is a failure. It is only a training from childhood in the conventional discipline and submission of mind which the State exacts from its subjects. It is not a training or education which has raised, but which has lowered, the human character. This system of interference and intrusion into the inmost domestic relations of the people, this educational drill of every family by State means and machinery, supersedes parental tuition. It is a fact not to be denied that the Prussian population is at this day, when the fruits of this educational system may be appreciated in the generation of the adults, in a remarkably demoralized condition in those branches of moral conduct which cannot be taught in schools, and are not taught by the parents, because parental tuition is broken in upon by governmental interference in Prussia, its efficacy and weight annulled, and the

natural dependence of the child upon the words and wisdom of the parent—the delicate threads by which the infant's mind, as its body, draws nutriment from its parent—is ruptured." Page 172. Laing's Notes.

If a system so decidedly religious fails, just because it is a creature of the State, what can we hope for in ours! We believe, however, that Mr. Laing attributes the failure, so far as it is one, to the wrong source. The Church and religion have sufficient prominence in the system to insure complete religious culture; in so far as the system falls short of answering its end, the failure is to be sought in the fact that ever since the system was organized until lately, the Church has been so petrified by the reign of rationalism, as to disable it entirely from infusing a truly regenerating influence into the School System. The school had an inactive Christianity to underlie it—its religious teachings were merely theoretical. But we repeat—if the Christian system of schools in Prussia is scarcely to be saved from condemnation, where must our poor bald, negative system appear!

When the education of children is left in the hands of the State alone, as is done in the Common School System, it is mere means to an end—and what is worse, mere earthly means to a mere earthly end. But Christian nurture is not merely means to an end—it is means and end in one; and, what is better, heavenly means to an heavenly end.

When religion is excluded from education, what end has education in view? The world in its various interests—an end lower, instead of higher, than the means themselves! When religion is connected with nurture as it is in Parochial Schools, it is viewed as means to an end higher than itself, but the means at the same time as part of the end. This Christian nurture will appear as part of the process of a life constantly progressing from lower to higher—the lower ever terminating in the higher, and becoming complete in it.

That education which is carried on separate from religion offers a constant invitation to the child to look downward to a lower earthly end. For the child will reason, and if not reason, it will feel, thus: If the end of education is not earthly interests, if its end be higher religious interests, why are not those higher interests held forth prominently as the goal of the educational process! Why are the means made to look shy at the end? And why this jealous care to keep the means sep-

arate from the end? If education is to make us better, as well as wiser, why is that better proscribed and kept out of view as though it were ruin to come in contact with it? If education is to lead to the Church, why is the Church ignored and thrust out of sight, and why are we the pensioners of the State? If we are to be servants of religion, as the highest aim of life, why is not religion our master and teacher? If we are now, and are still to be, the children of the Church, why does the Church permit us to be treated as bastards, and turn us over without a sigh, as orphans, to this tax-supported almshouse of the State! If the Church is our mother, why does not she nurture us; and if it is not the design that we shall forget our mother, and be weaned from her, why are we so carefully kept, by legal prohibitions, from hearing her name, from feeling her tenderness, and from sharing in the genial warmth of her love?

Such are the practical contradictions of the system. We do not mean that the child will draw such conclusions, and see these contradictions, intelligently; but the position in which it stands, and the element in which it moves, will lead to this result practically and in fact, with the force of ceaseless, silent, but inevitable necessity. Birds of passage know not why they move as they do; but they are nevertheless under the power of forces which affect their instincts, and which they have no power to resist or control. So in the case before us. Indeed, just as instinct in animals is often a surer guide than reason in man, so the ingenuous and confiding spirit of childhood, will be more easily moulded and led by the silent influences in the midst of which it moves, than by light and logic.

It is the seemingly distant and careless attitude in which the Common School System stands to the Church in the education of children, which is so powerful in weaning their hearts from her. It is not positive opposition, but negative indifference, which is the root of the evil. It is in this, as in other cases, distance, coldness and carelessness, more than all else, that alienates the heart from what it ought to love, and would love, but for that. A child weaned in early infancy, removed from its mother, brought up among strangers, not permitted to hear her name pronounced, except with the uplifted finger of caution, and hearing that it is almost a crime to praise her virtues—such a child can never afterwards have all, if any, of the feelings which belong to the relation of a child to its mother. It is just so when we permit our children to be trained out of the Church, where her name is not heard except in a way which

implies that she needs to be watched, and that her influence is especially to be deprecated in the nurture of man's intellectual nature. Thus the Church is, in fact, a man of hideous face, looking out upon children from the dark, filling their young spirits with secret dread, and causing them to go as far as possible the other way for fear of hidden evil; and, just as those superstitious fears which are awakened in the confiding heart of childhood by thoughtless parents or injudicious nurses, can be removed by neither reason nor philosophy; so the feeling of fear and jealousy toward religion which this false system of education inspires, will present its repulsive images before the spirit, in spite of its better judgment, to the latest hour of life! He that—or any system that—instills in the heart of a child any fear but the fear of God, or raises any doubt or dread but for that which is evil, has made wrong what he never can make right! The sting of a fly, in the infant oak, may, a thousand years afterwards, be the blemish in a plank in the bottom of a ship, which sinks men and treasures! Wo unto him who breaks but a link in the chain of things!

It furnishes no sufficient apology for the system to say that the evil is only negative—that although the instructions of Common Schools impart nothing positively religious, neither do they impart anything irreligious—that they leave the spirit as to religion and morals a *tabula rasa*. This is equally its misery. Indeed it is this plausible angel-of-light-pretense that constitutes the very heart of the danger of this false system. We are not merely to teach them no evil, but we are to bring them up in the Lord's nurture. Negatives are as destructive as positives in this respect. Doing no evil constitutes no saint. Not gathering is scattering abroad. Give a plant no nourishment, no sun, no heat, no moisture, and it will die just as effectually as if you put a worm at its root. Give a child no food, no drink, no air, and its death is as certain as if you give it poison: besides, it dies more cruelly; so, give the spirit no nurture and it dies. The spirit of the child is no dead *tabula rasa*, which you may leave unimpressed at your pleasure, but it is a *tabula vitæ*, which cries in the agony of hunger, Give me food or I die! Let it be considered by the way, that it is this *tabula rasa* philosophy that lies at the root of every false system of education. Rising like a upas in the field of mind, it has cast its killing shadow over ages, and has ever been the tutelary god of an infidel culture. Its tendency has been to hush the infinite in the human spirit. It has done much to

ignore that side of man's nature which fastens him on God and the unseen. It has, to a great extent, fastened him to earth, and compelled him to crawl empirically like a blind spider, feeling his way either by cautious or impetuous experiments. It has taught him to fill his mind with items of knowledge as he finds it, as a boy fills his basket with berries, instead of growing in knowledge, by evolving his nature under the power of the divine out of the infinite in and around him. It has undervalued man's dependence upon the broader life of the general. It has turned the Church into a conventicle or society, and human beings into individuals. It has made education a mere gathering for the mind, instead of a gathering in and by the mind—or an evolution of the mind by nurture. It has cried *tabula rasa* until the human treats itself as such; and the Church, forgetting the deep reason of the Saviour's infancy and growth in body and in mind, forgets also the importance of infancy in general as related to the Church and its nurturing cultus.

In estimating the full extent of those evil results which flow from a system of education, from which all positive religious influences are excluded, we must consider that those formative influences which are visible and tangible, are but a small part of those which actually mould the child's intellectual and moral life. There is an education of *circumstances*—or shall I say an education of *atmosphere*. An education, not so much of the marked influences exhibited in formal instruction, as of the element in which the young life moves and has its being during the time that its education progresses. Our physical growth and health depend generally not so much upon preventive or curative medicines given at intervals, as upon the constant lavings of those silent influences of air, temperature, and other elements which are friendly to vitality and health. So, the mental and moral health of children depend chiefly upon the silent and intangible force of circumstances, example, society, and what may be called, in general, the atmosphere in which they live, breathe and grow. As, in our physical system, every sense,—hearing, seeing, tasting, touching, smelling—is, more or less, though silently, the avenue of health or disease, so are these same senses in their relation to the mind and heart. In this view we discover the true depth of meaning in such passages as, "He that walketh with wise men, shall be wise," and: "Evil communications corrupt good manners." We, by a deep necessity, become like that which surrounds us. We—as the Poet has it—

"We become pure by being purely looked upon."

As flowers are colored in the light of the sun—though silently!—so are the minds and hearts of our children by the educational air in which their faculties are evolved.

These silent educational influences of which we speak, and which affect every period of our human life, are most momentous in early life. Because, then the plasticity of the spirit more easily yields to formative forces from without; and the direction, which is then given to the evolution of the soul, has a longer history before it, either for evil or for good.

A pebble in the streamlet scant,
Has turned the course of many a river;
A dew-drop on the infant plant,
Has warped the giant oak forever!

We see in the case of a plant, that those formative influences which have most to do in shaping it for life, are least open to our inspection: They lie and work behind the tangible, and they do their work before the plant is sufficiently advanced to receive any help from without in the way of training. Its germ grows yellow and languid before we can suspect the cause, in the worm or the ungenial chemical, which has invaded its life at the root. In like manner, the failings and fadings in children which often dawn, like a mournful prophecy, upon the attention of anxious parents, have their roots farther back than their eyes can trace, and are lost to view in those delicate attenuations which form the fibres of the infant life. In seeking, therefore for the causes of ill or good in our children, we look not to the things which are seen, but to those which are not seen; for in this sense, too, the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal. In this view, the poets paradox reveals one of the deepest of truths:

"The child is father to the man;"

and in this sense the Saviour's axiom may also be applied: "There is nothing hid that shall not be revealed;" we add the converse, by way of legitimate inference: There is nothing revealed that is not first hid.

Is it not clear, then, that immense interests are involved in the early training of our children; not merely in the instruction imparted to them in a formal way, but in the educating influences of position and circumstances. Is it not clear also that

true Christian *nurture* must underlie all education or training, doing its work before these can properly begin, and animating, pervading, and sanctifying them as their secret life and soul? * Is it not plain also that the Common School System can never afford such educational accommodations as the solemn duties of Christian parents make it necessary to demand for their children? They, if they at all understand their responsibilities to their children, can only be satisfied with church, or parochial schools.

It may be said, Is it it not our duty to provide educational facilities for those that are out of the Church? And how can means be provided for the education of all, if it is not done by the State? State schools cannot be made religious schools, because Church and State are not united; and, on account of the various views of sects, it would be impossible to introduce religious instruction.

We acknowledge the difficulties in all this; but the difficulties of making things right should never reconcile us to that which is wrong. In regard to sects, the difficulty shows only that sects are wrong, and not that a school system without religion is right.

In regard to the duty of educating all, we answer, that it is yet to be shown that the Common School System will accomplish this. The reports complain abundantly that many parents do not send their children. This will ever be so; it rests upon the deep principle that religion alone can foster the education of mind; and that educational interests are *only* sustained where religion underlies them. Where this is not the case, the "driving power" is wanting; and any educational system that has not religion for its soul, cannot enlist sufficient interest in itself to sustain itself in existence. As in the child a sense of dependence, of trust, confidence and faith precedes all developments of intellect; so, in all systems of education faith must precede knowledge and sustain it. A system, therefore, which neglects to foster faith, cuts itself loose from the source which alone can sustain it.

But again. Could even all be educated intellectually as the system proposes, is education without religion a blessing? Is knowledge, the wisdom of this world, as such, praised in the

* What system of Moral Education is like to avail in opposition to the contagion of example and the influence of notions insensibly, yet constantly instilled? It is to little purpose to take a boy every morning into a closet, and there teach him moral and religious truth for an hour, if, so soon as the hour is expired, he is left for the remainder of the day in circumstances in which these truths are not recommended by any living examples.—*Dymond's Essays, Page 254.*

Scripture? Verily no. Unless the life of grace underlies and sanctifies all intellectual activities, their cultivation is but a strengthening of the natural powers of evil. As already said, educated nature is educated vice. Had Paine, Volney, Voltaire, and others, been ignorant men, the world had been more blest. It is the same on a smaller scale. The smallest mischief, that fulfils his sphere of evil in the most obscure country circle, is the worse for his smartness, and is a curse to his neighborhood in proportion to his wit. Unsanctified knowledge, like unsanctified wealth, is so much influence on the side of evil. Knowledge is power—power for evil, or power for good, according to the wish and will of him who holds it. Knowledge in faith is a power *for* God; knowledge without faith is a power *against* God. When we say, therefore, that it is our duty to educate all, that declaration must be modified and limited thus: *It is our duty to educate all religiously.* It is not our duty to meet the world on its own ground. We are not to “teach all nations” as *they* please, but as our commission directs: “Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever the Saviour has commanded them.” We dare not misread our commission, meet the world on its own terms, and teach them only what will fit them for worldly interests, and worldly ends, engaging that that which Christ has taught them shall be studiously kept out of sight. Such a mode of educating the world has never received the promise, which is appended to the true commission, “And lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world.” Hence we take our stand on the true parochial or church system, and urge all, just as we do sinners to repent and believe, to meet us on the true ground, and to receive at the hands of the Church a true education—an education complete, of heart as well as of mind—for eternity as well as for time—for the Church as well as for the State—for the perfection of themselves as men, and not only as citizens. If they reject this offer, we have performed our duty, and theirs is the peril.

It must be remembered that another duty *precedes* the duty of educating all: It is the duty of educating properly and religiously our own children, and the children that are in the covenant and Church of God. These are placed nearest to us in the order of God, and must be first attended to. As we have opportunity we must do good to all men, but *especially* to the household of faith. When favors were claimed for the daughter of a Canaanitish woman, the Saviour said, “Let the

children first be fed." We find, hence, that in the Acts of the Apostles, salvation was always offered first of all to the Jews, as the covenant people. So here: our duty to educate all, is subordinate to our duty to educate our own, as families, and as a Church. To manifest zeal for general education, to the detriment of particular education, is to outstep the divine order. He must not go abroad in search of duty who has not finished at home. The Church has no such responsibility to educate all, as requires her either to neglect her own, or to permit them to be educated under a wrong system.

Should even the alternative be to educate the young in general, without religion, in the Common School System, or not educate them at all—which we by no means grant—then it would be the duty of the Church, in the spirit of sacrifice, to submit to the tax required, and at the same time, by voluntary liberality, to sustain her own religious schools besides. This many are in fact now doing, whose conscience, and interest in the religious education of their children, forbids their exposing them to the negative, if not irreligious, atmosphere of common schools. The rich can do this, and do do it; many poor would do it if they could. The same principle is here involved, which comes forward so abundantly in history, where Christians by voluntary gifts have sustained their own religious privileges in the bosom of a national Church, while they continued, as good citizens, to pay their tithes to the established religion besides. As long as we regard education separate from religion as a matter of interest to the State, and only negatively evil, we can sustain the Common School System as a system of national education, without a violation of conscience or sacrifice of principle, while we nevertheless decline using it for our own children. If this negative education has any tendency to make better citizens,—if its results are good only so far as the body, the State, and this life are concerned, it may even be a Christian virtue to submit to the tax demanded. We will cheerfully yield to the children of this world the right of having what is *good*; but for our own children—for the children of the Church, whom we wish to bear in the bosom of our faith, and in the holy nurture of the Church, with us into a higher life,—we ask that which is *better*: and, so far as we can, we aim even at that which is *best*. *That* we do, but we leave not *this* undone. This is our position, and is it not the true one?

Hear then the conclusion of the whole matter, and the sum

of what we need and ask. Give us Christian schools—schools which have a God, a Saviour, a Holy Spirit, a Bible, and hymn-book, a catechism and prayer, a pastor and a pious school teacher—a school between the family and the Church, a school which will carry forward the education of children in the same spirit in which it was commenced by pious parents—a school that will be a nursery to the Church—a school so entirely under the control of the Church, that it may carry out the spirit of its great commission in reference to its own children: “Feed my lambs.”

H. H.

Lancaster, Pa.

ART. III.—THE CHURCH OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

A CONTRAST, *between the Erroneous Assertions of Professor Schaff, and the Testimony of Credible Ecclesiastical Historians, in regard to the State of the Christian Church in the Middle Ages; By J. J. Janeway, D.D., New Brunswick, N. J. 1853. pp. 87.*

THE above “humble performance” is intended as a contribution to our Theological Literature, with a more especial design to stir up Protestants to a more zealous defence of their cause. Having a direct bearing upon the great Church question, which is now confessedly engaging the attention of the most earnest minds in the Christian world, it may well challenge attention. We obtained our first knowledge of its existence from a favorable, if not flattering, notice of it in one of our prominent religious papers. It is rather a singular work; and were not the state of the case so very plain to the contrary, one might almost be led to suspect, that it was designed as a burlesque on modern controversy. The title-page makes a somewhat threatening parade, then follows the advertisement, and after this comes the main body of the work. It is made up entirely of quotations from Mosheim’s Church History, except about a page more or less from Edgar’s Variations, and perhaps two or three pages purporting to be from the author’s own pen. The whole work is divided into seven distinct and separate chapters, the second of which alone makes nearly an entire page. We ought not, however, to find fault with the size of the Contrast. Dr. Janeway has doubtless done his best to concentrate his efforts, and confine the work within as small a space as possible. This, of itself in our day so prolific of

books, is no small recommendation in its favor. On this account we could well afford to wait with patience for so long a time, for this all-settling Contrast to meet Dr. Schaff's Principle of Protestantism with the attention it demands,—had we but known, that “when the writer of the Contrast read this pamphlet several years ago, he marked with double pencil lines in the margin a long paragraph,” and would in due time give the world the benefit of his pencil marks. This long paragraph has at length been made the text of this Contrast, of which it forms the body of the first chapter. The avowed object of the “writer of the Contrast” is, to show from credible and faithful ecclesiastical historians, that Dr. Schaff has made erroneous assertions in regard to the Christian Church of the Middle Ages.

We will endeavor incidentally to ascertain how well he has accomplished what he proposes. And at the same time, we may notice how fairly and honorably he has dealt with the whole matter. An isolated passage is quoted in Dr. Janeway's Contrast, from Dr. Schaff's Principle of Protestantism, as translated and endorsed by Dr. Nevins, for which he meets with no great share of favor in that “humble performance.” This single passage is made to represent Dr. Schaff's theory of the Church, of Church government, the arts, science and politics of the mediæval period. Alongside of this is mustered in formidable array five or six—not very long—chapters of quotations, as has been already stated, from Mosheim and Edgar. According to this arrangement there is, to be sure, *contrast* enough shown; but does this prove that Dr. Schaff has made erroneous assertions in regard to the Christian Church of the Middle Ages? In a one-sided and prejudiced view of the case, such as Dr. Janeway and others may perhaps honestly entertain, this may seem to have been fairly done: but the common principle of honorable controversy, acknowledged as holding on all sides, answers in a decided negative. Dr. Schaff's own words, even in the Principle of Protestantism itself—in which this long paragraph was so long ago well marked with double pencil lines—as well as elsewhere, say as plainly as language can make it, that his view of the Christian Church of the Middle Ages has been given only in part, and thus in its generalized sense is most grossly misrepresented by this contrast. No picture is all shades; these serve only to make up a necessary part of a well represented painting, in which light, colors, and shades are made to blend harmoniously together. The artist

does not put on all the shading and coloring with the same pencil at one stroke. So, too, no one age of the world's life is so exceedingly bad as to be altogether destitute of some redeeming traits: nor is there, on the other hand, any so transcendently glorious that it does not contain at the same time much that is in itself considered evil. The vulture's bill of prejudice might find, in any age of the world, enough of evil, which, if picked out into one mass, would sicken the philanthropist, and kill all his high hopes for his species. Or, in any period of the Church, not excepting modern Protestantism, the keen eye of detraction and infidelity—as a Gibbon has done—might point out imperfections, impurities, and corruptions, which, although they make the heart of the Christian bleed, cannot be denied or covered. Our own most glorified and self-exalted Nineteenth Century could thus afford no less material for a *contrast*, when viewed in its different aspects, than do the Middle Ages as represented in their different phases by historians whose stand-points give them each a different view. Thus Dr. Schaff, considering either side, so far as it was a one-sided view, only part of the truth, endeavored to take a more general view; and in portraying the characteristics of the Middle Ages has noticed the different sides they present. He could not do this all in one sentence or a single paragraph; for this would have made it rather long. In that long double pencil lined paragraph, therefore, to which Dr. Janeway takes exception, he has sketched their brighter side. True, indeed, as this may be, and well as it may be supported by other authorities, it may nevertheless seem strongly in contrast with Mosheim's view, which was taken from a different stand-point. But does this therefore prove what the writer of the *Contrast* proposes?

With just as much fairness and truth, a contrast equally strong might be as plainly shown between quotations from Mosheim and Dr. Schaff—only with this difference, an exchange of relative positions, a swap of sides, as they now stand in Dr. Janeway's *Contrast*. Take, for instance, the following passage from Mosheim on the one side: "It is proper to observe, with respect to the various conversions which we have been relating, that they were undertaken upon much better principles, and executed in a more pious and rational manner, than those of the preceding ages. The ministers, who were now sent to instruct and convert the barbarous nations, did not, like many of their predecessors, employ the terrors of

penal laws, to affright men into the profession of Christianity; nor, in establishing churches upon the ruins of idolatry, were they principally attentive to promote the grandeur and extend the authority of the Roman pontiffs; their views were more noble and their conduct more suitable to the genius of the religion they professed. They had chiefly in view the happiness of mankind, endeavored to promote the gospel of truth and peace by rational persuasion, and seconded their arguments by the victorious power of exemplary lives. . . . It would be however unjust to accuse them (the pious missionaries) on this account"—(i. e. "traces of the idolatrous religion of their ancestors, notwithstanding the zealous labors of their Christian guides,")—"of negligence or corruption in the discharge of their ministry, since in order to gain over these fierce and savage nations to the Church, it may have been absolutely necessary to indulge them in some of their infirmities and prejudices, and to connive at many things which pious missionaries could not approve, and which in other circumstances they would have been careful to correct." (*Mosheim's Church History: Ninth Century, Part First, Chapter I., Section V.*)

Much might be quoted from the author just mentioned, did space and purpose allow, in regard to the Church of the Middle Ages; where he speaks of its "prosperous events," of the "gleams of light" that it still had power, even in the darkness of the Tenth Century, to shed upon "that astonishing ignorance that gave a loose reign both to superstition and immorality;" and above all, of its activity and triumphs in the spread of the "knowledge of the Gospel" among the Turks, the Normans, the Poles, the Russians, the Hungarians, the Danes, the Norwegians, &c., who had "hitherto lived in their natural state of ignorance and ferocity, uncivilized and savage," but who were now by the pious missionaries of the Church made Christian. The progress of "learning and philosophy," too, as given by Mosheim in his history of the Church in the eleventh and twelve centuries, would also give a very favorable, if not a high colored view of this side of the Middle period; for it was unquestionably in the bosom of the Church of the Middle Ages that letters and science, if not religion, revived. We do not of course pretend that this bright side view of the Mediæval Church is alone a full and correct representation of its character. According to Dr. Janeway's mode of contrast, it certainly might be so contended; though we do not thus argue even when so "credible and faithful" an

ecclesiastical historian as Dr. Mosheim affords us quotations, which, sundered from their legitimate connexion, might seem to bear us out in so doing. But in the way of contrast, see what Dr. Schaff has to say on the other side of the same subject. A little farther on in that same Principle of Protestantism, from which the long paragraph is quoted, we find another paragraph which reads as follows: "Notwithstanding all that has now been said, however, one radical fault characterizes the relation of the Roman Church to the world. She does not sufficiently respect the world in its own divine rights, and seeks to subject it to herself in a violent, premature way, without regard to the measure of her own development. Instead of waiting humbly and following the course of tribulation prescribed by Christ, she would anticipate in a fleshly way the ideal state 'when the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom,' (Dan. viii. 27), and when it shall be said that 'salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ is come,' (Rev. xii. 10) . . . The Papacy in the Middle Ages conducted itself tyrannically towards the State, and trampled on the rights of nations; it permitted not science and inquiry to take their own course in a free way; it surrounded the arts with arbitrary bounds; in a word, it affected to swallow up the world at once in a wholesale way. The world however thus overwhelmed, but not assimilated to the true life of the Church, has reasserted its rights in the bosom of the Church itself, and taken revenge upon it by impressing this with its own character; especially at the Papal court. Romanism forms accordingly a secular State at the expense of the free, quietly advancing, inward character of Christianity. Its worship has an outwardly pompous complexion; filling the senses; half heathenish. Even in doctrine, this remarkable dialectic process may be seen; particularly in the dogma of transubstantiation, according to which, on the one hand, the divine is revealed only through the annihilation of the natural substances, bread and wine, here representing the world, and this in virtue of the consecration of the priest, of course the act of a mere creature; while however, on the other hand, these transmuted elements, retaining still in fact their natural character, are made the object of divine worship, by which means a paganizing creature deification comes to prevail. Thus we find explained the seemingly inexplicable

contradiction of the system, its contempt for the world in one direction and its undue regard for it in another. Monkish austerity and pelagian secularity dwell harmoniously together in the same cell." (*Principle of Protestantism*, p. 140, 141.)

In another part of the same work, speaking of the conflict between the papal authority at Rome, and the imperial power in Germany during this Middle Period, he says: "The conflict grew always more violent and fierce, in proportion as the papacy surrendered itself, more and more, to the Machiavellian policy of employing mere worldly influences for the accomplishment of its end, and laid itself out under cover of the Church, to advance the private interests simply of the popes and their courtiers, directing the sword of St. Peter against every liberal movement that came in their way. Such foul prostitution of things sacred and divine to mere secular ends, carried to the most shameless climax at last in the traffic in indulgences as conducted by Tetzel, together with such heirarchical despotism intolerant of all right and freedom, could not fail to shock the moral earnestness of the German spirit in the most serious manner." (*Princip. Prot.* p. 40.) From the same source many more quotations might be given, which contain phrases quite as strong against the abuses of the papacy as are necessary to maintain a position among any respectable Protestants. Take for instance, the following: "It shows strikingly how very general the feeling of opposition to the superstition and immorality of the clergy had become that this same small, cowardly and cautious Erasmus was enabled to occupy so successfully as he did, the apparently bold and perilous position in which he stood. No one attacked the vices of the clergy so sharply with the same cutting wit and inexhaustible humor."—"True we encounter in the same quarter also, all sorts of superstition, error and abuse." This, it is presumed, will suffice to show that "the writer of the Contrast" has not fairly represented the position of Dr. Schaff as concerns his view of the Christian Church of the Middle Ages. It does seem at first view a little strange, that the passages above quoted were not also marked with double pencil lines and made to hold their relative place in the Contrast along with that other long paragraph. How did it happen that they entirely escaped notice and the pencil mark? Was it from an honest desire to represent the author of the *Principle of Protestantism* in a right light?

It may be remarked here, that general principles and particular facts are not always the proper measure of each other,

since they do not hold strictly reciprocal relations, inversely and conversely. For while the general principle will always make room for and embrace the particular facts which constitute its entity, these on the otherhand, may fall vastly short in a given case of evolving the other. So in the case with which we are now concerned: Dr. Schaff's position opposes the principle that generated abuses in the papal system, but along with this, there are no thrusts aimed in an infidel manner, at the divine character and existence of Christianity; which, it must always be our serious duty to honor and preserve. While Dr. Mosheim however, on the other hand, is engaged only to present particular facts, which in the hands of such a system as that of Dr. Janeway may be used not only against the papacy of the Mediæval Period, but, as has sometimes been done by infidels, against Christianity itself. Without doubt, Dr. Schaff would be willing to allow the full force of the truth contained in the quotations given in the Contrast from Mosheim. But what then? Allowing all this, does it follow necessarily that, whatever else be said, if it be at all favorable to the character of the Christian Church of the Middle Ages,—and consequently in contrast with what is here represented of the unfavorable side of the same by Mosheim—must, therefore, be undeserving of credit and faith? Is any favorable view of the Church of this period, that contrasts with Dr. Janeway's quotations, by this fact, erroneous? and must it therefore be a wanton and perfidious betrayal of Protestantism? This is the question to be settled. And the affirmative answer must be given before this Contrast has any argument or force whatever, and before the charges it contains can thereby be fastened, by implication or otherwise, with such holy horror, in such true Protestant zeal, by its writer, upon Professor Schaff and Dr. Nevin.

It would really seem as though the only sure index of Protestant orthodoxy, according to the system of some moderns, is to deny that any traces of our holy religion, any germ of the life of Christianity existed at all in the "Christian Church of the Middle Ages." And yet if this be the real position of these would-be champions of Protestant orthodoxy, why not distinctly and unequivocally state the fact? If they are sure that the corruptions of the Mediæval Church were such as to destroy utterly its Christian character and life, so that any thing said in its favor shows "Romish propensions," why do Dr. Janeway and others still call it "The *Christian* Church"?

Is not that itself almost as bad and erroneous as the contrasted assertions of Dr. Schaff?

The main position proposed to be established by the "writer of the Contrast" remains yet to be proved; thus far it has been only assumed. He seems to take it as a fact already granted and well established: that, because, forsooth, Professor Schaff's assertions, made in his most favorable view of the period in question, when taken apart from and independent of their relation to the whole, do contrast with Mosheim's assertions, made in his most unfavorable view of the same period, therefore these two sets of assertions do irreconcilably conflict with each other and cannot be brought into harmony; and, that therefore, the assertions of the one, or the assertions of the other must be erroneous. And which of these must be so, it is no hard matter, by his rule, to determine with infallible certainty. In accordance with that bold theory of history which is too common alas! for the interests of truth, he at once easily concludes that the Principle of Protestantism, which is grounded upon a more organic theory of history,—and especially that part of it which is favorable enough to do justice to the Church of the Past,—must be erroneous; and that those positions which favor his own notions must of necessity be correct.

At the same time that the Contrast condemns Dr. Schaff's position, it would also seemingly leave the reader under the impression that the author of the Principle of Protestantism—if we may except the translator, who endorses it—is entirely alone in making assertions, which are so unhesitatingly pronounced erroneous. Or, at best, if not alone, the other historians, at least those who are faithful and credible, are irreconcilably opposed to him, and to any position that will give us a favorable view of the Dark Ages. Now to remove any such impression, we beg leave to introduce some passages from historians as credible and faithful as Dr. Mosheim, perhaps not so one-sided and prejudiced, but whose Protestantism is beyond all question. The whole later school of Church Historians in Germany, with the Great Father of modern Church History, Dr. Neander, at their head, might here be brought forward to corroborate Dr. Schaff's position, and show what company he keeps. But since the weight of their testimony might be lost, because it is supposed to be unduly tainted with "German Transcendentalism," we shall not urge it at this time;—and besides, did we commence quoting from these

authorities, we might not be able to confine ourselves within proper limits. It will be borne in mind, in the mean time, that we have already given some passages from Mosheim himself, which appear to be quite favorable to the view which maintains the existence and vital power of the Christian Church, even through the darkest and most corrupt portion of the Mediæval Period.

We begin, then, with these quotations taken from other credible historians, where at first there might seem to be the least hope of success in searching for any thing favorable to the "dark ages." A Protestant writer, whose works are more widely read than perhaps any living author, furnishes the following: "But first, let us pay due honor to the Church of the Middle Ages, which succeeded that of the Apostles and Fathers, and which preceded that of the Reformers. The Church was still the Church, although fallen, and daily more and more enslaved: that is to say, she was always the greatest friend of man. Her hands, though bound, could still be raised to bless. Eminent servants of Jesus Christ, who were true Protestants as regards the essential doctrines of Christianity, diffused a cheering light during the dark ages; and in the humblest convent, in the remotest parish, might be found poor monks and poor priests to alleviate great sufferings. The Catholic Church was not the Papacy. The latter was the oppressor, the former the oppressed. The Reformation, which declared war against the one, came to deliver the other. And it must be confessed, that the Papacy itself became at times, in the hands of God, who brings good out of evil, a necessary counterpoise to the power and ambition of princes." Who would have thought that the American Tract Society, professing to aim at the propagation of evangelical truth, would not only sanction and endorse, but even publish and circulate, assertions such as these,—fully as erroneous as those of Professor Schaff! In the name of all that is orthodox and Protestant, Dr. Janeway should call upon the Society to expurgate or suppress their entire edition of *Merle D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation*; for it is from that work the above extract was taken, (See Vol. I. p. 58). But hear the same author again; "Meanwhile the religion of Jesus Christ had exerted on Germany" (during the mediæval period) "its peculiar influence. The third estate (the commonalty) had rapidly advanced. In different parts of the empire, particularly in the free cities, numerous institutions arose, calculated to develop this imposing

mass of the people. There the arts flourished: the burghers devoted themselves in security to the tranquil labors and sweet relation of social life. They became more and more accessible to information. Thus they daily acquired greater respect and influence. . . . The precious seeds that the fear of God deposits among a people had not been scattered to the winds. Ancient manners still survived. In Germany was found that uprightness, fidelity and industry—that perseverance and religious disposition, which still flourishes there, and which promises greater success to the Gospel than the fickle, scornful and sensual character of other European nations. The Germans had received from Rome that great element of modern civilization—the faith. Instruction, knowledge, legislation—all except their courage and their arms—had come to them from the sacerdotal city," (p. 77, et seq.) Further on the same Protestant Historian remarks: that, "Christianity had everywhere mingled something of its own life with the life of the people. The Church of Christ was a dilapidated building; in digging around it, a portion of the living rock on which it had been originally built was discovered among its foundations. Numerous institutions, dating from the pure ages of the Church, still existed, and could not fail to awaken in many souls evangelical sentiments opposed to the prevailing superstitions. Inspired men, the old doctors of the Church, whose writings were deposited in various libraries, raised here and there a solitary voice. We may hope that it was listened to in silence by many an attentive ear. Let us not doubt that the Christians—and how pleasing is the thought!—had many brethren and sisters in these monasteries, where we too easily discover little else than hypocrisy and licentiousness." (*Merle D'Aubigne's History Reformation, Vol. I, p. 90.*) 5'

Now according to the standpoint of the Contrast, this historian, so long as he professes to be a good Protestant, dare not write such things and make such erroneous assertions in regard to the Christian Church of the Middle Ages. If he has not evidently betrayed the cause of Protestantism, he has at least manifested his "Romish propensions," by making the old Catholic Church to be the historial channel through which the life of Christianity has flowed from the beginning, during the whole Mediæval Period, dark as it was, down to the age of the Reformation. Had not some person, zealous for the truth, better undertake to contrast him a little with some quotations timely furnished for the purpose from Mosheim? Certainly

those should do so, who do not want their Christianity or the Christianity of the Reformation, to stand in any "historical" or "organic union" with the primitive Church,—if this can be done only by acknowledging the validity, for its time, of the mediæval papacy.

The testimony of the next historian, to whose view on this subject we wish to call attention, is the celebrated and popular English author *MacCauley*. In his *History of England*, in the first chapter of Volume I., speaking of the amalgamation of the different races and the abolition of villanage, he gives credit to the Mediæval Church in the following words: "It would be most unjust not to acknowledge that the chief agent in these two deliverances, was religion; and it may perhaps be doubted whether a purer religion might not have been found a less efficient agent. . . . Her doctrines, (i. e. the doctrines of the Church of the Middle Ages) respecting the sacerdotal character, however erroneous they may be, have repeatedly mitigated some of the worst evils which can afflict society. . . . To this day in some countries where negro slavery exists popery appears in advantageous contrast with other forms of Christianity.—In our own country this peculiarity of the Roman Catholic system produced, during the Middle Ages, many salutary effects.—How great a part the Catholic ecclesiastics subsequently had in the abolition of villanage we learn from the unexceptionable testimony of Sir Thomas Smith, one of the ablest Protestant councilors of Elizabeth.—So successfully had the Church used her formidable machinery, that, before the Reformation came, she had enfranchised almost all the bondmen in the kingdom except her own, who, to do her justice, seem to have been very tenderly treated."—"Corrupt as the Church of Rome was, there is reason to believe that if the Church had been overthrown in the twelfth or even in the fourteenth century, the vacant space would have been occupied by some system more corrupt still. There was then through the greater part of Europe, very little knowledge, and that little was confined to the clergy. Not one man in five hundred could have spelled his way through a psalm. Books were few and costly. The art of printing was unknown. Copies of the Bible, inferior in beauty and clearness to those which every cottager may now command, sold for prices which many priests could not afford to give. It was obviously impossible for the laity to search the Scriptures for themselves. It is probable therefore, that, as soon as they had put off one spiritual yoke, they would have put on another, and that the

power lately exercised by the clergy of the Church of Rome would have passed to a far worse class of teachers. The sixteenth century was comparatively a time of light; yet even in the sixteenth century a considerable number of those who quitted the old religion followed the first confident and plausible guide who offered himself, and were soon led into errors far more serious than those which they had renounced. Thus Mathias and Kniperdoling, apostles of lust, robbery and murder, were able for a time to rule great cities. In a darker age such false prophets might have founded empires, and Christianity might have been distorted into a cruel and licentious superstition, more noxious, not only than popery, but even than Islamism."

"Those who hold that the influence of the Church of Rome in the Dark Ages was, on the whole, beneficial to mankind, may yet, with perfect consistency, regard the Reformation as an inestimable blessing.—The childhood of the European nations was passed under the tutelage of the clergy. The ascendancy of the sacerdotal order was long the ascendancy which naturally and properly belongs to intellectual superiority. The priests, with all their faults were by far the wisest portion of society. It was therefore on the whole good that they should be respected and obeyed. The encroachment of the ecclesiastical power on the province of the civil power produced much more happiness than misery, while the ecclesiastical power was in the hands of the only class that had studied history, philosophy, and public law, and while the civil power was in the hands of savage chiefs, who could not read their own grants and edicts. But a change took place. Knowledge gradually spread among laymen. At the commencement of the sixteenth century many of them were in every intellectual attainment fully equal to the most enlightened of their spiritual pastors. Hence forward that dominion which, during the Dark Ages, had been, in spite of many abuses, a legitimate and salutary guardianship, became an unjust and noxious tyranny. From the time when the barbarians overran the Western Empire to the time of the revival of letters, the influence of the Church of Rome had been generally favorable to science, to civilization, and to good government; but during the last three centuries, to stunt the growth of the human mind has been her chief object." So far MaCauley. More passages might be given, but this, it is presumed, will suffice from this author—who is generally allowed to pass for both credible and Protestant.

Another distinguished historian affords us an abundance of the same kind of evidence, from which we take the following specimens: "In the age of Charlemagne law, order, and intelligence had no sure support but religion: the popular opinion identified with ecclesiastical influence all that society enjoyed or hoped for; it was the bond that held the discordant parts of the empire together, and the Emperor joined with the pope in giving it strength and unity.—It must, however, be confessed, that the usurpations of the Church, during the sanguinary wars between the successors of Charlemagne, were almost rendered necessary by the circumstances of the time. The competitors for empire were weak and cruel, the profligacy of the feudal lords was only equalled by their ignorance, and the Church alone, preserved the semblance of justice." "The vices of this dark period are not justly attributable to popery; they were the result of feudalism, and so far as the papal system was able to exert any influence, it was employed in counteracting these evils."—"And the wise arrangements of Providence, by which good has been frequently wrought out of evil, made the revival of popery the instrument by which Europe was rescued from barbarism. Hildebrand's personal character is really a matter of no importance; his measures in the present age would justly subject him to the charge of extravagant ambition and blundering tyranny; but in the eleventh century, every one of these measures was necessary to counteract some evil principle, and milder or more justifiable means would not have been adequate to the occasion. We must not pass sentence on an institution without examining the opinion on which it is founded; and before we judge of the opinion, we must estimate the circumstances by which it was engendered. The disorganized state of Europe produced a strong opinion that some power of appeal and protection should be constituted; a power with intelligence to guide its decisions, and sanctity to enforce respect for them: the revived papacy seemed an institution suited to these conditions, and under the circumstances it was capable of being rendered the great instrument for reforming civil society. Hildebrand's own writings prove that his design was to render the papacy such an institution as we have described; it was indeed a beautiful theory to base power upon intelligence, and concentrate both in the Church.—To extend its duration beyond the period of its utility, and consequently prepare the way for its becoming just as mischievous as the evils it had been devised to counteract," was the mistake

made by Hildebrand and his successors. (See Dr. *Taylor's Modern History*, revised by Rev. Dr. *Henry*, Chapter IV. Section II.)

With the citation of but one authority more, we will bring these quotations to an end. Here is the testimony on this matter of the illustrious French author, M. *Guizot*, who is one of the champions of Protestantism in his own country. He says the history of the Church of the Middle Ages gave "the most decisive proof of the life and moral activity which reigned within her; a life stormy, painful, sown with perils, with errors and crimes—yet splendid and mighty, and which has given place to the noblest development of intelligence and mind. The spiritual order, at this time, comprised all the intelligence of the age, every possible development of the human mind. There was but one science, *theology*; but one spiritual order, the theological; all the other sciences, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, and even music, centered in theology. The spiritual power, finding itself thus in possession of all the intelligence of the age, at the head of all intellectual activity, was naturally led to arrogate to itself the government of the world. Temporal power, at the epoch of which we are speaking, was mere brutal force, a system of rapine and violence. The Church, however imperfect might be her notions of morality and justice, was infinitely superior to a temporal government such as this; and the cry of the people continually urged her to take its place. When a pope or a bishop proclaimed that a sovereign had lost his rights, that his subjects were released from their oath of fidelity, this interference, though undoubtedly liable to the greatest abuses, was often, in the particular case to which it was directed, just and salutary. It generally holds, indeed, that where liberty is wanting, religion, in a great measure, supplies its place. In the Tenth Century, the oppressed nations were not in a state to protect themselves, to defend their rights against civil violence—religion, in the name of Heaven, placed itself between them."

"The influence of the Church, moreover, has given to the development of the human mind, in our modern world, an extent and variety which it never possessed elsewhere. Notwithstanding all the evil, all the abuses, which may have crept into the Church—notwithstanding all the acts of tyranny of which she has been guilty, we must still acknowledge her influence upon the progress of the human intellect, to have been beneficial; that she has assisted in its development rather

than in its compression, in its extension rather than in its confinement." Again: "The intellectual and moral progress of Europe has been essentially theological. Look at its history from the fifth to the sixteenth century, and you will find throughout, that theology has possessed and directed the human mind; every idea is impressed with theology; every question that has been started, whether philosophical, political, or historical, has been considered in a religious point of view. So powerful, indeed, has been the authority of the Church in matters of intellect, that even the mathematical and physical sciences have been obliged to submit to its doctrine. The spirit of theology has been, as it were, the blood which has circulated in the veins of the European world down to the time of Bacon and Descartes. Bacon in England and Descartes in France, were the first who carried the human mind out of the pale of theology. We shall find the same fact hold if we travel through the regions of literature; the habit, the sentiments, the language of theology there show themselves at every step. This influence taken altogether has been salutary. It not only kept up and ministered to the intellectual movement in Europe, but the system of doctrines and precepts, by whose authority it stamped its impress upon that movement, was incalculably superior to any which the ancient world had known." (*M. Guizot's Civilization in Modern Europe*, Lect. V. and VI.)

We have doubtless already, in the opinion of the reader who has followed us thus far, given enough in the form of quotations. The plan of the Contrast gives us ample license for this and much more. As multiplying extracts from the above authorities, or similar ones, would only be repeating in another form what has already been said—and said to the point, we forbear. In the great abundance of matter and number of authors that might be quoted, it is difficult, since we have commenced, to know what to choose and what to omit. It would be useless, to cite more than enough to establish the validity of the assertions and position of the Principle of Protestantism, to which the Contrast takes exception. As already stated we have purposely refrained from giving any thing from the many modern German authorities, because, on account of undue prejudice their testimony might be undervalued. Those we have given, like the mouth of the Great American statesman and orator, will speak for themselves. Any one who will read them, either as here given in their disconnected and con-

densed form ; or more fully, in their connexion, as they stand in the authorities from which they have been taken, will be brought in all fairness to acknowledge the wide difference between the view of the Mediæval Church as here presented, and that impliedly set forth in the Contrast. The same historic facts hold for the advocates of both theories. That there existed, abstractly considered, much mental darkness, gross ignorance, and error in those times, especially in the tenth century ; that they teemed with evils, corruptions and abuses in the religious life ; that various vices and immoralities rioted in almost all the social relations ; and that anarchy, violence, and tyranny held sway in the departments of government and law—are all facts not brought into question. This, the plain and indisputable account of history seems to require to be fully admitted. But this alone would only give us a one-sided view of history, representing merely its negative and destructive factor ; whether it be taken in respect to civilization or religion. Without an organic view of history, it is absolutely meaningless : its facts must stand in connexion with its general law by which they must be interpreted, in order to be understood. Nothing is gained, therefore, in a case like this with which we are now concerned, by denying, on the one hand, the well established facts of history, or by entirely suppressing their legitimate significance or warping that to suit a particular purpose, on the other. The great ground of difference between these two theories, then, appears to consist in the relation these given facts are made to hold in the life of history. Whilst the one, attributes to the influence of the Christian Church all the evils that disgrace and blacken the historic records of these “dark ages ;” the other denies the force and fairness of the charge, and contends that it is not only a gross misrepresentation of history itself, but at the same it is also an insult and wrong to our common Christianity. The religion which bears the name of our Divine Lord, to be true to itself, should also bear the impress of His character. But if the Church was totally corrupt, it could then produce only evil ; and it is steadily affirmed by some that such it was, and that therefore any principles of good that might be found in those or after times, of course, sprang from some other quarter foreign to that body which still claimed to be the body of Christ. But *whence*, then, came that which opposed the evil and produced the good ? For, there were evidently some elements of good at work, at the worst stage of things ;—producing in the

end that advanced stage reached in the civilization and Christianization of Modern Europe ; raising it from the condition of savage heathenism, violent convulsion, anarchy and disorder of the very worst kind into which it had been plunged in consequence of the overthrow of the Western Empire, by the barbarians from the north and northeast ; and elevating it to that commanding position it has since attained. It will not do to ascribe it to the power of God, acting in a direct and immediate way. God always works by means. The plans of His providence throughout the universe are accomplished by Divinely appointed organs. The history of the world is no exception to this general law : its changes are produced by regularly constituted means. The question then comes up, what wrought this change ? In answer to this, the one theory affords no satisfactory reply. The other,—which seems to stand in perfect harmony with itself and Divine Truth,—suggests that it was the vital power of Christ's life working through His body, the Church, which ever remained, which still is, and which shall always be, "the salt of the earth."

The Church that was founded by its Great Head upon a rock, and against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, must always be a real fact. And we believe, that its activity can be traced, and that its vital power has been felt, in every age of the world, since it was first instituted by Divine authority. When the foundations of the old Greek and Roman civilization gave way before the fierceness of the Huns, Goths and Vandals, whose irresistible hordes, like mighty avalanches, poured down in moving masses from the north, the Church sustained the shock without receiving fatal injury. When the framework of the old fabrics, effete and tottering, unable longer to sustain the opposing force, was overwhelmed and fell into shapeless ruins, the Church alone had life enough to stand firm. Its Divine character rendered it indestructible. Flung into the mad vortex of convulsed society, when the wild passions of the rude nations were fairly lashed into the foam of phrenzied fury, what fate must we expect for the Christian Church ? It was then the only institution that was able, not only to prevent its own destruction, but to rise to the surface, like oil upon troubled waters, and calm the commotion of the surrounding storm. Christ was still, as it were, in the vessel to rebuke the wind and the waves : and His "Peace, be still," must ever be followed, as of old, by "a great calm."

Succeeding the overthrow of the old order of things, a night

of thick darkness set in upon the world, to which the stereotyped epithet, *dark ages*, has been characteristically applied. The great problem now was, to bring order out of confusion; to reconstruct society from these discordant elements. And, as no other institution adequate to the task was at hand, it was undertaken by the Church, whose mission, in the providence of God, it seemed most clearly to be. But of course this great work could not all be done instantaneously, or magically at once: it must be wrought out gradually in the regular order of nature, which makes but slow progress in the growth of what is of solid texture and enduring life. Through the long centuries of patient trial and zealous activity that succeeded, the Church continued to carry this process steadily forward. At no time did the condition of the world grow worse because it was under the influence of Christianity—though this itself was not always of the purest character, and in given cases fell far short of its divine, ideal perfection. The task assigned the Church,—of remoulding the civilization and establishing the nationalities of Modern Europe in a Christian form,—was in itself no mean undertaking, whose work it would be an easy matter to accomplish. From the very necessity that there was in the case, for the Church to take up into itself the elements which were to be acted upon by it; and thus to constitute and renew continually its own corporeity from that which stood in violent and hostile opposition to it,—from this very necessity, there was great danger of its being, in the end, itself totally overcome by the wild power it thus sought to subdue. And the fact that this deplorable result did not follow, argues strongly in favor of its divine character and constitution. No merely human institution could have withstood such an opposing force: none in fact did survive. And never was the supernatural character and life of the Church so fully tested, as in this trying ordeal through which it was now called to pass. As the natural body is more or less modified by the elements it takes into itself and reduces to its own constitution by the power of assimilation, making it of one substance with its own peculiar life; so too, the supernatural Church in its external realization, holding in the sphere of the human, always has been, and ever will be, in no small measure, conditioned by the life of the natural world in every age. But still, it cannot be brought under this influence in any such way, as ever to subvert its own proper life: for it is founded upon a rock, so that even the gates of hell may never be able to prevail against it.

The evils, the superstition and ignorance that existed in the world, and measurably also in the Church itself, were found to exist in spite of the efforts of the Church to remove them—and not by any patronage it extended to them. The facts in the case, as we learn from the authorities already given, as well as from many others of undoubted credibility, plainly show, that the Church through all the Middle Period embodied in itself the active and vital power that controlled the world for good,—not only in its own peculiar sphere, religion, but in all other departments also,—as politics and government, science and art, and general literature, so far as any thing was produced worthy of that name. It did not deliberately and for its own dark purposes blot out the light of the world. If it did for a while shut up within the cloister walls the little of ancient learning that yet remained after the general wreck, it was only to preserve it there—safe from the touch of the indiscriminating destruction of the barbarian's hands, till it could again be drawn from those retreats, to shine with more than former radiance without danger of utter annihilation. To the Church, in spite of vandalism, and not to the barbarians in spite of the Church, are we indebted for the remains of the ancient classics and the Bible too. *Hallam* in his *Literature of Modern Europe* says: "This state of general ignorance lasted, with no sensible difference, on a superficial view, for about five centuries, during which every sort of knowledge was almost wholly confined to the ecclesiastical order." If, as in some instances was the case, opposition was made in the bosom of the Church to learning, it was not to learning as such, but because it was profane learning, because of its heathenizing influence. The Church did not set the world in a retrograde progress. The condition of the world in the eleventh century, for instance, when Hildebrand at the head of the papal Church for a time ruled Europe, was not worse than it was in the sixth century, but absolutely much better. And we know very well that from the eleventh to the sixteenth century the advance was both marked and rapid, until it finally reached that transcendent epoch which gave birth to the Reformation. It is in fact not an easy matter to account satisfactorily for this last great movement, if things were really growing worse year by year. If there was no advance, so that, at the dawn of the Reformation, all was at its lowest ebb, then perhaps, the Romanists may after all be more than half right when they charge this epoch with affording the power of the wicked one

a grand triumph over a great part of the world. It might then properly be considered a grand stride in the way downwards—instead of being a stadium higher, as we are in the habit of contending.

The theory which we hold in regard to the Church of the Middle Ages does not make it to be the embodiment of all that is excellent in government both of Church and State, in polite learning, in moral virtue, and in true piety. But it does make the Church to be something else than a positive evil; rather, upon the whole, a positive good in its influence upon the world. No doubt the state of the several departments of government, literature and religion were really bad enough,—far worse it may be allowed in some respects, than in the present day: but what would have been their condition had they been entirely deprived of the fostering and protecting care of the Church? What would be the condition of Modern Europe, what would be our own case, had there been no Church during the Middle Ages? In the condition in which the world found itself, in the sixth and seventh centuries, could the Protestant Reformation have found place? or, could the tenth century have given birth, in our own particular form, to any such a world fact as the American Revolution? Let those give a satisfactory reply to these and similar questions, who maintain that the Church was the masterpiece of satan, his synagogue, and the seat of all the vices, corruptions, and swarms of evils in every form, that stain the character of those Ages. The advocates of this theory have many things to reconcile before they can bring their system into harmony with history.

Our own age must not be taken as a fixed standard by which to measure all that went before. Such is too often the case; and hence the too common mistake of assigning a wrong character to some ages, and of undervaluing the significance of their influence in its bearing on the subsequent period of the world's life. The factors of history are so organic that no age is altogether independent of those which preceded; so the present, could not be what it now is, had it not been preceded by such events as the discovery of the art of printing, the discovery of America, the English, the American and the French revolutions. The Church of the nineteenth century could not be what it now is, had there not been the Church of the tenth century. "The tenth century," we are told by Hallam, in his *Literature of the Middle Ages*, "used to be considered by mediæval historians, the darkest part of this

intellectual night. It was the iron age, which they vie with one-another in describing as lost in the most consummate ignorance. This, however, is much rather applicable to Italy and England than to France and Germany. The former were both in a deplorable state of barbarism. And there are doubtless abundant proofs of ignorance in every part of Europe. But, compared with the seventh and eighth centuries, the tenth was an age of illumination in France. And Meiners, who judged the middle ages somewhat perhaps, too severely, but with penetrating and comprehensive observation, of which there have been few instances, had gone so far as to say : " that in no age, perhaps, did Germany possess more learned and virtuous Churchmen of the Episcopal order, (i. e. bishops and theologians) than in the latter half of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century." What " a sad proof of declension from all sound Protestant feeling " is that !

The main channel, through which the truth of Christianity flowed from the beginning, through which it has been transmitted from the Apostolic age down to the Reformation and to the present time, the voice of history declares, is the Church. In all ages of the Church there can be found evils and imperfections enough for the truly pious soul to deplore ; as can be learned from the writings of some of the most earnest spirits that have adorned the Church of the past. St. Paul and St. John found evils in the Church of their day ; Gregory of Nazianzen, John Chrysostom and Augustine, no less in their times ; and the active life of Hildebrand gives evidence that he was fully alive to a sense of the imperfections and abuses, that obtained in the body of Christ, in the age in which he ruled for a time, as the master spirit of the world. In the councils of Constance and Basle the Church exhibited a consciousness of defects in its own body that called loudly for a remedy ; the Reformers felt this, still more powerfully in their times, and called the attention of Christendom to the fact ; and the most serious and godly men, Catholics as well as Protestants, of the present day, are free to admit that the Church even now has not reached a state of perfection. To bring forward all the corruptions and vices that the Protestants are in the habit of charging upon the existing Roman Catholic Church ; and then join to these, all that the Roman Catholics lay to the charge of the Protestant religion ; together with what the different branches of Protestantism are continually accusing one another of—and we have rather a dark picture of the Church,

in the middle of this enlightened nineteenth century. And yet, this plan of infidel argument against our common Christianity of the present day, is no more unfair and disingenuous, than that of many Protestants against the Mediæval Church. For the credit of Christianity itself, let it be clearly stated and fully admitted, that, the Church never was so corrupt, even in its worst condition, as to make common cause with the devil,—deliberately engaging with him in thwarting the designs of Providence in regard to the condition of the world. Then only, can we have faith in “the Holy Catholic Church,” as we are required, in the sense of the Creed.

Let us suppose that the monstrous view of the other theory be correct. All the consequences legitimately flowing from such a position would naturally follow. Suppose then, that the evils, abuses, ignorance and superstition of which mention has been made, owe their origin and existence in the dark ages, to the influence of the Church as such; that they existed more especially in the Church, than in the world under its own particular order; that so far as they unquestionably did exist in the bosom of the Church, they were its natural offspring, and not rather, the remains of partially unsanctified nature after its regeneration by virtue of its incorporation into the body of the Church;—and then draw the most rational conclusion. Then, by its own self-conscious deceit, by its deliberate tricks and consummate hypocrisy, the Church has not always been what it was designed by Christ our Lord to be, the repository and mediate channel of saving truth. And then its Founder and Head must have been most wretchedly deceived, and uttered a gross falsehood, when He said it should never fail. If the Church, in the dark ages, turned the truth into a lie; if it was leagued with the devil and engaged with its characteristic zeal in his service, we must confess that there is a great mistake made in the general estimate which is formed of his character. He has evidently turned this advantage to poor account. For, how the arch enemy of souls could be so egregiously duped, as to use all this machinery furnished by the Church, in battering down his own kingdom, is more than can be easily determined. Were it true, that he reigned supreme master of the Church in the Middle Ages, with the popes and bishops and priests and people, all as loyal subjects, the whole world must have been at his command. For it is but fair to suppose, that he was equally as successful elsewhere also, as he was in the Church; since, in other directions, no such

determined opposition as the Church at least at one time made, was met to retard the success of his diabolical plans. It, therefore, seems strange, under this supposition, that he, who is characteristically so cunning, should have in the present case made such a great blunder and managed his business so poorly. Notwithstanding the fact, that he held in his own power for centuries the whole world-game, which had been freely put into his hand at his will by the corrupt and apostate Church; yet it somehow happened, that he played his part so badly as to lose the chance thus afforded him of utterly ruining the human race. In some chance way, altogether unnatural and unexpected, there were some certain causes set to work, which, without the divine interposition of a new creation, have actually, in spite of the powers of darkness in a great measure, rescued the world from the deplorable condition into which it had been betrayed deliberately, by a wicked and false Church,—whose positive crimes are so vividly portrayed in the Contrast. It is allowed by such men as “the writer of the Contrast,” that, in our day, both State and Church governments are tolerably well perfected. Liberty, civil and religious, is pretty securely guaranteed to man. Literature, science and art have attained no mean degree of eminence. And religion is, to a very comfortable extent, reformed—that is, when compared with the dark ages. Now, all these results, vast and important as they may be, are hard to be satisfactorily accounted for, we say, by any such infidel theory that sees not God ruling in the history of the world; especially as this is conditioned by His presence in the history of His body, the Church. For if Christianity then no longer lived in the Church, where did it exist at all? Where did it come from in the age of the Reformers? There was no new revelation made known to them. Not one of them laid claim to this: and of the whole galaxy of worthies who adorn that era, there is not one who did not come out of the bosom of the old Church. There, they received their intellectual, moral, and religious training. Not one of them came from the little sects outside of the Catholic Church.

The “Principle of Protestantism” maintains, that the Christianity of the Reformation is not the promulgation of a new dispensation: but, that it is the bearer and continuation substantially, of the essential elements of the Christian life as that held in the old Church. It need not be one in specific form with the Church in the Middle Ages—no more than this

last itself is in fact one in specific form with the primitive Church. It must be one in essence, organically united with the Church of all preceding ages; though it may claim at the same time to be a *Reformed* condition of Christianity,—existing in a higher stage of development, and being pervaded with a freer and more evangelical spirit. If Protestantism claims not to be this, it is worth nothing at all. If it does claim to occupy this position it must have some basis on which to rest its claims. And if it be not able to show this, what shadow of right has it to exist at all? What then, shall that basis be, if not the original rock on which Christ founded His Church? And how can Protestantism rest upon that, without being essentially, the continuation of what is already built thereon? Protestantism cannot be satisfactorily vindicated, by carrying it to the farthest possible extreme position, that stands opposed, in an antagonistic way, to the old, one, catholic, and apostolical Church. With that, it must hold in common the fundamentals of Christianity; and through that, must it receive the external ministerial commission and office, with authority and power to administer the sacraments and exercise its other functions. Without this, Protestantism is actually worth nothing more than a temperance society or a beneficial association. Must we then, give up all positive truths, and make our religion what the Roman Catholics assert that it is, nothing but a *purely negative Protest*? It is coming more and more to this. Those, therefore, who are unwilling that the Reformation should derive its origin from the ever-enduring Church—as it continued even in the Middle Ages,—in thus trying to defend it, rob it of its greatest glory, as well as its only claim to our respect and confidence. In order to avoid its relations to the Mediæval Church, they are willing to claim for it an illegitimate birth, and make it the bastard offspring of any thing rather than of the Church under the papacy.

In doing justice to the Church of the Middle Ages, as well as of all ages, we betray not Protestantism, if this have any legitimate right to exist. Nor is Protestantism at all aided,—nay, positively it is injured,—by traducing the source from whence it sprung. Must the present age, if it claim to be in advance of that which preceded it, on that account, to prove its claim good, slander and traduce the mother that begat it? We may justly consider our age far in advance of our ancestry, who, once barbarians in the north of Europe, thought the highest happiness of their heaven would be to drink beer out

of the skulls of their enemies. But we should not forget that we owe it to the Church, to the Papal Church of the Mediæval Period, that we are not now, what they were then. As we would not glorify the Middle Ages at the expense of Protestantism; so too, neither would we see the Reformation shorn of its strength and stripped of its honor, by indiscriminately condemning the Church as it stood before. Good and consistent Protestants therefore, may "hold that the influence of the Church of Rome in the Dark Ages was, on the whole, beneficial to mankind," without betraying their trust as *Protestant Professors*. And while it is maintained, along with this, that the Reformation has given birth to a higher form of development on the whole of the Christian life, there need be but little surprise,—in the way of apprehension and blame,—that such paragraphs are published and endorsed, as are some of those found in the Principle of Protestantism.

When the "writer of the Contrast" attempts to show that some of the greatest artists and poets, who lived in the Middle Ages did some things that were wrong, in order to show Dr. Schaff's assertions in regard to their productions erroneous, he descends to sheer puerility. Though they may have been guilty of some things which mar their Christian character; yet their productions, as eternal monuments of their fame, do nevertheless prove to a demonstration that they were all the products of the religious spirit of their age, which they represent, and the embodiment of which they are. An illustration of this, is the only purpose for which they are referred to in the Principle of Protestantism—and not to exhibit them as models of piety and holiness. Neither the genius of Michael Angelo nor that of Dante in his Divine Comedy, will likely be much obscured or entirely eclipsed by the VIIth Chapter of the Contrast.

It is now nearly eight years since the publication of the Principle of Protestantism. The charge of Romanizing tendency was made against it when it first appeared, and the Contrast still reiterates the same cry. The form it is here made to assume gives evidence, that, if this charge has not in all this time grown stronger, it has at least become more stale. We can therefore, still,—notwithstanding the appearance of the Contrast,—claim for the author of the book, as well as for its translator and endorser, a place among the defenders of the Reformation. And whenever the zealous Protestants, who now look upon them with suspicion, can so far rid themselves

of their blinding prejudice or consummate ignorance—or measurably, of both,—as to get at the true merits of the great question, we may look for better things in Protestantism. A better vindication of the Reformation and of Christianity, than is afforded in the Principle of Protestantism, will be welcomed with prayers for success, and deserve better treatment than the mass of Protestants have bestowed upon this. The Contrast by Dr. Janeway, can however, lay claim to no such merits. It has only been made the occasion for directing attention to the main subject. A regular refutation of that “humble performance” is not demanded by virtue of its inherent merits or force; nor on the other hand, are we called upon, in the present state of the case, to enter into a defence of the Principle of Protestantism in a regular way. As the matter now stands it needs none.

G. B. R.

ART. IV.—THE BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN OF THE BOOK OF JOB.

THE counsel of Job's three friends had utterly failed to yield him any solid comfort in his affliction. The difficult problem, which perplexed him, as it has perplexed many good men in all ages, why the righteous suffer and the wicked flourish, was still unsolved. He still lay under the cloud, and gave vent to groans, and murmurs, and tears. At this juncture, when the highest human wisdom had tried in vain to untie the knot, God undertakes the task in person and answers Job from the whirlwind, by pointing to the evidences of his power in the visible creation, but especially to the watchful care of his providence, as exercised over the whole animal kingdom, at the head of which man himself stood. The reproof, contained in this lesson, is the same that was long afterwards repeated by the Saviour to his disciples in the words, “Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?”

The animals, described by the Almighty in his discourse with Job, are all found in the wild state. With the exception of the horse, not one is subject to man. They are beyond his control, and dependent, not on him but on their Maker, for support. And as they were then, so are they now, unchanged,

after the lapse of thirty-four centuries. Most of them can be readily identified from the graphic portraits here given. A few only rest in doubt, and that, we believe, not so much from want of accuracy in the description as from want of knowledge on our part.

Prominent among these are the *Behemoth* and *Leviathan* of chapters 40, 41; and so various and conflicting are the opinions held concerning them, that some, on this account, leaving the case of *Leviathan* undecided, refer *Behemoth*, which they wrongly take for the plural of the Hebrew noun, BeHeMaH, to no species in particular; but regard it rather as a type or representation of several of the largest land-animals (Kitto, Cyclop.). To this may be opposed, 1.) the fact that the lion, the raven, the wild-goat, the hind, the unicorn*, the wild-ass, the peacock, the ostrich, the war-horse, the hawk and the eagle of the foregoing chapters are distinct species, and 2.) that *Behemoth* is not the plural of BeHeMaH, but a noun with a singular termination, borrowed from the Egyptians, among whom this ending was not uncommon. *Phaoth*, *thoth*, *phamanoth*, are names of their months. But the Coptic word, *Pehemout* (water-bull), applied to the hippopotamus of the Nile, plainly shows its true origin (Winer, Realwörterbuch, 2, 156). And even if it were derived from BeHeMaH, there is no reason why it should not belong to a single species, according to the Hebrew idiom, as a plural of excellence, and no reason also why it should not be given to an amphibious animal as well as to one altogether terrestrial, since BeHeMaH (*bellua*) is a title just as proper for monsters of the sea as of the land (Bochart, Hieroz. 2, 755).

Others again, looking merely for vastness of size, imagine that *Behemoth* must be the elephant, as the "biggest born of earth," and *Leviathan* the whale,

"which God of all his works
Created hugest that swim the ocean-stream."

But this view, which was once universal and still prevails to a

* The translators of our Bible have followed the Septuagint and the Vulgate in their rendering of the Hebrew word, EAeM. Gesenius and Winer refer it to the *Oryx*, a wild, fierce, two-horned antelope, of the mountains of Syria. After Buffon, naturalists were, for a long time, disposed to treat the *Unicorn* as a fiction of the poets, until its re-discovery in the valleys of Abyssinia (Sparrman's Travels) and the southern parts of Thibet (Latter, Quarterly Review, No. 47, Dec. 1820) has put the existence of such an animal beyond dispute.

large extent, does too great violence to the text, and hence, since the time of Bochart, the learned world has gradually settled down on the hippopotamus and the crocodile as the animals here intended.

Aided by the researches of modern science, let us examine the question, and see which view best accords with the delineations of the sacred writer.

CH. XL., 15.—*Behold now Behemoth, which I have made with thee.* Who is like Behemoth, which I have made *with thee*, i. e. near thee, in thy neighborhood? As if God should say, 'There is no need to go far, when the proofs of my power lie near at hand. Amongst the prodigies, which I have created in the Nile, in the neighborhood of thy Arabia, how wonderful is Behemoth!' (Bochart, Hieroz. 2, 755).

The hippopotamus (*H. amphibius*, L.—*ἡμιβίος τοῦ Νείλου*, Tacitus), an amphibious quadruped, of unwieldy form, peculiar to the rivers and lakes of the continent of Africa, was formerly abundant in the Nile as low down as the Delta, but is now rare and never seen north of the Cataracts. Though not so tall, by reason of the shortness of his legs, he yet equals and sometimes even surpasses the elephant in the bulk of his body. His stature, according to Herodotus, is that of the largest ox. On the Niger he goes by the name of the sea-elephant (Landers' Travels). Individuals have been taken, seventeen feet in length and seven in height. The head, more like a hog's than a horse's in appearance, is thrice as large as that of the largest buffalo, with a throat of extraordinary dimensions and thick beset with very sharp, solid teeth, twenty-four inches in length (Winer, Realwörterbuch, 2, 156). There is nothing, therefore, in the size of the hippopotamus to hinder him from ranking with the elephant or render him unworthy of the title, Behemoth.

He eateth grass like an ox. The Coptic *pehemout* signifies water-bull, and the Italian *bomarino*, sea-ox. In South Africa he is called sea-cow, and that probably not so much from resemblance in form as in herbivorous habits. Thus speaks a traveller: "If one should calculate the consumption of provisions made by a sea-cow from the size of its fauces and from that of its body and belly, which hangs almost down to the ground, together with the quantity of grass, which at different times I have observed to be consumed by one of these animals, in spots, whither it had come to graze over night, the amount would appear incredible." *Behold—who is like Behemoth?*

He eateth grass like an ox! It is something truly strange and wonderful that a monster of the deep should come forth on land and graze like an ox, whereas there is no room for such wonder in the case of the elephant, who is, besides, so far from being like the ox in gathering food with his teeth, that he is furnished with a very different instrument for that purpose in his trunk; and his proper food is not grass but the young branches of trees.

16. *Lo now, his strength is in his loins.* By the ancients the loins were considered the seat of strength. This expression denotes, therefore, great power. Cummings (*Adventures in S. Africa*, 2, 144), after giving a mortal wound to the sea-cow by a rifle-ball, had the hardihood to wade into the water in order to drag her ashore. "As I approached Behemoth," says he, "her eye looked very wicked. I halted for a moment ready to dive if she attacked me; but she was stunned and did not know what she was doing; so running in upon her and seizing her short tail, I attempted to incline her course to land. It was extraordinary what enormous strength she still had in the water. I could not guide her in the slightest, and she continued to splash, and plunge, and blow, and make her circular course, carrying me along with her as if I was a fly upon her tail." Dampier saw one place one tooth on the side of a boat and another four feet distant, and bite out the plank and sink the vessel.—*And his force is in the navel of his belly.* This may be well said of the hippopotamus. His hide, besprinkled with a few hairs, is hard, impenetrable, wrapped around him in folds, and even under the belly uncommonly thick (Winer). On the contrary, that part is the most vulnerable in the body of the elephant. There the hunter sends his weapon if possible, and there the rhinoceros seeks to plant his horn.

17. *He moveth his tail like a cedar.* The tail of the elephant is so short and limber, that Caryl and Schulteus, to bear out their theory, are compelled to convert $ZaNaB$ into a *proboscis*, in the face of all authority. But that of the hippopotamus, which is thirty-six inches in length, may be justly likened to a cedar, because it is very firm, round, and muscular, broad at the base and tapering to the thickness of a finger at the end; and yet he moves and twists it about at pleasure, which is certainly a mark of prodigious strength. "The point of comparison here is not the length of the cedar, but the flexibility, as a cedar waves its branches" (Herder). *The sinews of his stones are twisted together*, or as Bochart has it,

the sinews of his thighs are interwoven, or twisted together (Hieroz. 2, 758).

18. *His bones are like strong pieces of brass; his bones are like bars of iron.* The meaning is, that the bones of Behemoth are not like those of many aquatic animals, soft and cartilaginous, but exceedingly hard, firm, and strong, like pieces of brass and iron,—a striking comparison, not seldom used also by the classic poets, who style the horse and bull *χαλκοσκέλες* and *σείριπδες*. In Micah 4, 18., the daughter of Zion is exhorted to make her horn iron and her hoofs brass. Now, the bones of the hippopotamus are hard beyond all others; and they must needs be so, in order to sustain the huge masses of his flesh and enable him to move with ease and rapidity along the beds of the deepest rivers. On account of this property, his tusks are preferred to those of the elephant as material for the manufacture of artificial teeth, and when struck give out sparks like steel (Buffon).

19. *He is the chief of the ways of God*—one of the noblest works of God, of this kind, *un chef d'œuvre*. The great size of his body, the enormous width of his jaws, the whiteness and firmness of his long teeth, the capacity of his stomach, his prodigious strength, his amphibious mode of life, and his extreme sagacity are all points worthy of the highest admiration.—*He that made him can make his sword approach (unto him.)* The words *unto him*, which are supplied in our version, obscure the sense. The idea cannot be, that God, who made him, can alone destroy him. The rendering, *He who made him has gifted him with a sword*, is better. Bochart has, *qui fecit eum, applicavit ei HaRBO, harpen ejus, id est, applicavit ei harpen*. HeREB, Gr. *ἄρπη*, denotes a sharp cutting instrument, curved like a sickle or a scimeter (Ges. Lex. 366), and was applied directly by ancient writers to the incisors of the hippopotamus, which are long, sharp and curved, ensiform, made like scythes for mowing down the grass and corn on which he feeds. Tatius bears witness to the efficiency of these formidable tools by saying that he can consume a whole field of grain at a meal, and Diadorus by affirming that, if the hippopotamus were as fruitful as other animals, the corn-lands of Egypt would be utterly laid waste. Such language suits neither the tusks nor the molars of the elephant.

20. *Surely the mountains bring him forth food, where all the beasts of the field play.* At first sight these words might seem to require us to understand by Behemoth some huge land-

animal, but, taken in connection with what follows, that necessity is completely done away, as far at least as the hippopotamus is concerned. Mountains vary in their general features, from the slight elevation, that slopes gently down on either hand, to the bold, abrupt, and lofty peak. In the term, as here used, Bochart sees the immense embankments that were heaped up to curb the annual overflowings of the Nile. Whether this interpretation be correct or not, the mountains of the text were clothed with grass (Ps. 147, 8), and chosen retreats for the beasts of the field, and, therefore, not inaccessible to the river-horse. It was indeed a thing anomalous, clean out of the common order of nature, for a monster of the waves thus to climb up and mingle peacefully with his terrestrial brethren on the pastures of the upland. So we have him represented in this verse, but in the next, under circumstances widely different.

21, 21. *He lieth under the shady trees, in the covert of the reed, and fens. The shady trees cover him with their shadow; the willows of the brook compass him about.* The following extract from Cummings' *Adventures in South Africa* (2, 139) is sufficient to confirm the truthfulness and picturesque beauty of this description. "Hereabouts I found fresh spoor of hippopotami of the preceding night. I followed this spoor to a considerable distance along the margin of the river, and at last came upon the troop. They were lying in a shady and sequestered bend of the river, beneath some gigantic shady trees. In this place the water in heavy floods had thrown up large banks of sand, in which they had hollowed out their beds. The spot was surrounded with dense underwood and reeds, and adjacent to a very deep and broad stream, into which their footpaths led in every direction." The fens, and trees, and reeds, and willows, and papyri on the shores of the Nile likewise afforded numberless haunts of the same kind, where an elephant would be sought for in vain.

23. *Behold he drinketh up a river, and hasteth not: he trusteth that he can draw up Jordan into his mouth, or, according to Bochart, Ecce premat cum fluvius non trepidat, securus erit, quamvis erumpat Jordanes super os ejus.* Why should he fear to encounter any flood, even an impetuous Jordan, when swollen to the full? Let it break over his mouth. It is his own native element. Into it he plunges deliberately and paces along the bottom of the torrent, or the channel of the sea, with the same composure as in the open air. Travellers in

boats have often looked down on him thus walking at great depths in the clear water. The elephant may perhaps ford a river, but will not stem one that is deep and violent.

24. *He taketh it with his eyes; his nose pierceth through snares.* Bochart's version is, *In oculis ejus quis capiet eum, et hamis perforabit nasum?* Who will take him in his eyes, by open force, without treachery, or trap? No animal is more shy and cunning than the hippopotamus. Though sometimes killed by stratagem, or the all-conquering modern rifle, he is seldom taken alive. Tamed he has never been. The lion, the tiger, the elephant and the rhinoceros appear in all our menageries and zoological gardens, but Behemoth still roves as a free lord over his own domain. The barbaric sports of imperial Rome were indeed made more horrid by his occasional presence, but so rarely as not to weaken the force of these remarks in the least.

CH. XLI, 1.—*Canst thou draw out Leviathan with a hook? or his tongue with a cord which thou lettest down?* The etymology of *LiVYaTHaN*, of which *THaN*, *THaNiN*, and *THaNiM* are synonyms, would seem to designate some gigantic reptile, and not the whale, as popular tradition has it with Milton in his famous lines:

part huge of bulk,
Wallowing unwieldy, enormous in their guilt,
Tempest the ocean: there Leviathan,
Hugest of living creatures on the deep
Stretched like a promontory sleeps, or swims
And seems a moving land, and at his gills
Draws in, and at his trunk spouts out a sea.

A student of the Bible in our day, ignorant or forgetful of the state of knowledge among the ancients, in reading how Leviathan plays (Ps. 104, 25) among "creeping things innumerable" in "the great and wide sea," where ships go, would at once think of the whale. But as sailing near the coast was practised at that remote era, the art of navigation being yet in its infancy, and as the crocodile was found in the mouths of the Nile, and along the shores in the neighborhood, and thus in the direct highway of commerce, the language would be just as appropriate for him as for the whale. There is nothing then in this passage to invalidate the proof that Leviathan is the Egyptian crocodile.* Besides, it is not fair to measure the

* In Gen. 1, 25, our version has "great whales" for *THaNNiNIM*. The

Hebrew Yam (sea) by our geographical standard, since it was often applied to great rivers, like the Nile and the Euphrates (Is. 19, 5. Nah. 3, 8. Ez. 32, 2). The prophetic symbol of the land of Egypt, or rather of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, was Leviathan, or the crocodile of his own river (Ps. 74, 13. Ez. 24, 4, 32, 2. Havernick, Com. 503). *The Crocodile* was also the Arabic title of Pharaoh, and by Leviathan the Talmudists always understood the same animal (Bochart, Hieroz. 2, 791).

The Nilotic crocodile (*Lacerta Crocodilus*, L.) abounds in most of the rivers of Africa. Formerly it was wont to descend to the Delta, but now inhabits the Nile only toward Upper Egypt, where it is extremely hot. There it attains its greatest size, reaching a length of thirty feet and upwards, with a girth of body equal to that of an ox. "The very name of crocodile," says Cuvier, "excites the idea of an animal alike formidable for its size and ferocity; of an animal unequalled in its own orders, and which is the tyrant of the fresh waters of the equinoxial zone, both in the old and the new world."

Canst thou draw out Leviathan with a hook? The extraordinary size and strength of the crocodile are here taught, in genuine oriental style, by a series of questions, through all which we find running a vein of irony. *Canst thou draw him out with a hook?* The common apparatus of the fisherman is not strong enough for such an exploit. He often carries off bait, tackle, and all, of his own accord. Hasselquist, in dissecting one, found two hooks in the stomach and another in the thick membrane of the palate. *Or his tongue with a cord which thou lettest down?* The ancients erroneously believed him to be destitute of a tongue. Such an organ he indeed has, but, being short, thick, and adherent to the very tip, it is easily overlooked by the careless observer.

2. *Canst thou put a hook into his nose, or bore his jaw through with a thorn?* alludes doubtless to a custom prevalent among the Egyptian fishermen from time immemorial. Into the jaws of the larger fish, as caught, they put strong hooks or iron rings, and then cast them back into the flood, where they were kept alive until needed (Bruce's Travels). A secondary meaning of HOHa (thorn) is hook, or iron ring. It denotes also an instrument of a similar shape which was used

Septuagint, which the Vulgate follows, has *τα κρηνα τα μυαλα*. The signification of *κρηνα* is vague, and by the word in this place we ought probably to understand all great aquatic animals.

for securing prisoners (2 Chron. 33, 11. Am. 4, 2). Some commentators, as Vansittart and Harris, think that these two verses describe the sacred crocodile as led about, loaded with costly rings and ornaments, but such a forced construction impairs the beauty of the whole description, which throughout regards the monster in a state of nature, just as he came from the hand of God.

3, 4. *Will he make many supplications to thee? Will he speak soft words unto thee? Will he make a covenant with thee? Wilt thou take him for a servant forever?* These words contain an elegant allusion to the conduct of captives taken in war, who bend the knee at the feet of their conquerors, and beg for life on any conditions.

5. *Wilt thou play with him as a bird? Wilt thou bind him for thy maidens?* The savage ferocity of the crocodile is well known. A story is told of an Egyptian woman, who brought home a young one as a household pet, a play-mate for her son. They lived peaceably together, until the animal gained size and strength enough to seize the boy and devour him. Human beings, children particularly, as well as dogs and cattle, coming down to the water's edge, have often been suddenly surprised and dragged in by the hungry monster. It is only when kept gorged with food that he is comparatively harmless. As soon as the supply ceases his native ferocity returns and he becomes highly dangerous to all in his neighborhood. The Egyptian priests were fully aware of this fact, and hence, to the great astonishment of the multitude, were able to bring forth, on occasions of public solemnity, the sacred individuals, who were fed in the basins or lakes of their temples.*

6. *Shall thy companions make a banquet of him? Shall they part him among the merchants?* The rendering of Gesenius is, (If) companions, i. e. *associated fishermen*, spread snares for him, shall they distribute him (taken) among the merchants? These words are probably ironical, and do not refer so much to the unsavoriness of his flesh as to the difficulty of his capture. And this seems to be the main idea of this whole strain of interrogatories. In some parts of Egypt divine honors were paid to the crocodile as their embalmed remains show to this day. They were worshipped in Arsinoe,

* It is said that this crocodile was smaller, and did not belong to the same species as the common crocodile. The name given to it was *Souchi*, or *Soue* [Cuv. Rept. note, p. 104].

Thebes, and Memphis. At the latter city "the sacred individual was reared with the greatest care, and nourished with abundant food. Sacrifices and offerings were presented to him; he was adorned with trinkets, and lodged in a lake or basin in the midst of the temple. But in other districts of the country he was held in abhorrence, and hunted and killed, also through a sentiment of religion; because it was believed that Typhon, the murderer of Osiris and the genius of evil, had transformed himself into a crocodile. Herodotus informs us that there was a law obliging the people of Apollonopolis to eat these animals, because the daughter of King Psammetichus had been devoured by one of them." This, however, was an extraordinary case. The use of such flesh was not general on account of its strong and disagreeable musky flavor. It was left to the negroes and the dogs. No merchant sought after it. It found no place in the market. But the same cannot be said of the whale, whose bones and oil have ever been famous articles of commerce.

7. *Canst thou fill his skin with barbed irons? or his head with fish-spears?* "With the exception of the summit of the head, the entire body of the crocodile is covered with scales. He can be wounded, therefore, only in those parts where the scales are separated, that is, at the junctions of the thighs with the body, or in the eyes, or mouth." "Their skin is almost entirely covered with small bucklers, which are proof even against the sword and musket-ball" (Cuvier, Rept. p. 184). Barbed irons and fish-spears are still used for killing the whale, whose soft and penetrable skin is soon filled with them.

8. *Lay thy hand upon him, remember the battle, do no more.* A mere touch of his adamantine coat-of-mail will excite so great a horror that thou wilt think more of flight than of doing battle.

9. *Behold the hope of him is in vain: Shall not one be cast down at the sight of him?* The whole drift of the argument up to this point seems to be the extreme difficulty, though not the utter impossibility, of subduing him. The priests might train up young ones and bring them under partial control, but to take him full-grown from his native element was a task beyond their power. Nothing can express more forcibly the light in which the ancients regarded this matter than the coin, which Augustus ordered to be struck after the conquest of Egypt. The device consisted of a crocodile bound by a chain to a palm-tree, with the inscription beneath, *Nemo antea religavit.*

10. *None is so fierce that dare stir him up.* No one is rash enough to attack him, even when sleeping on the sand. *Who then is able to stand before me?*

11. *Who hath prevented me that I should repay him?* i. e. Who hath first conferred a favor on me, so as to put me under any obligation? This alludes to the manner in which clients secure the good will of their lawyers. *Whatsoever is under the whole heaven is mine—mine already.*

12, 13. *I will not conceal his parts, nor his power, nor his comely proportion. Who can discover the face of his garment?* Though some suppose that this verse refers to the act of divesting a war-horse of his armor, it doubtless points out the remarkable fact that, unlike other members of the Saurian order, the crocodile never sheds his skin. Cuvier says, "They do not moult or cast their skin, and accordingly they thus escape a crisis, which is fatal to the majority of reptiles." *Who can come to him with his double bridle?*

14. *Who can open the doors of his face?* i. e. to bridle him. Strong levers have been thrust in vain between his closed jaws—jaws that crush the shell of a turtle with the greatest ease. *His teeth are terrible round about.* They are sixty-six in number, thirty-six in the upper jaw and thirty in the lower, long, white, sharp, and exposed constantly to view; for he has no lips to hide them, and, therefore, they are *terrible round about.* His bite is exceedingly retentive and no less difficult to cure than that of a mad dog.

15—17. *His scales are his pride, shut up together as with a close seal. One is so near to another, that no air can come between them. They are joined one to another; they stick together, that they cannot be sundered.* These words are of themselves sufficient to prove that Leviathan must be the crocodile. Those, who think him the whale, are at an utter loss how to reconcile them with that hypothesis. Bootius goes so far as to deny that the crocodile has scales, and quotes from Arrian an old story, which is also repeated by Caryl. It runs thus: he, Arrian, had heard a sea-captain, Nearchus, say that he had heard from certain sailors an account of a huge whale, cast on shore by a tempest, which was fifty cubits long and had scales a cubit thick. What a tough yarn these ancient Jacks did spin! And how weak must that hypothesis be, which can only be supported by such evidence!

18. *By his needings a light doth shine, and his eyelids are like the eyelids of the morning.* The eye of the crocodile is

extremely piercing and brilliant. Hence among the Egyptians it was used as the hieroglyphic of sunrise. Thus Horus Apol. says (lib. 1, 65), "When the Egyptians paint sunrise, they paint the eye of the crocodile, because it is first seen as that animal rises out of the water."

19—21. *Out of his mouth go burning lamps, and sparks of fire leap out. Out of his nostrils goeth smoke, as out of a seething pot or caldron. His breath kindleth coals, and a flame goeth out of his mouth.* The hippopotamus and crocodile, after a long stay under water, on coming again to the surface, send forth a heated breath, from their wide mouths and nostrils, in volumes of smoke-like vapor. Of the alligator Bartram says, "Clouds of smoke issue from his dilated nostrils" (Travels, p. 116). If the whale had been meant would the jets of water have been omitted? The imagery here used by the sacred poet is bold, strong, and hyperbolic, of a genuine eastern cast, similar to that employed in Psalm 18, 8. "There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured; coals were kindled by it." The animal is described as under the influence of anger or fury, in the act of pursuing his prey.

22. *In his neck remaineth strength, and sorrow is turned into joy before him.* Gesenius renders this passage, In his neck dwelleth Strength, and Fear leaps, or dances before him (cf. Ps. 29, 6).

23, 24. *The flakes of his flesh are joined together; they are firm in themselves; they cannot be moved. His heart is as firm as a stone; yea, as hard as a piece of the nether millstone.* "These similies may denote not only a material but also a moral hardness, his savage and unrelenting nature." Ælian calls the crocodile, "a voracious devourer of flesh and the most pitiless of animals."

25. *When he raiseth up himself, the mighty are afraid; by reason of breakings they purify themselves.* The latter clause, according to Gesenius, should be read, through fright they miss the way, perhaps, their aim.

26—29. *The sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold; the spear, the dart, nor the habergeon. He esteemeth iron as straw and brass as rotten wood. The arrow cannot make him flee; sling-stones are turned with him into stubble. Darts are counted as stubble; he laugheth at the shaking of the spear.* "These expressions picture, in a lively manner, the strength, courage, and intrepidity of the crocodile. Nothing frightens him.

If any one attack him, neither swords, darts, nor javelins avail against him. Travellers agree that the skin of the crocodile is proof against pointed weapons." It turns even a musket-ball.

30. *Sharp stones are under him : he spreadeth sharp pointed things upon the mire.* From the extreme hardness of his scaly covering, he pays no regard to the flints and fragments of shells under him, when he stretches out his huge body on a muddy shore to sleep in the sun. What would be martyrdom to any other animal is a pleasure to him. The verse is somewhat obscure.

31. *He maketh the deep to boil like a pot.* Bartram thus speaks of a fight between two alligators, of which he was an eye-witness (Travels, p. 116), "Behold him rushing forth from the flags and reeds. His enormous body swells. His plaited tail, brandished high, floats upon the lake. The waters like a cataract descend from his opening jaws. Clouds of smoke issue from his dilated nostrils. The earth trembles with his thunder. When immediately from the opposite coast of the lagoon, emerges from the deep his rival champion. They suddenly dart upon each other. *The boiling surface of the lake marks their rapid course,* and a terrific conflict commences. They now sink to the bottom folded together in horrid wreaths. The water becomes thick and discolored. Again they rise, their jaws clap together, re-echoing through the deep surrounding forests. Again they sink, and the contest ends in the muddy bottom of the lake." *He maketh the sea like a pot of ointment.* This refers either to the water thickened with mud and discolored, or else to the musky odor, which is discernible at the distance of a hundred yards from the place, where they congregate in numbers, or perhaps to both.

32. *He maketh a path to shine after him ; one would think the deep to be hoary.* When swimming rapidly on the surface, he cuts the water like a ship, and the rough bosses of his hide throw off flakes of foam, while his tail, like a rudder, causes the waves behind him to froth and sparkle like a trail of light.

33. *Upon the earth there is not the like, who is made without fear.* All others of the lizard race are feeble and timid, and flee from the step of man.

34. *He beholdeth all high things ; he is a king over all the children of pride.* Though stretched out prone upon the earth, he yet looks down upon, or despises every other animal that rises above him in stature. Proud of his superior strength, he holds all other living creatures in light esteem. Diodorus

says, "He devours not only man, but every other terrestrial animal that approaches the water's edge," and Cuvier, "The number of enemies, capable of destroying the crocodile, after he has reached the maturity of his strength, is very small."

Here ends the address of the Almighty to his servant Job; and now, after making due allowance for changes of language, oriental idioms, and the glowing imagery of the poet, we must acknowledge that the outlines of the river-horse and the crocodile, in all their gigantic proportions, shine through these descriptions with surprizing distinctness, and stand as everlasting monuments to vindicate the Holy Scriptures from any charge of dealing in fabulous monsters.

It is true, indeed, that the scene of the drama is laid in Uz, or Idumea, and that the whole structure of the poem is Asiatic, and not Egyptian; yet when we remember how close a connection existed between these countries, in very ancient times, the allusions to the river Nile with its flags, or papyrus, the islands of the dead, the tombs of the kings, the ostrich, the hippopotamus, and the crocodile, are easily explained. "Were the last two animals," says Herder, "common in the land, where Job lived, they would not have been described in so gigantic and imposing a manner. They come forth as strange and wonderful monsters: that is the design of their appearance." And again, "the mode of life, the kind of wealth, the administration of justice, the prosperity of the emir is peculiar to him: on this every thing is built. Sacrifice is known to him; but it is a patriarchal sacrifice; for Job offered it himself, as the father of the family. Arabian deserts, falling streams, wandering hordes and caravans, are the commonest images of the book. Bands of robbers, dwellers in caves, or rocks, lions and wild-asses, the avenging of blood, all the formalities of the Asiatic court of justice—a host of minor circumstances, which it were hard to enumerate, bear witness together for the land of Edom. On the contrary, the treasures of Ethiopia and the curiosities of Egypt are manifestly brought in as ornaments of foreign learning: finally, Behemoth and Leviathan are the Hercules-pillars at the end of the book, the *non plus ultra* of another world. (Herder, Ueber Ebräischen Poesie, p. 119.)

T. C. P.

ART. V.—DR. NEVIN AND HIS ANTAGONISTS.

THE Synod of the German Reformed Church, convened in Baltimore in October last, unanimously elected the Rev. B. C. Wolff, D.D., Pastor of the Third German Reformed congregation of that city, to the Professorship of Theology in the Seminary in Mercersburg. Provision has thus finally been made to supply the vacancy occasioned in that Institution by the previous resignation and retirement of its much esteemed late President, the Rev. Dr. J. W. Nevin. It was only after a year's delay, and then with great reluctance, that the Church thus yielded to the earnest solicitations of one whose efficient services in the department which he had filled so long and so well, she could, at the present juncture, so badly spare. The work of rapid Church extension, prosecuted so briskly at this time by the German Reformed section of the American Protestant Church, and the great difficulty of enlisting a number of zealous laborers, adequate to the annually increasing demands, seems to make every one of her ministers an indispensable component of the particular charge he serves; so that in case of congregational vacancies, it is almost impossible to supply one important post without depriving another of pastoral services as greatly needed there. The difficulty of supplying a vacancy in her Theological Seminary is greater in proportion to the higher responsibilities of the place. It will not be surprising, therefore, that the Church was thrown into great perplexity by Dr. Nevin's withdrawal, and hesitated a year in the hope that he might yet be induced to return to the post which he had occupied so honorably for himself, and so faithfully for the Church. But as he felt justified, after protracted consideration, in reiterating his desire to be relieved, for a season at least, from the burden of his official responsibilities as Professor of Theology and President of the Seminary, and renewed his formal notification to that effect, it was at length believed to be due to his personal feelings and claims to acquiesce in his wishes.

Dr. Nevin occupied the chair of Systematic and Pastoral Theology, thus vacated by his resignation, for more than twelve years. He came to it, at the earnest call of the German Reformed Church, well worn already by arduous labors undergone in previous stations of a similar character. In his

new sphere he devoted himself to the severe and responsible duties of his Professorship, and position in the Church at large, with untiring assiduity and distinguished ability. No Theological Professor of this, or probably any other country, ever labored more faithfully and more indefatigably at his post than he; none ever better understood, or more deeply and solemnly realized the weight and value of the vast interests depending so largely upon the intelligence, piety, and fidelity of a Theological Professor. His view of the proper extent of his sphere of labor was far more intelligent and just than to suppose it limited by the precincts of the Seminary grounds, or the number of students actually present in the several classes of the Institution. Keenly conscious of the great moral influence with which his office naturally invested him, especially in the Church to which he had pledged his services, he cheerfully recognized the corresponding duty imposed by the possession of such influence. Occupying a high tower upon the walls of Zion, one from whose upper windows he could have an unobstructed and comprehensive view of the wants and perils of the city spread out beneath, it was his duty, not simply to qualify others for being wise and faithful watchmen, but to be one himself. So he evidently believed, and few, if any, will dissent from this conviction. In addition therefore to the more immediate duties of his professoral office, he constantly and conscientiously labored to warn the Church of what were supposed by him to be most seriously threatening dangers, and to direct her in that course honestly believed by him to be the best and safest. Whatever else therefore his many, and in some cases indeed apparently malignant adversaries, could or did say against him, none ever dreamed of charging him with being a dronish slave to traditional systems, sometimes so gladly seized and appropriated, to escape the annoyance of toilsome thought, and the drudgery of disgusting penmanship, and none ever hinted or suspected that Dr. Nevin was becoming obese upon a sinecure. Manifestly fitted and designated by natural endowments, for laborious study and profound research, his whole life has been almost unremittedly and always intensely devoted to those pursuits for which, by constitutional predilection, he had so strongly marked a preference. Indeed he seems for many years, if not during his whole life, to have accustomed himself to double duty. This, as an early friend and classmate has recently told us, was a characteristic of his collegiate course already. Of the distinct nature and

extent of his labors during his official connection with the Princeton and Western Theological Seminaries, we cannot speak with certain knowledge. But it is well known, that since the death of the lamented President Rauch, Dr. Nevin has been sustaining the double burden of the Presidency of both the Theological Seminary and Marshall College, and that of the latter gratuitously. The amount of actual mental and physical labor performed during this period, may be partially calculated from the numerous and lengthy contributions of his pen, formerly to the weekly periodicals of the Church, and of late more exclusively to the *Mercersburg Review*, the work of such leisure moments as the stated duties of the offices he filled allowed him. These contributions have always been upon subjects of the highest theological moment, and such as were most intimately interwoven with the practical life of the Church. And it may be remarked, by the way, that by his treatment of the various themes thus discussed, and the palpable influence which they have exerted and are still exerting, Dr. Nevin has most effectually quashed the indictment for vapory idealism, and misty transcendentalism, which several prosecutors have preferred against him. On the contrary, he seems to have thereby proven himself capable of being most significantly, and, for some, most harrassingly practical, even in the discussion of the profoundest topics. It would not be easy, however, from what is thus known to have been mentally and physically achieved by him, to estimate the amount of mental and moral anxiety, endured by one so conscientious in the discharge of duty, and so heartily concerned for the true prosperity of the Church, especially when the peculiarly trying circumstances, in the face of which all was done, are duly considered. Few men, occupying a similar position, have encountered so much misrepresentation in the prosecution of their work. And we know of no one, whose words and warnings, from the first utterance of his protest against the pernicious extravagances of the Anxious Bench system, to his latest reprehension of Leahey-itical anti-popery harangues, have been so diligently caught up and improved, and who has yet at the same time been so unsparingly denounced for uttering those words and warnings.

Nothing of all this however was suffered to deter him from firmly maintaining his position, and elaborating his views upon the momentous questions at issue, until he has fully developed his theory of the Church and her institutions, and avowed and defended his convictions of her dangers and her duties. This

done, the Church to which he has been devoting the best years and energies of a vigorous life, has felt that he had a right to ask release from at least one of the burdens resting upon him, and to seek the privilege and comforts of a temporary retirement from the more stirring and noisy arena of an official theological life. And the circumstances under which this has been at length assented to, must be as grateful to the heart of Dr. Nevin as they seem to have been annoying to some of his more violent opponents. To state, or even specifically refer to the various appliances employed, for the greater part outside of the German Reformed Church, with the professed design of counteracting what were supposed to be pernicious errors, but the success of which would inevitably have brought about Dr. Nevin's official and theological bankruptcy and ruin, could serve no profitable purpose, and is assuredly not to be undertaken for the pleasure of the thing. Their utter failure moreover to injure him in the estimation of the Church, would render such a detail doubly gratuitous. For his own solemn repudiation of the charges preferred against him, and his voluntary reiteration of the pledge of faithful adherence to her standards, always proved sufficient to assure the Church, that notwithstanding all the gainsayings of his opponents, Dr. Nevin stood truly *rectus in ecclesia*. He therefore takes with him to his retirement the most undoubted testimony of the Church's continued confidence and esteem, her cordial thanks for his past important and self-denying services, and her sincere prayers, that the Chief Shepherd may bestow upon him, in abundant measure, His richest blessings. This indeed, temporarily considered, may be a meagre compensation for the services rendered. But it is the best the Church can give. And we are confident, that in Dr. Nevin's appreciation, its value will be above that of golden medals, or of silver plate.

The event thus noticed, and for which a justifying reason has been so definitely assigned, because we regard it as one of the grievous faults of the times, that men, on whom rest solemn ordination vows, binding them for life to the public service of the Church, often too lightly relinquish their calling and abandon their work,—manifestly forms an *epoch* in the history of the Church, within whose limits it has occurred, and brings us theologically and ecclesiastically to a momentary *pause*. The occasion seems therefore to furnish a fit opportunity for a calm and candid review of the important and earnest controversy between Dr. Nevin and such antagonists as have, rather irregu-

larly it must be allowed, assailed him and his theory, for the most part from beneath some overshadowing newspaper ambushade, a controversy which will now most probably cease, at least for a season. The intrinsic magnitude of the subjects involved in this controversy invests the discussion of them with immense interest, and renders a brief review appropriate. They form the very foundation of all Christian faith, and constitute the vital elements of the Church's being. For many generations English and American Theology has been well nigh all-absorbingly engaged in the adjustment and defence of the leading five points of more rigidly defined Calvinism. The consideration and development of these, either positively or negatively, have been the great burden of almost every theological discussion, as they have been the most notable occasion of nearly all the ecclesiastical dissensions by which the Protestant Church has been variously agitated for the last hundred years. And so ardent have been these discussions and attendant dissensions in which the various parties concerned have been enlisted, from the fatalistic supralapsarian to the flattest Arminian, that no time or place was allowed for the more general consideration of other doctrines. However clearly therefore the actual condition of the Protestant Church interest, in this country especially, indicated the importance of giving attention to other subjects, subjects more nearly affecting the actual life and edification of the Church, the voice was unheard or unheeded amid the din of zealous or angry debate of Calvinist and Pelagian, Old School and New School, Andover and Princeton. Amid these earnest, and perhaps vastly important, contentions for the precise form and terms of certain speculative *doctrines* of the evangelical Church, the still greater necessity of correct apprehensions of the fundamental *facts*, upon which the very life and subsistence of the Church depend, and of intelligent and active faith in those facts, was at least measurably lost sight of, or undervalued. However high our estimate of the thoroughly tested, and most prominent tenets of orthodox Calvinism may be, and however hearty may be our adherence to them, it must yet be admitted that Christianity, or the Christian Church, as a system of supernatural means, divinely devised and developed, for the moral redemption of the world, merits far higher regard, and far heartier devotion. For after all, a theoretical system, and a living and life-giving economy are not necessarily identical. Indeed there are many mournful illustrations at hand of their being widely sundered from

each other in actual life. But it is far otherwise with regard to principles and facts which concern the actual relation of Christ to believers individually, and to the Church collectively, and of them and the Church to each other and to Him. It is otherwise with reference to the ordinances of the Church and the divinely invested virtue attendant upon their proper administration, especially the dispensation of the Holy Sacraments, God's appointed signs and seals of that grace without which there is no salvation. And it is otherwise finally with regard to the actual constitution of the Christian Church,—not her outward construction, or the form of government by which her affairs may be externally managed, and her occasional domestic difficulties may be adjudicated,—but, that real internal organization which constitutes the law of her life, and conditions its historical manifestation and growth. Here we have themes, which, like the arteries of the human system, connect with the very heart of Christianity, themes which form the veritable “marrow of divinity.”

This now is the immediate character of the topics discussed in the various treatises of Dr. Nevin, which have given rise to the controversy under consideration. Laying hold of doctrines which had come to be comparatively neglected, although they were the glory of the theological labors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, he has brought their vast importance into view once more, in a light which has amazed, and even disturbed defenders of the faith, moving in quite another sphere of thought, and comforting themselves meanwhile with the belief that they were contending for the only opinions worthy of a theologian's study or a Christian's zeal. The first announcement of these seemingly new themes, appeared indeed only to excite a sneering smile, or was treated with contemptuous silence. Those occupying the higher places of American theology, and especially metropolitan editors of religious newspapers, felt disposed rather to be merry at the idea that any thing really significant, or worthy of serious notice, should issue from the mountains of Judea, and least of all from the Zoar of the German Reformed Church. But the inherent power of the truths discussed soon made itself felt, and the persevering earnestness and pious solemnity with which they were advocated speedily commanded for them a hearing. The notes proceeding from a small secluded hamlet, deeply concealed in the shadows of the North Mountain, in one of the retired parts of Cumberland Valley, extended and spread,

until they penetrated the farthest limits of New England Puritanism, and aroused the attention of Protestants and Papists, orthodox and heterodox, both on this and on the other side of the great deep. It may therefore assuredly be assumed, that discussions involving the treatment of such subjects, and constraining such general consideration, must be intrinsically entitled to some special notice of the manner in which they have been conducted, and the results thus far reached.

But the consideration which, in the present case, is paramount to every other motive for the volunteering of this review, is derived from the intimate official relation sustained by Dr. Nevin to the German Reformed Church, during the whole course of this controversy, and his close identification with the Collegiate Institution with which the Association, responsible for the character of this Quarterly, is filially connected. In view of the highly important and responsible position he occupied, as President of the Theological Seminary of that Church, the Church has been held answerable for the influence of his teachings, and the character of his productions. At least it has been assumed as the Church's duty to preserve her own fountains pure and unadulterated by commixture with pernicious error, and also secure the Protestant evangelical interest at large against being overrun by poisonous streams. Those Christian denominations especially, with which the German Reformed Church is more closely allied by ecclesiastical correspondence, have held that Church under particular obligations to this effect. We have no disposition to dispute the justice of this expectation. Unquestionably the German Reformed Church is bound, by a most solemn moral guaranty, to the Evangelical Protestant Church of the land, and indeed to the Holy Catholic Church in the world, to maintain inviolate the sacred treasure of truth with which she believes herself, and is acknowledged by others, to be entrusted. By the holiest obligations is she pledged not to permit the acknowledged foundations of her faith to be moved or altered, nor to connive at the agitation and advocacy of theories and opinions, the legitimate effect of which would be to undermine and to subvert those foundations. And no considerations of strong personal regard, or of heavy claims for past services, would be sufficient to acquit her of the charge of denominational perjury and deceit, if she could be convicted of such connivance. Has she then given just reason to fear that she has been unfaithful to her solemn trust? Has she so connived at error taught, and

defended, with almost unparalleled boldness, and yet with the adroiteest subtlety, in her high places, and by those exposed by their official elevation to constant inspection, as to have forfeited all claims to the continued confidence of the Evangelical Protestant Churches of this country? None have ventured exactly openly to affirm this, and charge upon that Church such guilt. And yet, as much as this has more than once been insinuated. It is not easy either to see how she can escape an indictment to this effect, if all the theological crimes and ecclesiastical obliquities charged upon Dr. Nevin, be really sustained. If Dr. Nevin has indeed revived Eutychianism, charged our Lord Jesus Christ with being a sinner, denied the divine authority of the Scriptures, rejected the Reformed doctrine of the atonement and justification, plead for purgatory, and prayers for and to the dead, advocated the worship of the Virgin Mary, taught the crassest transubstantiation, reviled Protestantism, and made common cause with Popery as far as this could be done by him in the existing premises, then the German Reformed Church, which has all the while not only looked calmly on, but refused to listen to the alarm-cry raised by two or three watchmen within her walls, and repeated with magnified force by thrice as many more without, must either be most irretrievably astute, or most perversely set upon ruining herself, and doing mischief to others. And this precisely is what some of those professedly concerned for her peace and prosperity fear and prophesy. For ourselves we feel assured that their fears are gratuitous, and that their dire prognostications will prove most happily delusive. The grounds for this assurance will appear in the prosecution of this review, in which we think it will be made manifest, that the Church had no good reason to sustain the charges preferred against Dr. Nevin, but the very best assurance of his theological orthodoxy and ecclesiastical integrity, and that she is therefore not chargeable with a breach of trust, in retaining his services to the last, and finally furnishing him with so strong a token of her confidence and regard as he takes with him to his retirement.

Retrospectively considered, the various charges brought against Dr. Nevin in the course of this seven year's war, as it has been fitly termed, arrange themselves into two distinct classes, viz.: *first, charges of specific heresies, and secondly, charges of a general betrayal of Protestantism and a zealous though cunningly cloaked vindication of Popery.* We shall

and it most convenient to our purpose to pursue the subject in the order thus presenting itself.

The antagonists of Dr. Nevin have brought five distinct charges of heresy against him, either one of which, if sustained, would be sufficient to merit his immediate exclusion from an orthodox Protestant Church, and to brand him with reprobacy to the Apostolic faith; and the patient toleration of either one of which in her midst, would justly subject the Church guilty of it to the most painful suspicions, and the severest remonstrances of evangelical Christendom. What evidence, pro and con., has been presented to the mind of the German Reformed Church in reference to the several items of this grand indictment?

The *first* charge, chronologically, (for this prosecutory controversy is not without its gradual historical development,) and that which, on account of its comparatively minor importance, may as well be primarily disposed of, is, that *the sole supremacy of the Bible as the Divine Rule of Faith for the Christian Church has been denied by Dr. Nevin, and that the necessity of Tradition, as co-ordinate with Sacred Scripture, has been advocated by him*. In other words, it is affirmed, that upon this point the fundamental Protestant doctrine of the supremacy of the Holy Scriptures in all matters of faith and practice has been virtually repudiated, and that the papal error of the divine authority of Church Tradition, or a subtle modification of it, has been substituted in its place. With this serious and alarming charge for his theme the counsel for the prosecution opened the case against Dr. Nevin more than seven years ago, at the Synod of York. It was professedly based upon sentiments detected in the translation of Dr. Schaff's *Principle of Protestantism*, and their endorsement by Dr. Nevin. That able and interesting Tract, published originally by the request and with the approbation of the Synod, was accused of teaching and defending the error set forth in the above charge, "of asserting that Scripture may, under some circumstances, be undervalued in favor of human addition and tradition," and the special attention of the Synod was challenged in the case. A full and fair discussion was accordingly allowed to take place. To this discussion far greater latitude was granted than could have been asked or expected for a prosecution sprung upon the Synod with such flagrant irregularity. Ultimately the leader of the opposition, Dr. Berg, finding himself sinking in the pit dug so deep for the Mercers-

burg Professors, tried to help himself out of it again, by making the manly confession that the charge had been rashly preferred, and that it could not be sustained. It was even conceded, in the solemn and cautious paragraphs of a recorded Protest, that the Book in question "*certainly did admit, that the Holy Scriptures constitute the pure and proper source, as well as the only certain measure of all saving truth, and occupied ground which in his opinion was safe, with the single exception,*" (fortunate fugitive, to find so convenient a covering for so humiliating a retreat!) "*of that distinction which is denominated formal dogmatic tradition!*" It might have been expected that after such a defeat, the more mortifying because of the exulting menaces with which the onset was introduced, and after such concessions, the more-significant for being incorporated into a Protest, this item at least would be stricken out of the indictment, and that the prosecution would confine itself to the remaining points. This, however, is not found to be the case. On the contrary, the charge has been reiterated from that day to this, almost as often as Dr. Berg, and his friendly coadjutors in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, and "our faithful brother" of the so-called Lutheran Observer in Baltimore, have found it opportune and expedient to excite the interest of the Christian community in behalf of the Professors and Institutions in Mercersburg, or to revive fraternal concern for the true prosperity of the German Reformed Church.

And what is really the offence committed by Dr. Nevin in regard to this vital dogma of Evangelical Protestantism? What sin has he actually perpetrated, (for of course the Church, as an ecclesiastical judicatory, can only take cognizance of overt acts, or of a spirit and tendencies made palpable by such acts,) to render him obnoxious to the charge in question, and obligate the Church to condemn and chastise him for the error? Has he any where denied or questioned the Divine Authority of the Sacred Scriptures, or hinted at their being deficient at all as a revelation of divine truth and human duty? Has he any where argued that in a case of manifest discrepancy between the doctrinal confessions, canons or traditions of the Church, and the Holy Scriptures, these should be made to yield in subservient deference to such traditions, as being of higher authority and superior force? Has he ever most remotely suggested that the teachings of the Church, speaking through her adopted symbols, could or should be used as an

all-sufficient substitute for the circulation of the Bible? Judging him and his theory from the tone and character of the various newspaper and other expositions of it, through which the public has been made acquainted with both, all this, and more and worse, would certainly have to be suspected and believed concerning them. No wonder therefore that the Church, which not only tolerates but clings to a man, who holds and advocates such views, should be considered recreant to the good old faith of her fathers, by those who derive all their knowledge of the case from such warped extempore misrepresentations. But does not Dr. Nevin hold views corresponding with those expositions of his sentiments? We answer, most assuredly not, if the public and unreserved avowals of his sentiments, which have been freely spread out during the last ten years before the gaze of the Christian community, are to be taken as an honest and sincere exponent of his views. Of his veneration for the Sacred Scriptures, his profound deference to their divine authority in matters of faith and piety, and his exaltation of them above all human traditions, the Church has had such evidence as cannot easily be shaken by the alarm-cries of those who have constituted themselves watchguards of her citadels, or the anxious warnings of those who have become notorious as panic-mongers in her midst, crying ever and anon, "the wolf, the wolf," but still exposing their own nervous timidity, or presumptuous dishonesty, by failing to point out the wolf, when the Church answered to their false cry, and showed her readiness to catch and expel the intruder. Freely as Dr. Nevin has written, and frankly (some have thought quite unnecessarily so), as he has declared and published his opinions, the Church may safely challenge his opponents to adduce a single sentence, or expression, from all his writings, which, being fairly interpreted, is in the least collision with the views upon this subject under consideration at the Synod of York, and in regard to which we have already given Dr. Berg's concession. Upon what then is this charge based? It is hardly supposable that so much ado would be made about nothing, or that sensible men would permit themselves to become so fearfully agitated, or would toil so strenuously to excite the fears of others, without some reasonable show of actual peril! At least their loud and reiterated shouts of treachery! treachery! have received far more attention than would otherwise have been paid to them, but for their presumed plausibility. It was rather naturally assumed that

no true friends, and certainly no members or ministers, sincerely devoted to the interests of the German Reformed Church, or cherishing, as neighbors, the fraternal affection professed, would wantonly hold her up to suspicion, endeavor to distract her with internal dissensions, or expose themselves ultimately to reproach and condemnation as false witnesses. What motive could tempt or incite to such an unkind and unchristian course? The desire of notoriety could not justify it? No fair vindication of it could be found in strong predilections for the puritanizing influences notoriously at work in the old stock German Churches of Pennsylvania and adjacent States, and upon the efficacy of which a few ministers within their limits might build their expectations of furthering God's glory and their own renown, as the chief instruments in the hands of Providence of accomplishing the revolution in the entire structure and character of those churches, aimed at by the operation of those foreign influences? Why should puritan modes of thought, however good in their way, and puritan forms of worship and church economy, however suitable and excellent in their place and circumstances, be preferred by the posterity and successors of German Christians and German ministers, to the peace of their Church, or to the inestimable legacies bequeathed by their fathers? And yet if we take up all that is tangible, and most scrutinizingly review all that is visible in the case, we can find nothing upon which a verdict against Dr. Nevin upon this first accusation could be based. Do we ask him, through his written avowals of his opinions, Do you believe "that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, which are called the canonical Scriptures, are genuine, authentic, inspired, and therefore divine Scriptures?" He answers, I do believe "that the word of God, as it has been handed down to us in the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments, is the pure and proper source, as well as the only certain measure, of all saving faith." Do we further inquire, Do you acknowledge that those Scriptures "contain all things which relate to the faith, the practice, and the hope of the righteous, and are the only rule of faith and practice in the Church of God; that, consequently no traditions, as they are called, and no mere conclusions of reason, which are contrary to the clear testimony of these Scriptures, can be received as rules of faith and life?" His response before God is: "*If therefore there be any unerring fountain of truth needed to satisfy religious want, it can be found only in THE*

WORD OF GOD, *who is himself the truth; and this becomes consequently the HIGHEST NORM and RULE, by which to measure all human truth, all ecclesiastical tradition, and all synodical decrees.*" (Principle of Protestantism, p. 78.) Does this import a repudiation of the supremacy of the sacred Scriptures as the Christian norm of truth and righteousness? How could the German Reformed Church condemn, as heretical on this point, the man who solemnly avers that the above declarations set forth his faith? But his accusers call for a cross-examination. They desire to ask whether Dr. Nevin has not affirmed and does not hold that, in addition to the Bible, some suspicious thing, termed *formal dogmatic tradition* (this tail-word "tradition" makes them see a bear!) "is indispensable to the completeness of the rule of faith"? We say *no*, it is nowhere affirmed to be indispensable to complete *the rule of faith*, but "indispensable absolutely" as a channel for carrying forward in history the contents of the Scriptures, and to the onward development of Christian doctrine and Christian life." Is it insinuated that this amounts to the same thing as is charged, and that it savors of Rome, to say the least, to speak of *tradition* in any form as necessary in addition to the Scriptures? Then we ask these opponents, whether they and their Churches do not hold in fact to the same necessity? Or do they deny the indispensableness of the ministry, as instituted and ordained by Christ? Do they consider that Paul did not speak by authority, when he declared that "faith cometh by hearing," and then asks, "how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard, and how shall they hear without a preacher?" Is not *the PREACHING of the Gospel*, held and maintained by the Church, to be the great means of heaven's appointment and choice, for the spread of the truth, the salvation of souls, and the final prevalence of Christ's kingdom? Is not the living Church set for the light of the world, and the salt of the earth, though indeed by an honest and upright reflection of the rays that fall upon her from the sun of righteousness through the medium of the sacred Scriptures? Is it not of the living Church that the Giver of this very Rule of Faith affirms, "Ye are my witnesses, both in Jerusalem and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth?" With which could the world at any time more easily have dispensed, according to the plain teachings of the Bible itself, with the written word, or with the living Church? We put this question not by any means as a suggestion of the

comparative superfluity of the Oracles of God, but merely that it may present the indispensableness of the traditional testimony of the living Church, in the most forcible light. Now a legitimate inference from the terms of this charge, and the manner in which it is pressed against Dr. Nevin and the Church, is that those who prefer it do not consider the continual testimony of the living Church, by its public preaching, its oral or written confessions of faith, &c., indispensable to the prosecution of its work in spreading the Gospel and converting the world. Are they willing to accept of this inference? Can they hold to such Quakerism, or Radicalism, and yet each in their several ecclesiastical homes, stand "*Erectus in ecclesia*"? Is Gibraltar strong enough to detain a man of such loose views? But we need not ask questions which proceed upon any doubts as to their views upon this matter. The antagonists of Mercersburg do hold that the living ministry is indispensable to the spread and growth of the living Church? They have as little faith as any of us in the all-sufficiency of the Bible for the conversion of sinners, and the universal spread of Christ's kingdom; are as strenuous as any in urging, not the expediency only, but the necessity of the Church's having some definite understanding of the true sense of the Scriptures, whether that understanding be memorized or written. But what is this else than holding to the necessity for formal dogmatic tradition? And yet, for advocating this view, Dr. Nevin is to be banned, or the Church that refuses to ban him to be blockaded and besieged as a violator of the charter of union which binds together the Evangelical Protestant Confederacy of this country, and a dangerous foe to the peace and purity of American Christian Orthodoxy! Assuredly it must be conceded that injustice has been done, as well to the German Reformed Church as to Dr. Nevin, by stigmatizing the latter as the advocate, and the former as the virtual abetter of dangerous and anti-Protestant opinions upon this particular subject.

The next count, in this special indictment, claiming consideration, is the charge of the denial of the rights of private judgment, or of such a curtailment and limitation of this right as involves a virtual annihilation of the right itself. This accusation is regarded as far more serious in its character and bearings than the preceding. And although it is found usually in the second place only in the chronological enumeration and ascending grade, it is clearly held forth as most deserving of

all proper ecclesiastical rebuke and Christian condemnation. Commonly we find the charge presented with a solemn flourish of presenitory rams-horns. "The denial of the right of private judgment, in the interpretation of Scripture, we cannot but regard as the *apex* *quadratus* of those systems of bondage, Popery and Puseyism. The 'Man of Sin' would never have been able to introduce his most monstrous errors, if the liberty of the individual had not first been trampled under foot. And yet for Popery we have some respect. . . . Puseyism, on the other hand, besides grief awakens only contempt. (The proper climax is wanting, but in lieu thereof we are asked a few sentences lower down!) What are we to think when learned men, who are far from avowing sympathy with either Rome or Oxford, can speak of the 'questionable right of private judgment,' and can compare the relation of the individual member to the Church, to that of the child of immature years to its parent?" Thus did "a member of the Reformed Dutch Church" mourn over Dr. Nevin's depreciation of the right of private judgment, in an elaborate, though not remarkably homogeneous article on the subject in the Protestant Quarterly for January, 1847. If there were "babes" in the Church in Paul's days, who needed to be nourished with milk, and "little children" even so late as towards the close of the aged and beloved John's Apostleship—he thinks that by this time a travelling Church should bring forth only full grown men, able, like partridges, to set up and set off for themselves right from the shell. And he finds cause for dolorous lamentation and complaint in any denial or doubt of such ability, and that it should be thought expedient, on the part of the Church, to attempt to interfere with the freest exercise of such ability. The article is written as a review of this particular feature of the Principle of Protestantism, and a triumphant reply to it. Of course the writer gives his own interpretation and paraphrase of what he considers Dr. Nevin's view as set forth in the publication under review, enlarges or eliminates, as best suits his purpose, or rather perhaps as his sincere but very violent and blear-eyed impulsive zeal, for what he supposes to be the right assailed and truth jeopardized in the case, impetuously leads him to do, and then leaves the alarmed reader to weigh the evidence, and pass sentence upon Dr. Nevin, and the Church tolerating such a man, according to his honest conviction of their mutual guilt. As far as can be gathered from this article, and accusations upon this same point made by likeminded

antagonists of Dr. Nevin, he is charged with denying to the individual Christian all right and liberty to think, decide and act for himself in every thing pertaining to Christian truth and duty, and requiring him blindly to bow to the dictates and decisions of a Church claimed to be invested with supreme authority and infallibility of judgment for this purpose.

Now so far as the Church to which Dr. Nevin has been amenable in his official capacity, for the views he promulgates, has the means of knowing or ascertaining his sentiments, he has taught no such sentiments as those he is accused of advocating, and does not now hold them. On the contrary, he has been laboring all along most strenuously and heartily, to vindicate the rights of the individual Christian against the claims of a tyrannical hierarchy. This is the burden of his masterly criticism upon Popery, in his review of Brownson, in which he does the very thing, only with a much sharper axe, and more powerful stroke, which his adversaries desire to have done, namely, cuts with a sure and deep aim, at the very taproot of the Romish system. And it would take more theological skill than we believe even Dr. Nevin possesses, to heal the gash then inflicted, or bind together again the parts then severed, sufficiently to enable him to draw life for his faith from a trunk so mangled by his own sharp cleaver. Speaking of Romanism, he says: "The theory involves a general wrong against our human constitution, naturally considered, inasmuch as it will not allow its ordinary law of freedom to have force in the sphere of religion, which is precisely that in which it is required to make itself complete. The general law of our nature is that mind must fulfil its mission, not by following blindly a mere outward force of any sort, but by the activity of its own intelligence and will, both as general and individual. It must move in the light that springs from itself, and the power it generates continually from within. This moral constitution includes complex relations, laws, organic interdependence, action and reaction, as in the world of nature, on a vast and magnificent scale. Still to the idea of it as a whole the conception of freedom appertains, in the form now stated, as a necessary universal distinction. The theory of Mr. Brownson, however, if we rightly understand it, requires us to assume that in the highest form of religion, that which is reached in Christianity, the human mind ceases to be directly active in the accomplishment of what is brought to pass in its favor and is a passive recipient simply of foreign action brought to bear upon it in

an outward way. It does not help the matter, that it is taken to be active with regard to Christianity in a different sphere; the difficulty is that no activity is allowed to it, in the realisation of Christianity itself, as the highest fact of the world. Christianity claims to be the perfection of man's life; this, in its ordinary constitution unfolds itself by its own self-movement, in the way of thought and will; but just here all this is superseded by another law altogether; the supernatural comes in as the outward complement of the natural, in such sort as to make the force of this last null and void in all that pertains to its higher sphere. This wrong against human nature becomes most immediately plain, in the violence which the individual mind is made to suffer, by the theory in favor of what is taken to be general. Romanism makes authority to be every thing and freedom nothing. The authority too is cut off from the proper life of the subject, and in this way comes to no real union with his intelligence and will. It comes from abroad, stands over him in an outward way, and requires him to submit to it as a foreign force. Authority thus is not mediated at all by man's actual life; is in no sense living and concrete, but altogether mechanical, rigid and fixed. It is from the start a given quantity, just so much, and nothing either more or less. It excludes private thought and will according to Mr. Brownson." (*Mercersburg Review*, January 1850, p. 60, 61.)

Does all this sound at all like a renunciation of the right and duty of exercising private judgment in matters of religion? Is this covert treachery to the good cause of Protestant evangelical liberty? Remember too that these sentiments were published only two years ago, five years after Dr. Nevin's heresy on this subject was first broached. Because he then denounced the self-willed licentiousness which distinguishes radicals in religion, calling themselves Protestants, to the great scandal of our cause, *he* was denounced as a masked Puseyite or Papist. He had declared it to be "an abominable presumption for a single individual to cast off all respect for Church authority and Church life, and pretend to draw his faith immediately from the Bible only, and wholly through the narrow pipistem of his own private judgment." Compare this with the above unanswerable scientific defence of the right of private judgment in its proper form, consider the difference in the dates of the two utterances, and then say whether the *Mercersburg* heresy has indeed been advancing, at least in reference to this point,

with such rapid strides, towards the abominations of Rome? So far again as palpable progress is concerned, the Church has good reason to believe that it will take D. Nevin longer than an average lifetime to get to Rome at this gait, unless he reaches it by the Oregon railroad and Pacific route. So far from Dr. Nevin's approving of the wrong which Rome does to human freedom in a gospel sense, he has shown himself a strong champion in its defence, not only against the infringements of the Papal hierarchy, but also against the equally perilous violence of individual, mobocratic tyranny. Who that knows the temper of the unsanctified, unrestrained human heart, or the historical exhibitions of its inflamed and maddened passions, does not know, that human liberty, private judgment or whatever you choose to term it, has as much to fear from anarchy as from a hierarchy, not to say more? There was no Romish Pope to muzzle men's mouths in France during Robespierre's reign. Neither was gospel Protestantism there to curb, with the gentle reins of evangelical authority, the madness of the mob. But was there liberty of thought, of speech, of action? Was private judgment free then, or in chains? In chains! It dared not *look* a free thought or feeling, much less utter it. Suspicion, the least suspicion of its exercise, doomed the suspected to the guillotine, and so summarily saved the poor pregnant mind or heart the tears of travail and the pangs of birth. Here is a foe to religious freedom and to the rightful prerogatives of private judgment, as deadly and as relentless, as ever Rome has been, though history has as yet not afforded it quite so much space or time for the development of its temper—which God grant it never may! But that this may never be, we need to be as earnestly admonished against its insidious influences, and therefore to have its true character as fully exposed, as the perils which may threaten us from a reinvigoration and prevalence of Popery in the land. This, as we apprehend him, and as we believe the Church apprehends him, is the aim and purpose, of what Dr. Nevin has said in reference to this subject. He sees and deprecates the danger of being engulfed in the Roman "whirlpool on the one side." Equally conscious of the existence of a fatal rock on the side of lawless authority and defying religious licentiousness, he speaks out in no uncertain tones of the necessity of the most cautious steering to escape ruinous peril here. This can be done, he believes, only by a proper subjection on the part of the individual member of the Church, to the authority of the

Church herself. With such subordination of the part to the whole, the member to the law of life conditioning the very existence of the body, the individual component to the community in which he is embraced, the doctrine now practically prevalent in the wilder sects, and even to a great extent theoretically contended for by the legitimate branches of the Protestant Christian Church, is in hostile conflict. True the advocates of this theory belonging to these branches, find themselves no little perplexed in reconciling their sworn allegiance to the standards of faith and practice on which their respective denominations rest, with their zeal for personal liberty, and individual right. They seem incapable of comprehending how man can enjoy the truest freedom under the highest authority, if his inmost life is only in full harmony with that authority, or that for the true and perfect Christian law ceases to be a bit and bridle, or a scourging lash, and becomes only a friendly guide, or lamp-bearing companion. And yet the necessity of some such directory or canon, or standard of faith, dare not be repudiated. What shall be done? Sure enough! Here is a sad dilemma! And yet those thus brought to face it, like not horns, ever since they have learned to know the Romish beast. What then can they do? But let these good brethren tell their own troubles.—“What then?” it is asked. “Are we to reject creeds, and catechisms, confessions and symbols? Shall we make a bonfire of them, and just take the Bible without any extraneous help? Assuredly not. Here is, for instance, a very valuable book, containing a vast amount of most important knowledge, distributed over thousands of pages. This book has an index, a table of contents, an epitome of the whole volume. This has cost great labor in its preparation; and it enables the reader to refer to the passages and points in the volume, as occasion may require their use. Shall I tear this index out, because it is only an epitome, and not the book? Shall I burn it in the fire, because I can find all that it teaches, and more than it designates, in the body of the work itself? No; I will do no such foolish thing. Suppose even that this index is full of errors, what then? (Hear, hear!) I will refer to the book itself, and rectify those mistakes. I will prove all things, and hold fast that which is good.” Frankly and fearlessly spoken this, for a candidate knocking at the gates of Gibraltar. There could be no misunderstanding of the terms on which admission was sought, and consequently no fault can be found with any

attempt made at correcting the "Index," if bye and bye some mistakes should be detected. How those stationed to guard the "canons" mounted there will bear the questioning even of their make, their calibre, and mounting, one need not curiously conjecture. But we may hope for peace sake, that all due investigations were made previously to enlistment there, so that no errors will be likely to be detected, or only such as may be conveniently endured.

Such then are the prerogatives which Dr. Nevin's antagonists ask for Private Judgment. And because he not only refuses to allow them, but unqualifiedly denounces the claims thereto as preposterous, and the exercise thereof as destructive of the holiest interests of truth and the Church, he is condemned as Puseyistic and Popish. And yet if he had held and practiced such views as the above, he would have been false to his solemn oath to the Church which called him to serve her in her highest post of responsibility. For him the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Constitution of the German Reformed Church were to be more than merely an *index* to the contents of the Bible; they were the form in which he was to receive the teachings of the Bible for himself, and the dogmatic rule to guide him in instructing others. As such he was pledged to hold and maintain them. Suppose he should find errors in them, in his opinion? What then? Why first suspect that the error might be in his own logic, or in his own glasses. And next fear the discovery of error might after all spring from some corner of self-exaltation in his own mind. And at long last allow himself to hope that after all the Church might be right and he himself wrong, or if it could not after proper struggling conscientiously come to this, *modestly* and *decently* retire to some "more congenial home." But with this his antagonists would not be satisfied. No; far from it. If he finds mistakes in the standards of the Church he must lay hold forthwith and correct them. Well would this satisfy them? Let an illustration answer. In a case of no doctrinal importance whatever, a matter purely historical in its character, Dr. Nevin did suggest, in a work published, if we mistake not, after his resignation as Professor took effect, that one question in the Heidelberg Catechism did not properly belong to the book in its original plan, and had better been omitted as not quite in harmony with its prevailing peaceful spirit and tone. That is, in a very small matter, and in a most modest way, he ventured for once to exercise the right of private judgment, according to his

antagonists' definition of that right. We all know what followed. Even the amiable and excellent Dr. Proudfit lost all patience with the man, and administered a most zealous scourging.—Really between the sibboleths and shibboleths which these worthy opponents put into our mouths, it would be impossible for the most genuine Gileadite to hit the true sound. But we may congratulate all concerned, upon the felicitous inconsistency with which these worthy defenders of the faith, can at one time contend most valorously for some favorite theory, as though it were "one of the institutions" of Christianity, and as though the least attempt at a proper limitation and modification of it were proof of lurking treason against the kingdom of righteousness and truth; and yet forthwith visit that man with swift and condign displeasure and condemnation, who may venture to put their theory into practice, in a way that seems in the least derogatory to the minutest item of their chosen creed. It is fortunate indeed, if not for the integrity of their argument, yet for the integrity and perpetuity of interests worth vastly more than any hobbling theory, that they are in fact far more orthodox and rational in their real sentiments, than they sometimes seem to be. Their controversy with Dr. Nevin and the German Reformed Church, furnishes very decided, though rather amusing, illustrations of this fact. Under other circumstances, and with other objects in view, much more caution and conservatism would have been exhibited in their defence of the right of private judgment, and their indignant rejection of the claims of ecclesiastical authority. When men have committed themselves in various ways, and for many years, to one or another of the several phases of the rabid radicalism of the present day, and find their influence and popularity well nigh inextricably involved, in the maintenance of those errors in whose meshes they have heedlessly and rashly become entangled, it must be hard for them to humble their pride of opinion, forego their love of fame, and regardless of the reproaches of those who may formerly have applauded, confess their error, and acknowledge the truth of what they had unwittingly or through blind prejudice opposed. A difficulty of this sort evidently embarrasses some of Dr. Nevin's antagonists. Not but there are those among them whose natural tenacity of *their own* opinions and confidence in the infallible correctness of *their own* views, would lead them to reject to the last, with cordial disdain, every supposed infringement not only upon their "right of

search," but also upon their right of discovering what they please. This, avowedly, is the ground upon which Dr. Berg stands. He was very candid in declaring, as he stood on the desert beach opposite the Gibraltar of Protestantism, that upon this condition alone, would he bestride the intervening strait, and take his place within the strong embattlements. Not a whisper of disapprobation dare be raised, if upon due examination of the "*Index*" of Dort, (will the excellent T. D. W. like "*Index*," as a substitute for "*Canons*," any better than confession?) some errors are detected, exposed, and corrected. They were duly forewarned that this would be done, and yet extended the cordial right hand of fellowship. Badly as the German Reformed Church needs laborers in her vineyard, we opine that that man who should prescribe such conditions, would be allowed to stand long enough at the gate to repent somewhat of his presumption. To say nothing of the cool self-complacency betrayed in the case, such conditions involve an insinuation made with bad grace by so young a man against a Symbolic "*Index*," now nearly three hundred years old!

But there is little danger that any such attempt at tinkering with old established creeds will ever be tolerated by any of the evangelical denominations, which now seem to be in theoretical sympathy with those who claim the right of practising it. The Reformed Dutch Church, the representatives of genuine Lutheranism, or the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, have no more idea of permitting the Canons of Dort, Luther's Catechism, the Augsburg Articles, or the Westminster Confession, to be reduced to the low level of a common *index rerum*, to be altered or amended according to the user's "honest conviction" of its deficiency or mistakes, when tested by his comparison of it with "the Book itself," than Dr. Nevin has of dealing gently with such individual presumption, or than the German Reformed Church would have of conniving at it, should any one attempt such presumptuous tampering with her own adopted symbols. They, and even many of those particular antagonists of Mercersburg, know very well, that the Church is invested, both by an explicit charge, and by her very constitution, with "the power of the keys," in some significant and efficient form; and that unless she did possess spiritual authority within her proper sphere, and when need be exercised it, she could not possibly maintain her integrity, preserve her purity, or even perpetuate her existence. But if the Church has authority over matters of Christian faith and prac-

tice, and is invested with the right not only of claiming but exercising such authority, then assuredly those bound to her communion, and constituting her membership, owe her a corresponding duty, the nature of which is clearly indicated by this *right to rule*. Morally, not politically, spiritually, not civilly, as members of the Church, not as citizens of a temporal government, they are under obligations of the most solemn force to submit to her authority and acquiesce in her decisions, so long as she does not flagrantly abandon her faith, and arbitrarily trample upon the laws of her own existence. Of course men that are "lovers of their own selves, boasters, proud, disobedient to parents, . . . heady, and highminded," will scorn and scout at a doctrine so obnoxious to their wilful vanity. Your Jacob Albrights, and Alexander Campbells, and John Winebrenners, to name no others whose enumeration in such a list might be deemed invidious, are of higher metal than to suffer their necks to be galled by such a yoke of bondage, or their mouths to be gagged with such an hierarchical bit. Why should not they stand up as new Luthers, and second Zuinglis, to re-reform a Church, proved by their impregnable demonstrations, to be in as great need of purification and reconstruction as was the corrupt and apostate Church of the sixteenth century? But Alexander Campbell, and John Winebrenner, and Jacob Albright, are not exactly considered commendable illustrations of the glorious prerogative contended for. And we presume that reflecting man is not to be found in either of the denominations cited above, who would justify either of those renowned reformers, for the schisms they occasioned to gratify their personal vanity, or the peace they sacrificed as holocausts to their self-glorifying zeal, under the pretence of a self-immolating offering to Jehovah-Nissi! Not one among them, unless the disorganizing radicalism of French infidelity, is regarded with more real favor than we are willing to believe it is, would yield to the individual Christian the right to set himself up against all existing law and order, excepting only what his own arbitrary presumption may approve, and so, if it were possible for him to succeed, to subvert the established organization of the Church, and throw Christianity into anarchy wild as the raging sea, and dark as a starless night.

About this, assuredly, there can be no serious diversity of opinion between the opposite parties. None of us believe in our hearts, that the Church's authority is but a powerless leaf, with an impotent confession impressed upon it, possessing no

higher significancy or force than the index of a book! To affirm this were to cut the sinews of ecclesiastical government, and resolve every act of Church discipline into the tyrannical exercise of power. But the opponents urge that there is a difficulty in the way here, and that in the perplexity which it occasions, we must be scrupulously careful to guard the right of private judgment against pernicious infringements. Unquestionably, the proper harmonizing of the right of the individual with the authority of the collective body with which he is incorporated, presents a problem which is not to be solved by a few bold dashes of the pen in the *Protestant Quarterly*. The concession is gladly accepted, and it is hoped, for candor's sake, it will never be recalled. But it is a difficulty by no means confined to the sphere of Church life, or peculiar to theological casuistry. It confronts us at the family fireside, and demands how far a child is bound to honor his father and mother, by obeying his parents, and desires us to fix the definite boundary, beyond which a child is at full liberty to think and act for himself, and in defiance of parental rule;—to say distinctly at what age (if ever,) and under what circumstances, (if any) the son may rise up and say to his father, "I can no longer submit to your commands, release me from your authority, give me the portion of goods that falleth to me, that I may depart and henceforth be a law unto myself." It faces us in the forum, and asks us to define moral treason against existing civil power, to tell in unequivocal terms, how far the citizen is required to bow to the powers that be, and at what point he may refuse such obedience, resist the law (if ever,) and, ringing the tocsin of revolution, summon the oppressed to a violent vindication of their rights, and the riddance of their necks from the chafing chains of tyranny. Here indeed are nice questions to be settled, questions which are not to be disposed of in a passionate newspaper editorial hastily written, and which may puzzle the sagacity even of as profound thinkers as Dr. Nevin's antagonists.

Of this character now precisely is the difficulty of determining the proper limits of the Church authority, and private judgment. And how do the accusers of *Mercersburg* meet the difficulty? By respectfully acknowledging that ecclesiastical authority is a very good and useful thing, and that it is indispensably necessary to maintain it in some form, whilst at the same time, all power of any efficient exercise of such authority is wrested from the Church, and the fullest right is guaranteed

to the individual to do as he pleases, provided he only acts conscientiously. That is in a word, Church authority is rendered nugatory, and individual presumption, or private judgment enthroned. No quotations need be made to prove that this, substantially, is their solution of the troublesome problem. Their assumption of the defence of the prerogatives of private judgment in an age so notorious as the present for running into the wildest extremes upon this very point, as well as the ardor of their zeal in denouncing Dr. Nevin, for uttering some earnest words of warning against the growing evil, furnish the most satisfactory evidence of their views. It is therefore by a virtual nullification of "the power of the keys," that the difficulty is settled by this party. How does Popery meet and settle it? By wresting all right of personal thought and will from the individual, forcing from him a full surrender of his whole being, soul, body and estate, into her hands, assuming infallible authority, and exercising irresponsible power over him, not only for this world, but long after he has been launched into the next. That is, she forges "the keys" of Church power, into an iron sceptre of violent and arbitrary rule, with which she graciously subduces resistance to her overtures of peace, by striking the man down to the ground, and extending over him the protection of her heavy foot. And how does Dr. Nevin meet this solemn question? He has told us in his articles on *Brownson's Quarterly*, in terms so plain that no room is left for honest misapprehension, and with such a cogency of argument against the Romish doctrine on this subject, as to have defied all Mr. Brownson's skill at evasive refutation. This is Dr. Nevin's language:

"Unitarianism and Romanism are the contrary poles of Christianity, freedom and authority, the liberty of the individual subject and the binding force of the universal object, carried out each, by violent disjunction from each other, into nerveless pantomime and sham. Thus seemingly far apart, they are in reality always closely related; just as all extremes, by the force of their own falsehood, have an innate tendency to react, pendulum-wise, into the very opposites from which they seem to fly. Hence the familiar observation that Romanism in many cases leads to Rationalism and Infidelity. In bursting the bonds of mere blind authority, a Ronge has no power to stop in true Protestantism, but swings clear over into the dark void of full unbelief. So it is not unnatural, on the other hand, that Rationalism should lead the way occasionally, to popery

and superstition. This transition we see exemplified in the case of Mr. Brownson. . . . Having violently given himself away to a theory of the Church which puts an end to all private thinking in religion, he makes a merit apparently of the most violent consistency, in following it out to its most difficult consequences on all sides. The Christian salvation is for him a process that goes like clock-work. To his New England mind, the operation of the *machine* is all settled, as clearly as two and two make four, by the fixed nature of its pulleys and wheels. . . . Has it become thus a maxim of reason with him, to obey with unquestioning faith the Roman Church? He will be *rational* then in such style to the full end of the chapter. . . He will play the very *Yankee* himself in this new game; he will be a Puritan Romanist; making a king still of his own mind, and wilfully allowing his will to have no freedom whatever. . . . This is the natural extreme of Romanism. Against it the Reformation formed a legitimate and absolutely necessary reaction and protest. . . . It is as true now as it was at the beginning of the sixteenth century, that the *actualisation* of truth in the world is something which can be accomplished only through the medium of intelligence and will on the part of the world itself; that liberty in its genuine sense is not simply the outward echo of authority, but the very element of its life, and the co-efficient of its power, in that which it brings to pass; that man is no passive machine merely in the business of his own salvation; *that the free activity of the individual subject in the world of mind, never can be paralysed or overwhelmed by the sense of law*, as a nature foreign and transcendent wholly to its own nature, without such bondage as involves in the end the overthrow of reason altogether." (Mercersburg Review, January, 1850, p. 88, 89, and as they sometimes add, though with less reason than in this case, *et passim*!)

This manifestly is not the Popish theory. Whatever else the opponents of Dr. N. may make out of such declarations, they must candidly concede that they betray no disposition to surrender human liberty to the tyrannical claims of Rome. And yet the German Reformed Church is held responsible, under heavy penalties, for retaining a Professor, who holds such opinions of private judgment, and even complimenting him with a unanimous vote of thanks for past services! She is asked to forget, that sentiments like the above, and much more of the same character than we dare venture to re-occupy these

pages with quoting, were ever published, and consider instead thereof only their caricature-paraphrase of a sentence published some seven years ago, as sufficient evidence to prove this count! But the Church would not do "any such foolish thing"! And sober, reflecting Protestantism will commend her wise and prudent judgment in the case, even though at present the disappointed antagonists of Dr. Nevin should cry out with vexation and chagrin: "We have a law, and by that law the man and the Church ought to be condemned."

The *third charge*, in this list of heresies tabled against Mercersburg, accuses Dr. Nevin of advocating views of the sacrament of the *Lord's Supper*, which are denounced as unprotestant and pernicious. Upon this subject Dr. Nevin has written so fully and so freely, that it would be a work of supererogation to occupy a moment or a line, in presenting even only a condensed statement of his theory, but for the pertinacity and partial success with which his opponents have persisted in caricaturing or misrepresenting it. In their attempts at this, they seem to have had no small advantage in the fact already, that Mercersburg was so diligent in its investigation of this subject, and so earnest in its discussion. It was assumed to be suspicious at least, that the German Reformed Professor should think and write so much about what engaged so little attention among others. To be so zealous for the honor of an ordinance which afforded so little opportunity, in the administration of it, for the display of human ingenuity and power, stood in such strong contrast with the manworshipping mania of the age, as made those exhibiting such zeal appear to lean most dangerously in a wrong direction. Although but very few, therefore, of those who sympathized with the alarm-cry raised against the sacramentarianism of Mercersburg, pretended at all to examine or know for themselves what really were the views advanced by that school, it was taken as *prima facie* evidence against Dr. Nevin that he meddled at all with such an old bone of contention in the Christian Church, and revived the discussion of what others seemed to consider as long since settled to the full satisfaction of orthodox Protestantism. Taught in their early youth a system of religion which assigned to other services of the sanctuary an importance and efficiency which threw the sacraments comparatively into the shade, and accustomed by long habit to consider it an evidence of superstition, to attach any special virtue to such external forms of worship, it was to start

serious misgivings, as to the actual aim, and probable issue, of a discussion which clearly invested the subject with greater significance than it was supposed to possess. From this vantage ground now, the assailants of Dr. Nevin attacked him with an impetuosity of argument which threatened at once to overwhelm him, and unanswerably prove him a reprobate to the Protestant faith. He has been charged with maintaining the ubiquitarian heresy, the *opus operatum* abomination, and in a word with teaching Popish transubstantiation in the Protestant dialect. His theory is accused of ubiquitarianism, because he teaches the real spiritual presence of the Lord Jesus Christ in the Holy Supper, and the participation of believing communicants in his glorified humanity. He is charged with advocating the *opus operatum* error, because he insists upon the presence of an inherent power in the sacraments, to convey the graces they are designed to symbolize and seal. And he is accused of holding views in general upon the subject, which must be popish in their prevailing spirit and bias, because they do not harmonize with his antagonists' theory of Protestantism. And assuredly the man proved guilty of so serious a departure from the old paths, is not fit to be continued in the post which Dr. Nevin has been permitted so long to occupy; and the Church, tolerating his wild vagaries, merits the severest censures of her more orthodox neighbors!

The better to see how Dr. Nevin does stand with reference to the genuine Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper, it may be well simply to enumerate the four most prominent theories held upon the subject. *First*, we have the Roman Catholic dogma of transubstantiation, avowing the total transmutation of the natural elements of the Supper into the natural flesh and blood of Christ, and the unconditionally saving efficacy of participation thereof under this form. *Then* we have Luther's characteristic modification of this old Romish fancy, in which he so vainly strives to shun the manifest absurdity of insisting upon a gross physical change which has yet evidently not taken place, by his peculiar scheme of consubstantiation, which allows the elements to remain in their natural form, but insists upon the actual presence of the natural body of Christ in the elements, and the real communication thereof to all that partake of the sacramental bread and wine, though only to believers in an efficacious manner. A *third* theory still holds to a presence of the Lord in the sacraments, in a form so real and so actual as to make it perfectly easy and

natural for its advocates to speak of believing communicants eating Christ's crucified body and drinking his shed blood, of their thus becoming more and more intimately incorporated with Christ, flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone, of the presence in the Holy Supper, of some real mysterious virtue, constituting it, by God's appointment, the channel of the communication of certain special grace, and investing it therefore with peculiar sacredness, and claims to extraordinary reverence as the concentration and symbolical embodiment of the most holy and consoling mysteries of the Gospel; and yet we find this theory guarding itself at the same time most cautiously against the errors involved in the two preceding schemes, denying any physical change in the elements, any concorporation with them of the body of Christ, and rejecting wholly the idea of their being any saving or sanctifying efficacy in the consecrated elements themselves. The *fourth* doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper is that which strips it entirely of all these enveloping mysticisms, and casts them away as the swaddling clothes, in which it was natural enough for puerile Protestantism to dress up its superstitious fancy concerning the sanctity of the Holy Eucharist, but which badly become the main form to which the evangelical doctrine has grown in the space of three hundred years. Completely divested now of all the absurd and childish conceits, which it was naturally difficult for the early Reformers at once to prune off and cast away, we see in the Lord's Supper the severely simple commemorative meal described in the Gospel as instituted by our blessed Saviour. He is present indeed to believers in the Sacrament, but in a purely spiritual manner, just as he is always and everywhere present to his people's minds, when in their pious meditations they rise up to more intimate communion with him. He manifests himself to them there as he does not manifest himself to the world, but only by assisting their memories, by means of the figurative breaking of the bread, and figurative pouring out of the wine, to call vividly up before their mind's eye, as by the help of a suitable picture, all that Christ did and suffered on their behalf, and more intensely to meditate upon it. And in this way alone, by having pious feelings excited, and past events called vividly up to review, are communicants said to eat and drink the body and blood of Jesus, and enter into closer fellowship with his flesh and bones and life. The entire transaction is resolved into a purely rational operation, involving no mystery at all in its nature or observance, and possessing no special virtue.

This last now is said to be the true orthodox Christian doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and for advocating another view of this holy sacrament, Dr. Nevin has been prosecuted and condemned as a vagarist and a heretic. But in order to make good this charge, his antagonists have not only to show that he advocates a theory diverse from theirs, but one that is in conflict with the old established doctrine of his Church upon this subject. The Professors at Mercersburg are not sworn to teach theology upon Dwight's system, or the Saybrook Platform, but according to the tenor and spirit of the Heidelberg Catechism. And they are pledged to maintain not Dr. Berg's paraphrase of the Heidelberg Catechism, or the Puritan Recorder's theory of Protestant doctrine and worship, but that interpretation which most truly harmonizes with that ancient standard's pervading genius and life. To see how far the Puritan conception of the Lord's Supper, as set forth even in its most favorable light in the preceding statement, varies from the doctrine of the German Reformed Church, nothing more is necessary than to set them alongside of each other. The Heidelberg Catechism teaches us that in the Holy Supper,—Christ “feeds and nourishes the soul (of the believing communicant) to everlasting life, *with his crucified body and shed blood*, as assuredly as he receives from the hand of the minister, and tastes with his mouth the bread and cup of the Lord, as certain signs of the body and blood of Christ.” And to secure itself against a rationalistic resolution of all this into a merely commemorative appropriation of the atonement of Christ, the Catechism is very careful to tell us, that by “eating the crucified body, and drinking the shed blood of Christ,” it teaches *not merely* that we thus “embrace with a believing heart all the sufferings and death of Christ, and thereby obtain the pardon of sin and life eternal; *but also besides that, become more and more united to his sacred body by the Holy Ghost, who dwells both in Christ and in us; so that we, though Christ is in heaven and we on earth, are, notwithstanding ‘flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone; and that we live and are governed for ever by one spirit, as members of the same body are by one soul.’*” And there is something so pleasant to the spirit of the Catechism in this substantial way of speaking of Christ's presence in the Supper, so earnest is its zeal for this peculiar form of expression, that we find almost these same words reiterated in a subsequent answer, the Church seeming to fear lest the antecedent qualification might be construed with a

latitude which would vitiate the purity of its proper faith as previously avowed. "Why then doth Christ call the bread his body, and the cup his blood, or the new covenant in his blood; and Paul, "the communion of the body and blood of Christ?" "Christ speaks thus not without great reason, namely not only thereby to teach us, that *as bread and wine support this temporal life, so his crucified body and shed blood are the true meat and drink whereby our souls are fed to eternal life*; but more especially to assure us by these visible signs and pledges, that *we are as really partakers of his true body and blood (by the operation of the Holy Ghost) as we receive by the mouths of our bodies these holy signs in remembrance of him; and that all His sufferings are as certainly ours as if we had in our persons suffered and made satisfaction for our sins to God.*" (Heidelberg Catechism, Questions 75, 76, 78, 79.)

This is the doctrine of the German Reformed Church concerning the Holy Supper. This too is the doctrine of the Reformed Dutch Church's symbolical standards, the 85th Canon of Dort being scrupulously careful to bring most prominently into view those very peculiarities of the Heidelberg Catechism, which are so obnoxious to the opponents of Dr. Nevin. Mark its words: "Now as it is certain and beyond all doubt that Jesus Christ hath not enjoined to us the use of his sacraments in vain, so *he who works in us all what he represents to us by these holy signs*, though the manner surpasses our understanding and cannot be comprehended by us, as the operations of the Holy Ghost are hidden and incomprehensible. In the mean time we err not when we say, that *that which is eat and drunk by us is the proper and natural body, and the proper blood of Christ*. But the manner of our partaking of the same, is not by the mouth, but by the spirit through faith. Thus then, though Christ always sits at the right hand of his Father in the heavens, yet therefore doth he not cease to make us partakers of himself by faith. This feast is a spiritual table, at which Christ communicates himself with all his benefits to us, and gives us there to enjoy *both himself, and the merits of his sufferings and death*, nourishing, strengthening and comforting our poor comfortless souls, by the eating of his flesh, quickening and refreshing them by the drinking of his blood."

This we say was the doctrine of the Reformed Dutch Church two hundred and thirty years ago, and ought, consistently with its existing standards, to be the doctrine of its ministers

now. But that it is not, requires no more special proof than the cordial reception into its bosom of the man who with the Canons of Dort bound up with the Heidelberg Catechism in one hand, and the other uplifted in solemn appeal to heaven, could say, "If I believed that in that sacrament, I received the body and blood, soul and divinity of Jesus Christ, or that the glorified humanity, or that the Person of Christ was by some stupendous miracle communicated in the supper to the believer, I too should insist upon the intrinsic virtue of the sacraments, but as a German Reformed Protestant I am taught differently. I can find no such doctrine in the Bible. I can find nothing of the kind in the symbol of the Church's faith." Whether this inability to see the doctrine thus ceremoniously repudiated, arises from obtuseness or perversity of vision matters little for our purpose. It is quite enough to prove our charge of the Dutch Church's departure from its original faith, that it applauds so flat a renunciation of the very terms even of its catechism and confession, and espouses so cordially the cause of the author of it.

But if the Reformed Dutch Church has bartered its ancient creed upon this subject for the more rational and unmystical theory of New England Puritanism, it does not follow that the German Reformed Church must do so too. She prefers the old doctrine in its good old substantial sense, and is glad to have found the man in her midst, who was willing and able to defend her doctrine against the encroachments and meckeries of modern improvements. The German Reformed Church, continues, in the simplicity of her heart to believe, that sincere Christians, do, in the holy sacrament, receive the body of Christ, eat his flesh, and drink his blood, and that the sacrament possesses inherent power to unite them ever more and more closely to the Lord Jesus Christ, so that the same spirit which animates Him, may more and more animate them, just as one soul animates all the members of the same body. This would be hard doctrine for the Puritan Recorder to swallow; but this is not the only bone in the Heidelberg Catechism at which a New England Congregationalist of the New Haven school would choke. We however who are bred and born in the old Reformation family, have probably, a different physical organization, which makes such food our natural aliment, so that we find no inconvenience at all in using it. Accustomed to walk much more by faith than by sight, and implicitly to believe many things which we do not pretend to understand,

we find it much easier to humble our reason than turn recreant to our Church, when some "mystery of the kingdom" is to be received.

Now the issue between Dr. Nevin and his antagonists, and between these who sympathise with his antagonists and the German Reformed Church, is manifestly this: Shall the old Reformed doctrine concerning the sacraments be retained, or shall the modern Puritan theory be substituted in its stead. Dr. Nevin has labored indefatigably and nobly to resuscitate and defend the old view, or what he has clearly shown to be its full and fair equivalent. The Church in whose service he has toiled has witnessed his labor, weighed its results, and rejoices in finding itself so far restored again, to those old foundations from which the strong current of modern innovations had somewhat pushed it. And we think she does well to rejoice in it, and has no reason to deplore her present trials, so long as her opponents can prove nothing worse against her or her Professors, than that they have shown themselves more consistent and firm in the maintenance of their evangelical integrity, and their resolute adherence to their ancient standards, than those who arrogate to themselves a higher and more intelligent standard of orthodoxy.

Altogether the hostility evinced by the opponents of Dr. Nevin, against the old sacramental doctrine of the Reformed Church, as reviewed and defended in his *unanswered*, and we presume unanswerable, tract upon this subject, furnishes occasion for serious alarm, and sincere regret. There is, to be sure, something unpleasantly and painfully ominous in the ardor with which they espouse the disorganizing and sect-engendering tenets of ultra independency, and in their cordial animosity against the churchly conservatism, or constitutionalism, for which Mercersburg has been contending so courageously for the last ten years. It augurs any thing but good for the great Protestant interest of this country, that those desiring to be regarded, and most commonly accredited, as its most intelligent and valiant champions, should seem thus to make common cause with the authority-despising *freigeisterei* of the age, and virtually sanction its impatience of ecclesiastical restraint, by rearing its radical error into one of the proudest pillars of Protestantism. But allowance must be made for the blind and mistaken zeal exhibited upon this point, in view of the agitations and convulsions of the times; especially, considering, as has been seen, how happily their practice contra-

dicts, and so disproves their argument. For their abandonment however of the old Reformed doctrine concerning the deep mysterious import and efficacy of the holy sacraments, and most emphatically that of the Lord's Supper, no such consoling palliative presents itself. Indeed the *form* of their opposition to it, involving not merely a renunciation, but a denunciation of it, and furthermore a solemn condemnation, by their crimination of Dr. Nevin and the German Reformed Church, of the most renowned and venerated among the old Reformers, (Zwingli, Melancthon, Calvin) who have been incontrovertibly proved to have held the very doctrine for which we have contended, this betrays a radical departure from the ancient landmarks, and a repudiation of time-honored dogmas,—a disposition and readiness to barter the most sacred verities of the past, for the more popular conceits of our more rational era—which cannot fail to awaken in every thoughtful heart, the most distressing anxieties for the future. It may serve the present purpose of these antagonists of Mercersburg, to render Dr. Nevin's views odious by charging them with being identical with the grosser fancies of the Popish doctrine. But to prefer a charge, and to prove it are different things. Dr. Nevin has nowhere taught such a presence of our Lord in the sacraments as involves the *ubiquity* of Christ's body. His positive and unqualified denial of this charge, would have satisfied more generous antagonists than he has had the fortune for the most part of meeting with, that they had wrongfully accused him in this respect, especially as his language could hardly be made to bear the sense they put upon it, even by the most forced construction. If they cannot make the distinction which he most clearly makes, between humanity and corporiety, between the grosser flesh and blood, bones and sinews, muscles and limbs of the human body, and the human nature they outwardly invest, why that is no fault of his. The doctrine of the Catechism he was bound to go by in his instructions, manifestly implies and calls for such a distinction, and so he was fully justified in making and maintaining it. And so again in reference to the *efficacy* of the sacraments as means of grace. In order to make their accusation the more plausible and popular, the adversaries of Mercersburg have charged Dr. Nevin with advocating a sentiment synonymous with the pernicious error of the Romish Church upon this point, although he has repeatedly repudiated the calumny (for such it really became upon their reiteration of it in the face of his solemn

denial) and shown wherein they misapprehended his language and distorted his view. If his opponents are unable to see any difference between the opus operatum efficacy maintained by Rome, and that adaptedness of the sacraments to be the actual seals of the grace they so appropriately signify, and therefore to be possessed of divine efficiency as media for the actual conveyance of the grace they offer, which our standards most unequivocally teach, assuredly he and the Church are not to be ostracised for that. The difference is not annulled by their inability to discern it, neither is Dr. Nevin's duty to teach and defend it, or the Church's right to sustain him in so doing, thereby annulled. Indeed it is a fortunate circumstance for the old Reformed faith, that there are yet left those who can see what others slur or slight.

Instead therefore of frightening the German Reformed Church from her proper and natural position in reference to these subjects, the strong disposition betrayed by those, whose more orthodox pretensions justified the hope of better things from them, to fritter away the ancient faith of our fathers until its beauty is marred, and its strength destroyed, has only convinced her of the necessity of adhering to that fire and storm-proof faith with the more unflinching fidelity. Whatever else the adversaries of Mercersburg have failed to prove to her mind, they have most fully satisfied her of this. Incidental evidences of a growing tendency on the part of Corresponding Denominations to fall in with the current anti-sacramentarianism of New England theology, had indeed not been wanting previously. But not until recently had any of the Churches claiming blood-affinity with the old Reformed Theology, of the sixteenth century, given its formal sanction to this mournful defection. It was time therefore for the legitimate representative of the oldest daughter of the Reformation in this country, to fix her foot more firmly upon her ancient foundations, and declare her determination not to be moved from thence. Those she knew were compactly built and of solid material. The hemlock of these modern "*platforms*," and the slim slabs by which they appeared to be propped, seemed insecure to those accustomed to rest on rocks. Even "*Plymouth Rock*" seemed not as fair and firm in her eyes, (had not the security of which ages of trial gave assurance,) as the "*Rock of Ages*" on which her fathers built, and taught her implicitly to trust. To this therefore she has resolved to cling. And the more violently the storm of opposition strives to beat her off from her refuge,

the more closely does she cling to it, and prove to those who may choose to observe her struggle, that though her form be slender, and her hand be small, she still has a heroic heart, and a believing grasp!

It may indeed grieve her to find herself the object of unkind suspicions among those whose friendship she desires to merit and enjoy. We do not think that she can be charged with contempt for the confidence and good will of sister Churches. But it is surely better, if it must be, to forego the present favor of misjudging friends, than to forfeit her faith. Conscious of integrity, and convinced that she is falsely accused, and unrighteously suspected, she seems to think it best to bide her time, endure her present wrongs, and patiently await the acquitting vindication of the future. And we are fully confident, that she will then find, in a retrospective view of the unappreciated service she is now, according to her humble means, seeking to render the cause of genuine Protestantism, an abundant recompense for all the reproaches now endured.

Reserving the consideration of the other points involved in this controversy for the next issue of the Review, we herewith close for the present.

J. H. A. B.

ART. VI.—GERMAN THEOLOGY AND THE CHURCH QUESTION.*

[Translated from "*Schaff's Kirchenfreund*," for September, 1852.]

IF we compare the present theological literature of English and American Protestantism, with that of the modern Evangelical school of Germany, we meet with a remarkable difference in their conception of *Catholicism*. Of this we have already had occasion to speak, more fully, in our review of Dr. Ullmann's "Reformers before the Reformation," which rests throughout on the assumption that Protestantism can be properly understood and defended only as the legitimate and necessary product of mediæval Catholicism, and not as an abrupt unhistorical revolution. To unchurch the Catholic Church, to cut her off entirely from the kingdom of God, and

* This essay is the conclusion of a series of articles on the most distinguished cotemporary University-theologians of Germany, which appeared in the May, July, August and September numbers of the *Kirchenfreund*, for 1852.

to identify her with the kingdom of Antichrist, as was almost unanimously done by the General Assembly of the Old School Presbyterian Church, during its sessions at Cincinnati, 1845, and which that Church, notwithstanding the well-founded protest of her able and learned Professors at Princeton, has not yet rescinded,) would, upon German ground, be absolutely impossible. The Evangelical Theology of Germany is indeed also thoroughly Protestant in principle and spirit, and rests upon that freedom of thought, and impartiality of investigation, which we properly owe to the Reformation. But this very freedom and impartiality of research has also lead her to conceive and judge of the Catholic Church in a manner totally different from the old Protestant polemics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This, however, does by no means necessarily involve an approach towards Rome, but indicates rather a new and advanced position of Protestantism itself, which we understand to be the progressive principle of modern church history, whilst Romanising tendencies are retrograde movements and deadly hostile to a proper conception of progressive development, which underlies all living German theology of the present day, especially its best works on church history.

First of all, the modern investigation of ecclesiastical and profane historians have entirely overthrown the earlier views concerning the *Middle Ages*. It may now be received as an established fact, admitted by all learned judges, that the Roman Catholic Church as such, during that age, was, by no means, the great Apostacy or kingdom of Antichrist, but the bearer of true Christianity, with its sacred canon and saving ordinances, the mother of the Romanic and Germanic nations, and of the whole modern European civilization, and notwithstanding her adherent corruption, carried within herself a vast amount of elevated piety and heroic virtue. The Papacy itself is regarded now, by the most distinguished modern church historians, and even by profane historians, such as John von Müller, Leo, Ranke, and Macaulay, as an institution absolutely indispensable for that time, and upon the whole highly beneficial, for the education of the Germanic nations, for the preservation of the unity, and security of the freedom and independence of the Church, over against the encroachments of the secular power. As the law of Moses was a schoolmaster to Christ, so the new Christian legalism of mediæval Catholicism prepared the way for Evangelical Protestantism. "Whatever opinion

we may hold," says the Protestant historian *Ranke*,* "concerning the Popes of former times, they had ever important interests in view—the fostering of an oppressed religion, the contention with Heathenism, the spread of Christianity throughout the Northern nations, and the establishment of an independent hierarchical power; it belongs to the dignity of human nature to will and to accomplish something great: these movements the Popes kept alive, and gave them a higher direction." To what extent similar conceptions have gradually taken root, of late, in English Protestant literature, notwithstanding the opposition of religious prejudices, the highly gifted *Macaulay* bears testimony, who leaves it undecided whether England is not more indebted for her greatness to Catholicism than to Protestantism, and thus frankly speaks concerning the Papacy of the Middle Ages: †

"Even the spiritual supremacy arrogated by the Pope was, in the dark ages, productive of far more good than evil. Its effect was to unite the nations of Western Europe in one great commonwealth. What the Olympian chariot course, and the Pythian oracle were to all the Greek cities, from Trebizond to Marseilles, Rome and her bishop were to all the Christians of the Latin communion, from Calabria to the Hebrides. Thus grew up sentiments of enlarged benevolence. Races separated from each other by seas and mountains acknowledged a fraternal tie, and a common code of public law. Even in war, the cruelty of the conqueror was not seldom mitigated by a recollection that he and his vanquished enemies were all members of one great federation."

The proper coryphees of the Papacy, such as Nicholas, Hildebrand, and Innocent III., heretofore regarded as scarcely anything better than incarnate devils, are now looked upon as heroes and benefactors of humanity. Even *Neander*, who is well known to have naturally a great antipathy to every thing priestly and hierarchical, and who zealously endeavors to place the opposers of the ruling Church in the most advantageous light possible, candidly expresses his profound admiration for the moral character and great merits of these popes. In the same manner has the judgment concerning the other prominent phenomena of the Middle Ages—the crusades, the monastic orders and their founders, religious art, scholasticism

* *Roman Popes in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 1 part, p. 44 second edition.

† *History of England*, ch. 1.

and mysticism—assumed a more favorable form, in proportion as they are brought from the dust of the past to light, and understood in their organic connection with the nature and wants of that period. It is impossible, e. g., to read with attention, Neander's *Bernard*, or Hasse's *Anselm*, without being filled with profound admiration for the spirit, virtue and piety of these men, although they move throughout in the spirit and mould of the Catholic Church, and belong, as is well known, to her most distinguished teachers and saints.

But this altered conception of the Middle Ages involves an enormous concession to Catholicism, and a fatal blow against a bigoted ultra-Protestantism. A Church, which throughout this whole transition period, from ancient to modern times, sent out such a host of self-denying missionaries to heathen nations, who carried the Gospel to the Germans, Scandinavians, Anglo-Saxons, Picts and Scots, and Slavonians—a Church, which had power to excite all Europe to a heroic conflict against the false prophet for the recovery of the holy sepulchre of the Redeemer—a Church, which contended vigorously and successfully against the despotism of worldly potentates, slavery, barbarity, and a thousand other evils of society, which gave wholesome laws to the states, raised the female sex to its present dignity, which interested herself in behalf of the poor and suffering of all classes, which established asylums for misery, and institutions of benevolence in all places, which erected unto the Lord numberless churches, chapels, and those Gothic cathedrals, which even yet command the admiration of the world, which gave the first impulse to a general education of the people, which founded and sheltered almost all those European universities, which even to this day exert an immeasurable influence—a Church which has produced within her bosom such an incalculable number of profound minds, elevated characters and devoted saints:—such a Church cannot possibly, in the nature of the case, be the Antichrist and synagogue of Satan, notwithstanding the many anti-Christian elements which she may have included within her bosom, and of which no age and no denomination is entirely free. That extreme representation, which the majority of our popular religious papers continue to repeat from week to week, cannot for one moment maintain itself against the results of later Protestant historical research, and must therefore in due time disappear from the consciousness of all educated and unprejudiced minds.

Moreover, not only the Middle Ages, but also the *first six centuries* of the Christian Church, have been thoroughly re-examined, and documents have been brought to light, which for the most part were unknown even by name, at the time of the Reformation, when historical study, and the publication of ancient works had scarcely begun. Even Luther once calls Tertullian, who lived as late as the end of the second, and beginning of the third centuries, "the *oldest* teacher which we have since the time of the Apostles," (Works, ed. Walsh XX, 1068), so that for him, the line of the Apostolical Fathers, and the numerous Apologists of the second century did not exist, with the exception of uncertain fragments which he could not but know from the legends of the martyr Ignatius, Polycarp and Clemens, "for whom," as he once remarks, "a bad boy forged books." The Reformers were best acquainted with Augustine, and their reverence and love for this profoundly pious as well as spirited and highly gifted father, was of immeasurable importance for their theological and moral training and position, as otherwise the Reformation would most probably have assumed a far more radical character. Through the indefatigable diligence and zealous inquiry of modern times, and through the impulse, which more especially Neander has given to historical Monography, we have at present, in the German language, thorough and complete works on Leo, Augustine, Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzen, Basil, Athanasius, Origen, Cyprian, Tertullian, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, and even back to the immediate successors of the Apostles; so that the Nicene and Ante-Nicene Christianity, with the corresponding heresies of Arianism, Gnosticism and Ebionism, &c., are as clearly presented to our view, or at least as accessible as the Christianity of the seventeenth century. If we now read impartially those valuable monographies, or similar and more comprehensive works, such as Rothe's *Anfänge der christlichen Kirche*, Dorner's *Geschichte der Christologie*, Möhler's *Patrologie*, &c., and if we, in connection with these, candidly study only some of the more important productions of patristic theology, such as Chrysostom on the Priesthood, Augustine's *Confessions*, Cyprian on the Unity of the Church, Tertullian on the Prescription of Heretics, Irenæus against the Gnostics, and the Epistles of Ignatius, we must inevitably receive the impression that the Church of antiquity was in its predominant spirit and tendency, far more Catholic than Protestant, and that the Middle Ages are only a natural continuation

of the Nicene Christianity. Could Ambrosius, Athanasius, Cyprian, Irenæus, Ignatius, Clemens and Polycarp suddenly arise from their graves, and be transferred to Puritan New England, they would scarcely there recognize the Christianity of those venerable Martyrs and Confessors, for which they lived and suffered; but, on the contrary, would much sooner discover, not only amongst the Universalists and Unitarians, but amongst the Baptists and Puritans themselves, distinct traces of a congeniality of spirit with the heretics and schismatics of their own days. We state this, however, without any disrespect whatever, but simply as the impression received from an impartial comparison of historical facts. The most striking difference between the Primitive Church and Protestantism, lies in the doctrine of the Rule of Faith, of the Relation of the Scriptures to Tradition, of the Church, her Unity, her Catholicity, her Exclusiveness, and of the Sacraments. Even of the material principle of Protestantism, the doctrine of Justification by Faith *alone*, in *Luther's* sense, the Fathers know nothing, not even Augustine;* and instead of making this the article of the standing and falling Church, they assign rather to the Christology, to the mystery of the Incarnation and to the Holy Trinity, the central position in the Christian system, and the confession or denial of Christ's real humanity, is with them, according to 1 John, 4, the sure criterion of orthodoxy or heterodoxy.† In all these points of

* *Neander*, for instance, clearly shows, that Augustine's conception of justification is not a forensic outward imputation, (however important this may be) but a really making just, and hence substantially the same with sanctification. This by no means interferes necessarily with the doctrine of free grace, of which the same father is well known to have been one of the most zealous defenders. We may indeed say, that the substance of the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith properly understood is salvation by free grace, and in this general form it underlies no doubt the piety of all ages and of all true Christians.

† We cannot refrain from citing here a remarkable confession of Dr. *W. J. Tierce*, in his valuable work on the New Testament Canon, (1845, p. 280) as it serves to illustrate, in a most impartial manner, the impression of this contrast between Patristic and Protestant Theology, even in its most churchly and orthodox form:—"What a strange impression do the Church Fathers, for the most part, make upon him who, filled with a strictly Protestant consciousness, betakes himself for the first time to their study. Thus it happened with the author of these discussions. Nourished by the best devotional works of the older Protestant writers, and educated theologically in the Dogmatics and Exegesis of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, he turned to the Church Fathers. He remembers well how strange it appeared to him from the beginning, in not being able to find here anything of those truths which formed the well-springs of his entire religious life; nothing of that

doctrine, as well as in the hierarchical constitution, the sacrificial worship, and the ascetic conception of Christian virtue and piety, we clearly discover, in the Church Fathers, from Gregory and Leo up to Cyprian, Irenæus and Ignatius, at least the germs of that system, which afterwards completed itself in the Roman Catholic Church. This is continually becoming acknowledged the more in proportion as researches are extended in this sphere, and their results produced in a popular form. Without this resemblance, it would be absolutely impossible to account for the fact, that the Roman Catholic Church

[Protestant] way, which the sinner must tread in order to obtain peace, and become assured of divine grace; nothing of the merit of Christ as the only ground of pardon [†], nothing of an unceasing repentance, and continually fresh drawings from the fountain of free grace, and nothing of that lofty assurance of a justified Christian. Instead of this, he found that all stress was laid upon the Incarnation of the Divine Logos, upon a correct knowledge of this sublime object of worship, upon the objective mystery of the Trinity and Incarnation, upon the connection of creation, redemption and the future restoration of the creature in the glorification even of the human corporeality, upon the freedom of man, and upon the reality of the divine workings of grace in the Sacraments. Yet it was not too much for him to live himself into this whole method of thought, and, without giving up anything that is true and inalienable in the Protestant, especially the Lutheran Protestant consciousness, to conquer its oneness by means of a living appropriation of the theology of the Fathers. He soon learned that the Christian Church, over against the errors of the present, the Pantheism and Fatalism, the Spiritualism, and misapprehension of the significance of corporeality, stood in need of a decided re-assumption of the truths preserved in the Patristic Theology, and of an assimilation of her entire existence to the peculiar character of the ancient Church, at least internally, since the Reformation of external circumstances lies not within the reach of human power. The Primitive Christian Church appeared to him more and more in her full splendor and exalted beauty, of which only fragmentary lineaments are to be recognized in the churches, confessions and sects of the present. But the knowledge of this truly Apostolic-Catholic Church, which is neither identical with the Greek nor the Roman Church—but which differs still *far more* from Protestantism—this it is which gradually emancipated him from all polemical and denominational fanaticism, and afforded him the happiness of a disposition as decided and uncompromising against that which is unchristian and antichristian, as irenic and liberal towards that which is true and Christian in the manifold confessions of the present.”—Those who wish to convince themselves that the views of the Fathers from Ignatius down to Augustine on the nature of the Church, which in some respects is the most important and comprehensive point of difference between Romanism and Protestantism, are essentially Catholic, and that the article of the creed, *Credo unam sanctam apostolicam ecclesiam*, with them, did not refer to an invisible abstraction, but to a visible historical reality, are respectfully referred to the third book in Dr. Rothe's masterly work on the early Church. The articles of Dr. Nevin on Early Christianity, and on Cyprian too, with which the readers of the *Mercersburg Review* are familiar, are quite to the point, and bring out a great many facts in clear and strong light which are worthy of the most serious attention, and cannot be put aside by mere categorical protests or ungentlemanly insinuations.

has canonized the most distinguished and pious of the fathers and cherishes their memory with filial veneration and gratitude to this day. It is only through want of knowledge, or a singular delusion, that any section of Protestantism could ever imagine itself to be a simple restoration of the Nicene or ante-Nicene age.

If however we concede this much, from a mere historical standpoint, it is easy to see what an enormous influence such an admission must have upon the final solution of the *Church Question*. For whoever despises the judgment of History, robs himself at the same time of all foundation and basis. If the fifteen centuries prior to the Reformation are deserving of no confidence, neither are the last three centuries entitled to any respect. "If any one neglect to hear the voice of the Church," saith our Lord, "let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican." (Matt. 18: 17). In proportion as we undermine and reject the testimony of Church History, in theological and religious questions, do we also open the door to skepticism and nihilism. Herein precisely lies the great ecclesiastical and religious importance of modern church-historical research, even if this should not yet be duly acknowledged by many German theologians. The time will and must come, when the practical conclusions will be drawn from the theory.

But some will at once ask, Of what concern is the testimony of history to me, if I have the *Word of God* in my favor, which is, after all, the only certain Rule of Faith and Life; whilst the greatest schoolmen and Church Fathers, according to their own confession, were themselves sinful men, and liable to err? Very true! But who has made you an infallible *interpreter* of this Word? Has not this Word already existed in the Church before the sixteenth century, and as such been highly honored, read, transcribed, translated and commented upon? Whence then have you the canon, save directly from the faithful collection and transmission of the Catholic Church? Who furnishes you the proof of the genuineness and integrity of the apostolical writings, except the testimonies of the ancient ecclesiastical authors? If already the immediate disciples of the Apostles, if Ignatius, Clemens and Polycarp, if the fathers and martyrs of the second and third centuries, have radically misunderstood the New Testament, what guaranty have we then that *you*, in the nineteenth century, understand it properly throughout, wherever you may differ from them? Are you then made of better stuff than the Confessors and Martyrs

of the blooming period of the Church? Have you done and suffered more for Christ? You say: The clear letter of Paul and John condemns the Catholic Church as Antichrist, as the Man of Sin, the Beast from the abyss, as the Babylon destined to be destroyed. But whence do you know that this interpretation is correct? Since you totally reject the infallibility of the Pope, and perhaps also of the Church in general, you will certainly not be so inconsistent, and ridiculously presumptuous, as to claim it for yourself or any other Protestant interpreter? Moreover, such an application of the passages in question was wholly unheard of until within the later period of the Middle Ages, when it was invented by certain fanatical sects, to suit their polemical ends. The Church Fathers, without exception, even Irenæus, who through Polycarp stood in close relation to the Apostle John himself, have referred them to Gnosticism and to the World-Empire of *heathen* Rome. At all events, the Reformers could not have used consistently the Revelation of John for any polemical purpose, since Luther and Zwingli denied its Apostolical origin, and Calvin, with all his masterly skill as a commentator, wisely suffered it to remain unexplained. Later Protestant interpreters, such as Hammond and Grotius, and all modern exponents of Scripture, (quite lately the orthodox Hengstenberg, in his Commentary on the Apocalypse, and even the Puritan Stuart,) have, almost without exception, rejected the Anti-Roman interpretation, as entirely untenable, and again returned to the explanation of the Church Fathers.*

However this may be, there are, at all events, many more *clear and distinct* passages in Scripture, which, according to the unanimous explanation of Catholic and Protestant commentators, promise to the Church of Christ an *indestructible continuation and an uninterrupted presence of her divine Head, even to the end of the world*. Of this there cannot be the least doubt, and therefore must we above all, build our theory of Church History upon *such* declarations, and not upon a very doubtful interpretation of the darkest passages in the most mysterious book of the Bible—which, not without reason, stands last in our canon. But if it should appear as the result of the modern thorough and impartial investigations

* We must remark, however, that the *exclusive* reference of the 13th and 17th chapters of the Apocalypse does not seem to do justice to the inspired vision of John, which seems to include several successive world-powers opposed to the kingdom of Christ. Still less can we adopt Hengstenberg's view of the *MilBentum*.

of the greatest Protestant Historians, that the Christian Church, before the Reformation, even back to the days of the Apostolic Fathers, was not in her predominant spirit and character Protestant, but essentially Catholic, in most of those points where the two systems are at war with each other, and that the protesting sects, from the Ebionites and Gnostics, down to the Cathari and Albigenses present a confused mixture of contradictory opinions, and as such cannot possibly constitute the uninterrupted continuation of the Life of Christ and evangelical truth: it necessarily follows that such a defense of Protestantism, which rests upon an entire rejection of Catholicism,—as a system of falsehood,—be it Baptist, Puritanic, Presbyterian or Anglican—stands in direct contradiction to the testimony of history and those unequivocal sayings of Christ and his Apostles, and must therefore be abandoned.

This is the deciding point, to which the controversy between Protestantism and Catholicism, which has lately arisen with renewed zeal and energy in Germany, England and the United States, is forced, and should some German theologians, who have aided in bringing about this issue, in their predominantly theoretical tendency and scientific self-complacency, concern themselves little about the practical consequences, there are many divines in practical England and America, who will draw the final conclusions. Examples might readily be pointed out, which in reality confirm this. It is a remarkable and interesting fact, that German evangelical theology, becomes far more practical and serious in its consequences, upon English ground, than in Germany itself. For the Englishman seldom contents himself with naked theories and speculations, but endeavors directly to bring them into practical life, to organize them externally and realize them in some concrete form. This can easily be seen in Methodism, compared with the congenial, but unorganized Pietism. Puseyism exhibits the same tendency, though in an opposite direction; for in it, the idea of the Church has long since emerged from the sphere of theological research, and has become a solemn practical life-question, which has already driven a considerable number of the Clergy and Laity, from the Protestant into the Roman camp. Neither would it greatly surprise us, should we live to see also in America, a larger secession of educated men towards Rome, arising partly at least from an earnest but one-sided study of Church history. For here such a step could be more easily accounted

for, than in Germany, as a necessary reaction against extreme forms of anti-catholic theology. To do this, we need only consider that the Protestant Press of America, with few honorable exceptions, from the city papers, with their ten and twenty thousand subscribers, down to the most obscure country sheets, rests upon this totally anti-scriptural and anti-historical theory; that it contends against the Roman Church with weapons of the blindest fanaticism, and that it suffers itself to make use of such rude and uncharitable misrepresentations, which we should be obliged to stigmatize directly as barefaced lies, could they not be accounted for, on the ground of ignorance and prejudice, and did not the otherwise religious character of these Intelligencers and non-Intelligencers, compel us to adopt the latter expedient. He who has ever thoroughly and impartially studied the history of the Church before the Reformation and the classical productions of Roman Divines, such as Bellarmine, Bossuet, Möhler, Wiseman, Ballmes and Newman, must possess a more than ordinary amount of patience and stoical tranquility of mind, if he can behold those caricatures which are circulated from week to week, without being filled with indignation against the conscious or unconscious calumniators, and with an increasing sympathy for the slandered party. Add to this, the growing confusion in Protestantism, which notwithstanding its great advantages in many other respects is, precisely in this country, more than in any other, split into numberless denominations and sects, without any human prospect for a consolidation or union, and presents a confused mixture of private opinions and subjective, ever changing notions, which threaten finally to wash away all the solid ground of real supernatural faith and fixed doctrine from under our feet, unless important conservative powers should stay the wild stream. The most trifling cause is considered sufficient to mangle the Body of Christ, and to transgress the Apostle's command: "Forbearing one another in love; endeavoring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." And along with this, there is such an abuse made of the Word of God, that it must furnish proof texts for the wildest dreams, as if it were a nose of wax and a book of all sorts of contradictions. If then we have any idea of the Church, its inherent unity and catholicity, of law and authority, and regard Christianity as a supernatural power, to which we must humbly submit, instead of fashioning it according to a rationalistic common sense, and the conceptions of modern times, until it

is finally sunk to the sphere of Nature, and becomes the product of our reason and imagination ; we must have an unusually strong confidence in History, and continually look to the past, and with hope to the future, so as not to become disheartened sometimes by the present Babel of Protestant sects. Without such a confidence in God—who, as a Portuguese proverb says, writes also on a crooked line, and can call a beautiful creation out of chaos ; without the virtue of patient expectation and hope, there is a strong inducement for serious minds, which have become fully conscious of the weight and difficulties of this subject, to cast themselves into the arms of Roman uniformity, if only for the purpose of escaping this eternal fluctuation, and experimenting to acquire a firm foundation and basis, and to enjoy as they hope at least, the feeling of comfortable rest and security.

If therefore Protestantism is to be defended, without surrendering the thoroughly scriptural idea of an indestructible Church, and an uninterrupted indwelling presence of Christ, and without doing violence to the clear testimony of History, prior to the Reformation, it can only be done by conceding, at the same time, a relative title to Catholicism, and allowing it to have been the chief, if not the only bearer of Christianity, down to the sixteenth century, and that it even yet constitutes a vital member of the Body of Christ. Dr. *Rothe* says in his learned and not sufficiently appreciated work, entitled *Die Anfänge der christlichen Kirche*, (Preface, p. ix.): “ There can be no more powerful apology for Protestantism, than the acknowledgment, yea even the positive affirmation of the fact, that in the *past*, Catholicism, according to its substance, has had full historical reality and necessity, deep inward truth, and high moral excellence and power.” So we say also : The noblest and most efficient way of defending Protestantism, is not to run down and abuse, but rather to glorify and defend Catholicism, as the bearer of mediæval Christianity, and as a necessary preparation for Protestantism itself, without which the latter could as little have made its appearance, as Christianity without Judaism, or as liberty without the school of authority and obedience. In the same way we may say, that the honor of the New Testament is not diminished, but increased rather and properly guarded, by giving the Old Testament all due credit and importance as a preparatory dispensation of the gospel.

But even this alone is not sufficient. For a Church, which,

in spite of the tremendous shock experienced in the sixteenth century, depriving her of the most vigorous nations, has yet power to revive herself, and replace, at least to a great extent, the lost territory by means of important conquests in the heathen world; which has since been able to reproduce in the sphere of theology, a Bellarmine, a Baronio, a Peteau, a Bossuet, a Möhler,—in the sphere of missions and Christian Life, a Xavier, a Borromeo, a Filippo of Neri, a Vincens of Paula, a Paschal, a Fenelon, a Sailer; which in later times has attracted talented men so differently constituted, such as Haller, Stolberg, Novalis, Schlegel, Hurter, Florencourt, Newman, Manning, Wilberforce and Brownson; which subsequent to the Revolutionary storm of 1848, has elevated herself with renewed energy, extended her arms towards the North and West, into the very heart of Protestant civilization, and the bulwark of Protestant power, and wherever she goes, throws the Government, Clergy and Laity into a feverish agitation, and sets a thousand tongues and pens in motion against her:—such a Church cannot have her significance in the past *alone*, but must possess even yet an important life-power, a relative necessity for the present, and a significant mission for the future. This is, of course, at once to confess that Protestantism does not describe the entire circumference of the Church, even since the time of the Reformation,—although it is evidently the chief bearer of modern civilization,—but that it is in its own nature, onesided, that it suffers from imperfections, as well as its adversary, although of an opposite character, that it, on this account, again stands in need of a Reformation, that it has, in Catholicism its necessary complement, and that it can never complete itself without it. The signs of the times

* There is only too much truth in the following remarks of the distinguished Anglican convert, Dr. *Newman*, in the preface to his lectures to Anglicans: "There is an instinctive feeling of curiosity, interest, anxiety, and awe, mingled together in various proportions, according to the tempers and opinions of individuals, when the Catholic Church makes her appearance in any neighborhood, rich or poor, in the person of her missionary or her religious communities. Do what they will, denounce her as they may, her enemies cannot quench this emotion in the breasts of others, or in their own. It is their involuntary homage to the Notes of the Church; it is their spontaneous recognition of her royal descent and her imperial claim; it is a specific feeling, which no other religion tends to excite. Judaism, Mahometanism, Anglicanism, Methodism, old religions and young, romantic and common-place, have not the spell. The presence of the Church creates a discomposure and restlessness, or a thrill of exultation, wherever she comes. Meetings are held, denunciations launched, calumnies spread abroad, and hearts beat secretly the while."

also, point clearly enough to this issue. Protestantism is just at this time undergoing a thorough examination and sifting in Germany, England and North America, and it is to be hoped that the sermon of repentance, which is thus delivered unto it, may not be overheard, but that it may reap similar benefits from the progress of its old hereditary enemy, whilst the Roman Church has evidently gained to a great extent, in activity and zeal, by means of the reacting and arousing influence of Protestantism. For wherever they have come into contact, it can easily be seen, that Romanism is in a far more living and hopeful condition, than where it sways the sceptre of undisturbed dominion, e. g., in the spiritually dead Mexico, Brazil, Portugal and Croatia.

This liberal position towards Rome is, at all events, more generous, far more consistent with the spirit of Christian charity, and much better calculated to gain over the adversary, than that harsh and repulsive fanaticism, which hesitates not even to make common cause with Rationalists, Pantheists, Atheists, Socialists and impure Revolutionary spirits of every possible character, over against Catholicism, as is too frequently the case with many of our religious sheets. Only think of the many Protestant patrons, such miserable apostates and unprincipled slanderers as Maria Monk, Ronge, Leahy, (who lately turned out a murderer!) Achilli, etc., have found in our midst! "What communion hath Christ with Belial, or light with darkness?" But the main point here is, that this mild and moderate polemic is more in keeping with *truth*, the Word of God, and the testimony of History, than the other, which rests purely on historical suppositions, caricatures and perversions.

But now it may be asked, How can one remain a Protestant any longer, with a good conscience, if he makes such significant concessions to the Catholic Church, regarding her as the only true Church down to the Reformation, and attributing to her even to this day such an important position and mission? Is not that which was once the true Church, always the true Church? How can Christianity be first Catholic, then Protestant, without contradicting itself? Of course, from the standpoint of a mechanical conception of Christianity and History, this difficulty is not easily solved. Just as soon as we conceive of ecclesiastical Christianity as a system, pre-concluded from the start, and completed in its outward form, for all time, so soon must we consistently become either Roman Catholic or Ultra-Protestant. There is no middle ground. But far otherwise is it from the standpoint of *historical devel-*

opment, which underlies all the more important German historical works of modern times, although the thing itself is as old as history, and has a firm foundation in the Bible. The only merit which German theology can claim in this respect is, that it has brought out the idea in a scientific form and applied it to the treatment of history. This conception, it seems to us, affords the only tenable foundation upon which to justify the Reformation and Protestantism, without doing violence to preceding history, and destroying the nature of an uninterrupted Church. Hence its vast practical importance for the solution of the Church question. We speak here, of course, only of the *theological* and *scientific* defense of Protestantism. For the plain practical Christian is not and ought not to be troubled with these historical difficulties; he bases his faith in Protestantism very properly on the Word of God, as he understands it, on his own religious experience, and on the practical fruits of the system which he finds to compare very favorably on the whole with those of the opposite system. But the theologian must battle with the solemn problem of the Church question, as it stares him in the face from the pages of history. To him, it cannot possibly be indifferent what Christianity has been in the different ages of the world, and what relation his own view of it sustains to the great and good men of bygone days who have suffered all for Christ.

Development is properly identical with history itself; for history is life, and all life involves growth, evolution and progress. Our bodily existence, all our mental faculties, the Christian life, and the sanctification of every individual, constitute such a process of development from the lower to the higher. Why should not the same law hold, when applied to the whole, the communion which is made up of individuals? Any reasonable person will allow a progress in trade, business, in politics, arts, science and civilization; why not also in the Church? Why should she alone, which is a communion of individual believers, and something historical, yea the greatest fact and phenomenon of history, be made an exception to the laws of all organic life and development? The New Testament itself distinctly applies this law to the Church. For Christ compares his kingdom to a mustard seed which groweth into a mighty tree, and to a leaven which gradually leaveneth the whole lump, and the Apostles, especially St. Paul, speak continually of the growth of the body of Christ as well as of individual believers.

Even Roman Catholic Divines, such as Möhler and Newman, must resort to the idea of development in some form—whether

this naturally follows from the Roman standpoint of stability or not, is another question*—in order to understand and explain the history of their own Church. Much less can a Protestant historian advance a single step, and justify the Reformation, without the torchlight of this idea. It is now determined, as before remarked, that Protestantism in those doctrines differing from Catholicism, is not the Christianity of the Schoolmen and Mystics, not the Christianity of the Church Fathers of the Nicene age, not the Christianity of the Apologists, of the Apostolic Fathers, of the Martyrs and Confessors of the second and third centuries, but that all these are substantially more closely related to the Catholic standpoint, although this itself had only gradually developed and perfected itself. This is placed beyond doubt already, by the character of the Greek Church, which remains stationary at the point of the Ancient Church, and is evidently far more Catholic than Protestant. The doctrine of the Trinity, of the Divinity of Christ, of the Relation of the two Natures in Christ, of the Atonement, in short all the articles of the Apostolic and Nicene creeds, are here not brought into view; for these are not specifically and exclusively Protestant, but in their origin and substance Catholic, and manifestly inherited from an earlier Catholicism, fully as much so as the canon of Scripture and the doctrine of Inspiration. They constitute the primitive foundation common to all orthodox Churches, in opposition to all heretical sects. If then the Reformation is not a work of Satan, but a divine fact, which we for good reasons believe, it must be viewed and defended as a *new phase* in the progressive development of Protestantism, as an *advance* on the earlier periods of the history of the Church.

This is then the last but safe anchor for a Protestant divine of the German historical school. To this position has, for example, Dr. *Nevin* been forced, who is thoroughly acquainted with all the forms of English and German Protestantism. The Puritan, Presbyterian and Anglican historical hypotheses, have proved wholly untenable to him, and in his late articles

* Brownson, in several articles of his Review, violently opposes Newman's theory of development as subversive to Catholicism and Christianity, and predicts that a new and dangerous heresy will spring out of this view of the Anglican converts, unless it be speedily condemned by the authorities of the Roman Church. We believe that Brownson is very unjust to Newman, personally and perhaps unconsciously influenced by jealousy against his most distinguished fellow-convert; at the same time, however, we agree with him, that the idea of development is not congenial to the genuine spirit of Romanism, but essentially of Protestant growth.

on "Early Christianity" and "Cyprian," in the *Mercersburg Review*, he has produced arguments against them, which none of his many dissatisfied opponents have attempted to refute, and which indeed, in a historical view, so far as the main facts are concerned, can scarcely ever be refuted.* Consequently there remains for him nothing except the German theory of Development, which, in the mean time, is held in reproach by almost all English theologians. As long as he adheres to this theory, an exodus to Rome will be impossible, as it would be a retrogression, and consequently a nullification of the fundamental law of historical development. For this, in the nature of the case, implies progress, an advance from the lower to the higher, and this must hold good when applied to the Church, although in the individual parts of all the divisions of the Church, retrogressive movements and temporary stagnation may occur.

For the purpose, however, of justifying Protestantism satisfactorily, on the ground of the development theory, two important points must be settled. First, it must be proved that it was not a *radical* rupture with the religious life of the early, i. e., the Catholic Church, but that it has, *in common with her a primitive Christian and a primitive Church basis*, which we, in our opposition, should never lose sight of. For, in the course of her development, the Church must yet continually remain identical in her nature, and dare not advance beyond herself, without falling into heresy, and thus make the promise of Christ to her of none effect. Thus man from childhood to old age still remains man, and each successive step is but a higher evolution of the idea contained already in the infant. Hence it is of immense importance, that the Reformers with-

* It is a fact by no means creditable to our American theology, that the many and earnest writings of this distinguished divine on the Church question, in its various aspects, have been met almost on every side with misrepresentation, slander and abuse, instead of earnest, solid argument. The only respectable articles, which have thus far appeared against Dr. Nevins, are Dr. Hodge's review of the "Mystical Presence," and two articles of Dr. Proudfit in the *Princeton Review*, and even the latter ones are by no means free from misrepresentation, and escape the real points at issue. We hope for the honor of Puritanism, Presbyterianism and Anglicanism, that they will be able and willing to defend themselves in a truly scholarly and gentlemanly way against the powerful attacks made upon them from that quarter, which, however, in our estimation, could only be done by assuming a much more historical and at the same time far less bigoted and exclusive position than they have occupied heretofore. Unhistorical and unchurchly Protestantism, we apprehend, cannot stand ultimately against the powerful strides of Romanism, which has now fairly entered into the very heart of Anglo-American Protestantism, with renewed energy and the boldest hopes of final success.

out exception retained the Catholic Canon of Scripture, the ancient oecumenical symbols, and especially the Apostle's Creed, and incorporated them in their own confessions, and that they stood in direct opposition to the ultra Protestant sects of their times. Certain portions of modern Protestantism manifest, indeed, a fearful tendency in their bitter hostility against Rome, to separate themselves from this fundamental basis, and in like proportion sink into the character of heresies and sects. But the main branches of Protestantism will, by no means, surrender this Apostolic symbol, which connects them with the Ancient Church, and never cease to claim an interest in the Christianity before the Reformation, especially in the Patristic literature. Indeed there are evidently manifold strivings to recover numerous treasures, which have been cast overboard, and particularly to reconstruct, enlarge and conform their worship to the Church principle.

Then again it must be proved that Protestantism has its foundation substantially in *Apostolical* Christianity. For the New Testament, the Word of Christ and his inspired organs, is, after all, the final resort in all religious questions, and whatever has no connecting point with it cannot be sustained in the end. The germs of all legitimate stages of progress must already appear in the Apostolic Church, whilst a development beyond Christ himself and his Apostles, in the sense of Rationalists and Free-thinkers of all classes, must naturally assume the character of a degeneration, and a relapse into Heathenism or Judaism. With *such* development we, of course, have not the least sympathy whatever, but abhor it as essentially antichristian. But the Reformers, we all know, without exception placed themselves on the Bible as the only infallible rule of Christian faith and practice. Now it would indeed be an inextricable historical riddle, if the close association which Protestantism has from the start formed with the Bible, and if the zeal with which it continually devotes itself to its translation, interpretation and promulgation throughout the world, should rest finally upon a mere delusion. It is, indeed, manifestly impossible for the Bible to contain *all* that the various denominations and sects imagine to find in it—but which, in truth, they force into it, by means of their private interpretation—or it would contradict itself, and cease to be the truth any longer. It cannot possibly contain at once the contrary doctrines of Episcopalianism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, Zuinglianism, Presbyterianism, Congregationalism, Methodism, the Baptists and Quakers, (if by special indulgence, we

should still number the last two with orthodox Protestantism); it cannot, at the same time, teach and condemn the doctrine of Predestination, or both affirm and deny the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist; it cannot at one time declare Baptismal Regeneration, and yet degrade the Sacrament to the level of an empty sign; it cannot enjoin the baptism of Infants, and yet reject it as unchristian; it cannot establish three orders in the Ministry, and then again, but one, or teach no peculiar spiritual office at all, but only a universal Priesthood, and favor whatever other points of difference there may be in Doctrine, Constitution and Cultus, partly essential, partly non-essential, concerning which Protestants have quarreled already for three hundred years, with equally zealous appeal to the Bible, without advancing a single step towards each other. Still justice requires us to allow, that they agree, we will not say in all—as this would evidently be saying too much—but in most of the fundamental articles of the Gospel; for if it were otherwise, we would, according to the incontrovertible maxim, “out of the Church, no salvation,” be compelled to deny the possibility of salvation in one or the other of these communions, to which extent, even the extreme Puseyites, and Old-Lutherans will not venture.

Some such relation then must evidently exist between the Bible and orthodox Protestantism in order to explain intelligently their close connection for three hundred years. In this dilemma, German Theology again comes to our relief and transfers us, to what appears to us, the only correct point of view.

Modern exegetical investigations, in which sphere, as is well known, it has displayed an extraordinary activity, place it beyond all doubt for us at least, that we must distinguish three stages of development and types of doctrine in the apostolic Church, which of course, in no way, contradict or exclude each other, as the school of Dr. Baur in Tübingen, after the precedence of the ancient Gnostics, maintains, but mutually complete each other, to wit:—*Jewish Christianity*, represented by the Apostles, Peter and James, *Gentile Christianity*, represented by the Gentile Apostle Paul and his co-laborers, and *the higher union of both* by John, the beloved disciple, who, surviving all his colleagues, exhibits the third and last period and completion of the Apostolic Church, and looks forward, at the same time, as the Prophet of the new covenant, through the most distant future, to the new heavens and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness and peace for evermore. If this view be correct—and we find it more and more confirmed the longer

we study the New Testament in its proper connection—we have a polar star to guide us through the entire labyrinth of Church History, in her manifold phases and stages of development. According to this view then, the history of the Catholic Church, which stays herself on Peter as her rock,* and derives her doctrine on justification, faith and good works chiefly from the first two Gospels and from the Epistle of James, corresponds to Apostolic Jewish Christianity, and with it lays stress principally on authority, law and the closest possible connection with the theocracy of the Old Testament. Protestantism, which originally proceeded from a renewed study of the Epistles of Paul, is a onesided enforcing of the paulino-Gentile Christianity with its spirit of evangelical freedom and independence, over against the Jewish Christian excesses. In its relation to Catholicism it has thus far imitated St. Paul far more in his temporary inimical collision with Peter at Antioch, (Gal. 2: 11, 19,) than in his subsequent friendly co-operation with him, and has frequently given occasion to his antagonist to repeat the warning of Peter against the abuse of the writings of Paul “in which there are some things hard to be understood.” (2 Peter 3: 16.) Then again Protestantism has unfolded thus far almost exclusively the anthropological and soteriological doctrines of Paul, his Epistles to the Galatians and Romans; whilst the later Epistles of the same Apostle, especially his profound doctrine of the Church, as the one, undivided body of Christ, the fulness of him that filleth all in all, have evidently not yet received their full share of attention. As soon as this shall be done, there will be at the same time a certain approximation to the Catholic, church-principle, and the way become prepared for the third and last Period of the Christian Church, in which the great truths of Catholicism and evangelical Protestantism, with the exclusion of their mutual errors, may become united in a higher union and harmony, through the renewal and complete appropriation of the spirit of John, especially of his doctrine of the person of Christ, and the living communion of the faithful with Him and with each other. But this union must be preceded by a universal

* We may admit with Count Zinzendorf, and Dr. Stahl, in his late address to the German Church Diet in Bremen, that “the Pope is not the Antichrist, but the legitimate chief of the Roman Church,” as Peter was the head of Jewish Christianity, without surrendering thereby the true interests of Protestantism. For the Roman Church is not the Catholic Church, but only a part of it. The Greek Church in her best days never disputed the authority and even primacy of the Bishop of Rome for the Latin Church, but refused to submit to it in the absolute and universal sense.

repentance, and we may here appropriate to ourselves the significant words of the great and generous Catholic Divine, Möhler (*Symbolik*, Page 353, sq. 6 Ed.) who, after frankly acknowledging the unwarrantable lack of principle in so many priests, bishops and Popes, "whom hell has swallowed up," as the cause of corruption in his Church and of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, adds—"This is the point (the consciousness of guilt) at which Catholics and Protestants will in great multitudes one day meet and give each other the hand of friendship. Both, conscious of guilt, must exclaim, *We all* have erred—it is the Church only—as an institution of Christ—which cannot err; we *all* have sinned—the Church alone is spotless on earth. This open confession of mutual guilt will be followed by the festival of reconciliation."

Herewith we bring the series of essays on German Theology to a close. We have rendered it high praise, and joined bright hopes with it. But we would not be so misunderstood, as though we were blind to its manifold wants and imperfections; we have rather distinctly stated the contrary, and intimated that its principle practical task has by no means yet been accomplished. We know also full well that salvation comes not from theology, science or learning, under any form, as many German closet-scholars imagine, but from *life*, from those *divine-human powers*, those aged, yet ever youthful *supernatural facts*, which alone have founded and which alone can renew and complete the Church. But if the evangelical theology of Germany, in connection with the other instruments of the age, should, in the hands of a merciful God, serve the purpose of preparing the way, from the Protestant side, through the inward, quiet, yet deeply working "power of thought," for such a reconciliation between Catholicism and Protestantism, and aid in bringing to an end the great schism of the sixteenth century by a greater and more difficult act of reunion: it would truly deserve the praise and gratitude of all true friends of the kingdom of God, which is a kingdom of love, harmony and peace. For what can be more grand and glorious than to heal the bleeding wounds of the body of Christ, and to labor for the realization of the last prayer of our Eternal High Priest: "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me!"

W.

Mercersburg, December 6th, 1852.

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ART. I.—DR. NEVIN AND HIS ANTAGONISTS.

[*Second Article.*]

It should perhaps, after all, not be very surprising, that Dr. Nevin's course, in his theological treatises and discussions, has given so much displeasure to the very few in the German Reformed Church, and their allies out of it, who seem to have so jealousy combined for his overthrow, and for the proper castigation of the Synod which has dared to scandalize orthodox Protestantism, by tolerating the man, and enduring his doctrines. Not indeed because he has failed to give proof of impeccability in his professional labors. His most exacting opponents would hardly make so severe a demand of one, whom they have come to consider inherently and irresistibly prone to philosophical and theological "*vagaries.*" Neither would his most devoted and admiring disciples pretend to claim for their esteemed Teacher such infallible perfection, or for the numerous productions of his prolific pen, full freedom from all fault and blame. But we apprehend that Dr. Nevin's *faults* have given his persevering accusers far less trouble and annoyance than his *virtues*, and that the errors of style or of sentiment, which they may have detected in his various contributions to our theological literature, have occasioned far less vexation and grief than those things in them which are most unblamable and true. His real *πρωτον ψευδος*, the actual "head and front of his offending," we suspect rather to be this, that he has forced out incontrovertible evidence of the defection of many of the self-constituted leaders of modern Protestantism, from the doctrines of the very standards by which they hoped to condemn him, and the virtual substitution of unfledged rational-

istic inventions in their stead. This exposure has inflicted a double pang. It brands their favorite tenets with the stigma of bastardy, proving that they are not what they pretend to be, the legitimate offspring of old Protestant Orthodoxy. And this reproach is further made more scorching by threatening to reduce the hay and stubble of their own fair reputation, reared professedly upon this old foundation, to an ignoble ash-heap. For, right or wrong, Protestant, Puseyistic, or Popish, in his sentiments and predilections, it must by this time be conceded, that Dr. Nevin has been subjecting the high pretensions of his adversaries to severer tests than they seem willing or able to endure. They have been loud in vaunting forth their firm and undeviating adherence to the traditional orthodoxy of our Protestant Church Fathers, (notwithstanding their outcry against the authority of Tradition); but their claims to such glory have been so vigorously disputed, as to prove them pitifully shallow and unsound. They have proudly proclaimed that they belong to the genuine apostolical succession, in all things pertaining to primitive doctrine and practice, (notwithstanding their exulting hosannas in favor of complete independency); but their brilliant pretensions have been involved in a gloomy haze of suspicion, if not shown to be utterly spurious. According to the flesh, they are the direct descendants of the great and good men to whose piety and learning we owe our noble Protestant Creeds and Confessions, rooted and grounded in the teachings of the Bible and the Faith of the Church; and yet, when put to the test, they betray the backslidings of their hearts from the faith of these old confessions, by standing forth as the intrepid advocates of "The Bible only," in full, anti-creed, sectarian style! They desire to be honored as the lawful and proper heirs to the Westminster Confession, the Canons of Dort planted on the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Augsburg Confession combined with Luther's Catechism, and yet, when required to prove their integrity by these standards, they plead as lustily for the right of private judgment as ever did the most self-sufficient champion of radical separatism, and do not hesitate virtually to repudiate the binding claims of established Church symbols, and ignore the divine right of Church authority. They boast of close ecclesiastical affinity with Luther, Zwingli, Melancthon, Ursinus, Calvin, and "the venerable fathers of Dort;" and yet, when tempted, mock at their doctrine concerning the sacraments, as mystificacious, semi-popish, and absurd! We

have seen already to how lamentable an extent this holds true of their fancies concerning the Holy Supper of our Lord. No wonder that so cold and ghostly a theory of this sacrament should speedily reduce the observance and dispensation of it to a *fifteen minutes' service*, put in as a minor appendage to the main "performances" of the morning, and despatched with all the haste with which the elements can be distributed among the remaining communicants! How painful to be told, by those who can testify of what they have seen, and known, that New England Christianity should so degrade the sacrament of the Supper! No wonder the troubled conscience of the Puritan Recorder should utter its wail-notes against sacramental religion, and Mercersburg superstitions!

After what has been stated and shown, in regard to the renunciation on the part of Dr. Nevin's antagonists, of the old doctrine of the Lord's Supper, the reader will not be astonished to discover that they are guilty of similar defection from the old Reformed and Lutheran doctrine concerning Holy Baptism. This defection also has come more fully to light, through their incautious zeal against Dr. Nevin and the German Reformed Church. They very solemnly denounce Mercersburg Theology, and charge those who adopt or tolerate it, with reviving and teaching the abominable Popish doctrine of *Baptismal Regeneration*. And where do they find their apology for such denunciation? Generally in the view advanced concerning the objective power of the sacrament, but more particularly in certain terms and expressions which seem to savor very strongly of Rome. Does then the use of such terms as "baptismal grace," and "the cleansing efficacy of the sacrament," etc., involve a denial of the Protestant doctrine upon this subject, or a surrender of the entire case to Rome! We are most sorry indeed to hear it. It was hardly to be expected, from those professing such ardent zeal in favor of Protestantism, that they would so unwittingly concede the whole point at issue here to our common foe. Our old Confessions, and the venerated authors of them, are no way flattered by such a concession. Anxiously as they desired to shun Popish inventions and superstitions, they seemed to think that they in no wise betrayed or compromised the truth, either by holding fast to the mediate efficacy of the sacrament of Baptism, or to such terms as avowed their firm and unequivocal faith therein. They do not shrink at all from using such expressions as, "ingrafting into Christ," "regeneration," "remission of sins," as appropriately

exhibiting the grace communicated to the baptized in a proper administration of the sacrament. Are they therefore Papists, or premature intimations of Puseyism? We trust not. Far more reasonable is it to suppose, that their modern representatives have suffered themselves to be moved from the old foundations by over-anxiety to get still further off from Rome. But as the sound and substantial doctrine of the ancient standards seems to be left so far in the rear of the more prevalent Protestantism of our day, as not only to be forgotten, but to be reproached and condemned as the very heresy of Antichrist himself, when it is quoted and defended by those who prefer old bread to fresh foam, we shall certainly be justified in letting the honored authors of them vindicate themselves in their own language, against the charge of covert Popery impliedly brought against them, by these incautious friends of theirs. Hear then how boldly they speak of the efficacy of Baptism:

"Baptism is a sacrament of the New Testament, ordained by Jesus Christ, *not only* for the solemn admission of the party baptized into the visible Church, *but also* to be unto him a sign and seal of the covenant of grace, of his *ingrafting into Christ, of regeneration, of remission of sins*, and of his giving up unto God through Jesus Christ, to walk in newness of life, which sacrament is, by Christ's own appointment, to be continued in his Church until the end of the world."

"The efficacy of baptism is not tied to that moment of time wherein it is administered: yet, notwithstanding, by the right use of this ordinance *the grace promised is not only offered, but really exhibited and conferred by the Holy Ghost, to such (whether of age or infants) as that grace belongeth unto; according to the counsel of God's own will, in His appointed time.*"

This quotation is of course not made from the Puritan Recorder, or even from the Presbyterian, or Christian Observer; though one might have expected that Dr. Engles, at least, could hardly have conducted a paper upon the good old fashioned basis of his section of the Presbyterian Church, for so many years, without even inadvertently admitting it, or the substance of it, into his spacious columns! Indeed we look in vain for anything equivalent with the above doctrine, even in so favorite and popular a treatise on Baptism as that of the venerated Dr. Miller, issued and circulated by the General Assembly's Board of Publication. And yet every letter of that quotation may be found in the Westminster Confession of Faith, chap.

28, sect. 1 and 6. How shall we account for it, that modern writers upon the subject can find it so easy to slur over, or totally suppress, these doctrines of their acknowledged standards? If they no more hold to such views, were it not wiser and better to move their elimination from the Book, than fall out by the way with those who may too confidently presume, that because they are still retained in the creed, they continue to be honored in fact? For no one, uninitiated, could possibly read this article of the Westminster Confession, or the 166th and 168th Questions of the Larger Catechism, without at once concluding that renewing, regenerating efficacy in some real form was explicitly claimed for Holy Baptism, by the entire Presbyterian Church.

In full unison with this doctrine of the Confession just quoted, is the following declaration, derived from another source :

"God commands all who are his to be baptized with pure water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, thereby signifying to us, that as water washeth away the filth of the body when poured upon it, and is seen on the body of the baptized when sprinkled upon him ; so doth the blood of Christ, by the power of the Holy Ghost, internally sprinkle the soul, cleanse it from its sins, and regenerate us from children of wrath unto children of God. Not that this is effected by the external water, but by the sprinkling of the precious blood of Christ, who is our red sea, through which we must pass to escape the tyranny of Pharaoh, that is the devil, and to enter into the spiritual land of Canaan. Therefore the ministers on their part administer the sacrament, and that which is visible, *but our Lord giveth that which is signified by the sacrament, namely the gifts of invisible grace ; washing, cleansing, and purging our souls of all filth and unrighteousness ; renewing our hearts, and filling them with all comfort ; giving unto us a true assurance of His fatherly goodness ; putting on us the new man and putting off the old man with all his deeds.*"

What have we here, Mercersburg vagaries? They must indeed sound very much like them, in the ears of those who have such an abhorrence for the theology emanating from that source. No one at least, familiar with the views which Dr. Nevin's opponents avow as orthodox, in opposition to his own, would suspect for a moment, that we have made the last citation from a Protestant symbol, or that it belongs to their own denomi-

national standard of Doctrine, and can be found in full in the thirty-fourth Canon of Dort! Assuredly so long as such terms and declarations are allowed to stand in the confessions of Dort and Westminster, the Christian Intelligencer and Presbyterian would act wisely in being more moderate in their vilifications of Meroersburg, and condemnation of the Synod of the German Reformed Church, for advocating or tolerating the doctrine of baptismal grace. We challenge them to produce a single paragraph or passage, from any of Dr. Nevin's writings, which, honestly and fairly interpreted, is in conflict with the doctrine of the Sacraments, set forth in the several quotations made. Indeed they would commend themselves as more courageous and candid than we venture to hope they are, if they will exercise liberality enough to publish in juxtaposition the language of their Confession on the subject of Baptism, and Dr. Nevin's published sentiments on the same subject. They have done much to excite suspicion both against the Church and the man. Will they not go one step further, and prove that their accusations are well founded? The Christian public and a slandered Church have a right to demand this of them, or else may justly expect that they will evade ne opportunity of making full reparation for the injury inflicted upon those who have been traduced by their prejudiced zeal and false testimony, by retracting their premature judgments and publishing the truth.

Before dismissing this point, it will be proper to add, that as in the case of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the lax view prevailing of late in New England, and adopted from there as a substitute for the doctrine set forth in the standards of Heidelberg, Dort, Augsburg, and Westminster, led practically to an undervaluation of it as a means of grace, and resulted in its being assigned a comparatively insignificant place in the services of the sanctuary; so the modern unsacramental and anti-Protestant theory concerning Baptism, seems to be tending to the same practical disparagement of it. We have it, not merely from the respected source to which we are indebted for the statement made above, with reference to the indecent, not to say irreverent despatch, with which the Holy Supper is frequently administered in New England, but from the mouths of many other well qualified witnesses, that the baptism of infants is gradually falling more and more into disuse, even among the most zealous orthodox New England Churches. And is it to be wondered at? What is Baptism,

according to the prevailing modern Puritan theory, but unmeaning mumery? All that this theory offers or calls for can quite as well be secured—and among pious anti-Pedobaptists is secured, without the rite. Does the Puritan Pedobaptist solemnly dedicate his children to the Lord? His neighbor on the other side must be worse than a heathen man and an idolater, if he does not the same. Does the Puritan Pedobaptist pray for his children, educate them for the Lord's service, &c.? His Baptist neighbor, most assuredly, is not so impious, and so indifferent to the spiritual interests of his children, as not to do the same. Do Pedobaptist congregations feel pledged to make common supplication for their baptized youth, and special provision for their religious nurture? Unquestionably Baptist societies do the same, with equal fervor, and with as much faith, that their petitions will be heard. What advantage then hath the Puritan Pedobaptist, or what profit is there in Infant Baptism? None any way, upon his evincing theory. Neither, as facts indeed seem to indicate, will it take long for active Yankee minds to discover this, and then at once dismiss infant baptism as an antiquated superstition, a *puerile* relic of Popery—at once unreasonable and absurd. And it will be well for the Presbyterian Church, located in a lower latitude, (geographically we mean,) if the tracts on Baptism, which are circulated among them, do not lead to the same deplorable result.

With such facts in view, how unreasonable and unrighteous it is for Dr. Nevin's antagonists to denounce his sentiments upon Baptism as anti-Protestant, and defame the German Reformed Church for preferring the old standard doctrine upon this subject, to a modern theory so shallow as scarcely to hold water enough to admit of Infant Baptism, and involving a strong tendency to the ultimate abrogation of the sacrament in every form, and for all classes of subjects. We envy not the position in which such glaring incongruities must place them before an impartial and reflecting Christian public.

Having fully convicted Dr. Nevin of recreancy to the Protestant doctrine concerning the sacraments, and administered, what they doubtless deem, a richly merited rebuke, to the Church guilty of enduring such recreancy, his antagonists proceed next to arraign him upon a still more serious charge, and one which may well challenge the most anxious consideration of universal evangelical Christendom. The proper proofs of this charge were indeed tardy in their development. The

minds and hearts of those who took special interest in what transpired in the German Reformed Church, in connection particularly with her Theological school, were frequently disturbed with strange and sad presentiments, that in a case exhibiting such aggravating symptoms, as zeal for Church authority in connection with Bible authority, feverish repugnance to the supremacy of private judgment, and firm faith in the spiritual efficacy of the sacraments as channels for the actual communication of divine grace,—the root of the plague must be still more deeply imbedded in the theological system of the patient, and implicate some vastly more vital truth than either of those which had yet been openly assailed. For a time, however, this deepest root of all the trouble kept itself so adroitly concealed as to baffle the keenest-scented investigation. But after the lapse of a few years subsequent to their first discovery of the mischief gathering in Mercersburg, their patience, or their hope, was rewarded by what they took for a development in full, of the evil whose existence they had so strongly suspected. By means of the nicest theological equations they had calculated that some still undiscovered, but powerful influence, must be producing the alarming perturbations of the Mercersburg theological system, and at last the infallible precision of their melancholy calculations is fully, though mournfully verified!

The readers of this Review are no doubt apprized already, that the error to which we now refer, affects a no less vital doctrine than that of *Justification by the imputed righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ*. No wonder that an evil of such gloomy magnitude should cast its sombre shadow considerably in advance of its actual appearance, and excite painful presentiments of its existence and near approach, in minds so jealous for the purity of Protestantism! Now we have no fault to find with such jealousy itself, piously exercised, and duly tempered with Christian forbearance and charity. There are unquestionably occasions when jealousy is inseparable from the emotions of the purest and warmest love. In such circumstances indeed the workings of the former affection only prove the strength and fervor of the latter. And we are by no means insensible to the fact, that, in the hallowed sphere of church life and relationship, occasions frequently occur which awake and justify such jealousy. In these days especially the Evangelical Catholic Church, (by which it need hardly be said we mean the orthodox Protestant, in distinction from the

heretical Romish Church,) has frequent reason to complain of the wayward affections of children for whom she has travailed in birth, and whom she has tenderly nurtured for the Lord. Many think it a small matter to sunder the bonds of parental and filial union, and, tearing away from their spiritual home, run over into the fellowship of the foes of Christ and his true Church. It is their shame, and the grief of the Church, that many, instead of continuing so true and unswerving in their affectionate adherence to the truth as God has given it to them, as to be unsusceptible of temptation, are ever wildly "gadding about to change their way," and seem restive under the restraints of spiritual fidelity. The impure gaze of the old Charmer appears to have fastened with fatal enchantment upon the fluttering hearts of some, and they have no power to turn away from his eye, or escape from the snare into which they feel themselves deliriously drawn. Others suffer themselves to be beguiled with flatteries offered to their personal pride, or with delusive promises of deliverance from the shackles of superstition and the restraints of religious authority, and are thus tempted to abjure the faith of their fathers, and barter their ecclesiastical birthright for sinful gratification of personal ambition or spiritual pride. In proportion therefore as the Evangelical Protestant Church is conscious of the genuineness of her claim, to be recognized and honored as the true representative of Christ's kingdom on earth, and is assured that she offers the surest and safest, if not the only way of salvation to men, and in proportion as she is sincerely zealous for the honor of her Head and High Priest, and the salvation of souls through faith in Him, will she regard all such instances of disloyalty and fatal desertion with profound grief, and be stirred up by them to more anxious jealousy of the first indications of similar disloyalty and desertion on the part of others. But however justifiable *such* jealousy may be, it affords no apology to those who have themselves abandoned or betrayed, whether ignorantly or presumptuously, the true principles and practices of the Orthodox Church, from a position arbitrarily assumed to be right, to assail and denounce as traitors and recreants all who may question their infallibility, or venture to expose their mistake. And yet this is what our antagonists have been doing, in reference to Mercersburg and the German Reformed Church.

An additional exemplification and proof of this may be found in their loud and virulent denunciation of the view ad-

vanced by Dr. Nevin, upon the great doctrine now under notice. They accuse him of denying the cardinal doctrine of the sinner's justification by imputation alone, and commending the the Romish doctrine in its stead. Let us see on what grounds this charge rests.

Dr. Nevin has said, that in his view the imputation of the righteousness of Christ, as the only basis of the sinner's pardon and justification, is not a *fiction* in the Divine Mind, reckoning as pertaining to the sinner and being his, what is in no way made over to him; but a *fact*, in which that which is freely *imputed* is also gratuitously and graciously *imparted*, so that the sinner's justification before God is associated conditionally with his regeneration in Christ. Now this renewal of human nature *individually* in Christ is rendered possible only by the atonement made in the human nature of Christ, and the complete righteousness achieved for mankind by Him in that nature. But this was done *generically*, or if it suits the reader's tongue and taste better, *federally* and *representatively*. Thus Christ accomplished and secured, in his representative or federal nature, that which was to be the procuring cause and living basis of redemption for all who would believe. The righteousness therefore procured in and by him, as the ground of the sinner's justification, is a real and not a fictitious righteousness. And inasmuch as this is a righteousness wrought by Christ in his Mediatorial capacity, it is *immanent to the nature* He condescended to assume on man's behalf, really *belongs to human nature as regenerated in Him*. It follows, therefore, that the act of a sinner's justification, upon his complying with the gospel conditions of repentance and faith, and thus becoming united livingly to Christ, involves a real, and not a fictitious, imputation of the righteousness of Christ, and an actual participation therein.

All this has been repeatedly stated by Dr. Nevin himself, and with much more force. But we have preferred giving the view as apprehended by us, and in our own words. It is with this phase of the doctrine of Imputation that Dr. Nevin's accusers find fault. They see the deadly serpent of the Romish heresy coiled up in it, and accordingly give the alarm. "Mercersburg teaches," they cry, "that a man is justified by his own inherent righteousness, achieved by good works personally wrought, or good dispositions acquired, by virtue of his relation to Christ and the Church. The righteousness of Christ is not considered of sufficient value in itself, but must

be combined with the personal merits of the penitent, the believing and penance-doing sinner. This is the Popish abomination of justification by personal works over again—it vitiates the all-sufficiency of the righteousness of Christ, and lays the axe at the root of evangelical Protestantism. Away with such heresy from the Protestant Church."

And what is *their* view of the doctrine of imputation? As well as it can be gathered from their indefinite and evasive statements of it, it seems to be this. They conceive of the person of Christ as standing in a perfectly isolated relation to the human race, regarding the analogy drawn in Holy Writ, between Him and Adam, as a mere figure of speech. His doings and sufferings, as Mediator, partake in full of this isolated nature; so that he stands before us sundered entirely, in His person and in His work, from all real union with the race. He came to redeem. Here then arises the important question: How shall His mediatorial work be made available for man? If the renewing power of His life in no way passes over to man, and the justifying and sanctifying efficacy of his righteousness is not really communicated to those who seek salvation by it, how are they to be advantaged by His holy life and propitiatory passion? To the uninitiated these might seem like hard and perplexing questions. But their solution is easy to those who have the proper key. This key is found in the sensible and simple doctrine of a *forensic or judicial imputation*. According to this, the righteousness of Christ, considered as completely isolated and abstract, is set down in God's account, to the credit of the penitent and believing sinner, (made so by the operation of the Holy Ghost upon the mind and heart, in a manner which is independent of Christ, except in so far as His atonement is the procuring cause of the Spirit's renewing influences,) in a purely external way, and so as of itself to effect, or be connected with, no moral or spiritual change of the person acquitted. The sinner is poor and in debt, externally; the Mediator is boundlessly rich, cancels the sinner's debt by assuming it Himself, and so converts the sinner's poverty into affluence. The sinner is naked, and well nigh perishing from exposure; the Mediator externally clothes him with a garment of His own working, and so protects and saves him. The sinner is a criminal condemned to die; the Mediator assumes his guilt, suffers in his stead, and outwardly secures for the wretched convict a complete nominal acquittal. In the entire relation between the Redeemer and redeemed

every thing is external, formal, forensic, until sanctification (in their view of it) has commenced. The whole transaction wears the air and exhibits the several parts of an outward legal arrangement, made before an earthly judicial tribunal. It enters not into the inner chambers of the soul, and lays not a purifying hold upon the spring of moral and spiritual life. And this is to be the proper exposition of the evangelical doctrine of imputation, by which, as a sure standard, all views claiming to be sound and orthodox, must be tested, approved or condemned! Can any reflecting Protestant be so irrational as to dream of successfully combating the gross and ruinous error of the Church of Rome, upon this subject, with so absurd, fictitious and flat a view of Justification?

But this is not a fair exposition or evolution of the doctrine as laid down in the received Protestant standards. That the language and sentiments found in those standards may convey this view of imputation to those who examine them in order to find it there, we shall not deny. Some of the terms and expressions employed may even seem fairly to teach this form of the doctrine. But if we examine them with minds divested of warping prejudices, they will be found to bear and call for a very different interpretation, and one harmonising fully with the view of Dr. Nevin, which has been so fiercely assailed.

As it would unnecessarily lengthen our review of this point, to cite from more than one confession in proof of the above assertion, we shall limit ourselves to the definition found in the Heidelberg Catechism, which is admitted on all sides fairly and clearly to set forth this life-principle of Protestantism. We shall take the 20th and 60th Questions together.

“20. Are all men then, as they perished in Adam, saved by Christ?

No, only those who are ingrafted into Him, and receive all His benefits by a true faith.

60. How art thou righteous before God?

Only by a true faith in Jesus Christ; so that though my conscience accuse me, that I have grossly transgressed all the commands of God, and kept none of them, and am still inclined to all evil; notwithstanding, God, without any merit of mine, but only of mere grace, grants and imputes unto me the perfect satisfaction, righteousness and holiness of Christ; even so, as if I never had had, nor committed any sin; yea, as if I had fully accomplished all that obedience which Christ hath accomplished for me; inasmuch as I embrace such benefit with a believing heart.”

We are free to admit, that "if it is in the power of language to convey an idea clearly," it is done in this definition of justification by faith. But it would seem that it is not in the power of language to express a doctrine so clearly, as wholly to exclude misapprehension, or fully to secure it against perversion. What shall we say of the citation of a statement of doctrine, so lucid and explicit as this, in support of that stiff, external, forensic fancy of justification, which Dr. Nevin's opponents have permitted themselves, in their misguided zeal against him, to receive as the genuine Protestant doctrine? Who can contemplate the pardoned, justified, accepted sinner, as delineated in this admirable and complete description, without at once discerning that he is a very different character from the fancy-sketch drawn in hard outline by the steel pen of the forensic theory? Here we have a living believer, regenerated, and thus accepted in Christ Jesus, possessing, as the gift of free unmerited grace, the righteousness, satisfaction and holiness of Christ, so imputed as to be actually *granted* unto him, and rejoicing therein as his sure and sufficient ground of hope, to the utter exclusion of all self-righteousness. How strong and strange a contrast to this life-like picture, does the form held up by the other theory present!

In this definition now we think may be found a solution of the great perplexity which Dr. N.'s antagonists find in understanding this doctrine. To their way of thinking, the several parts or acts connected with the sinner's translation from the kingdom of darkness to the kingdom of light in Christ, are completely separated and sundered from each other in fact, as they are in the formal statement and definition of the nature of those acts recorded in theological treatises, or ecclesiastical confessions. And as these acts are defined, on paper, at separate and successive intervals of time, it seems to be assumed that the same intervals and successions occur in the actual experience of them. The remarkably natural method adopted by the Catechism in the present instance, should have helped to correct this mistake, and would probably have done so, but for the firmer hold of some less natural, though perhaps more externally precise and exact system. We do not find here, first an abstract definition of imputation, then another of justification, &c., but all are brought out together, interlocked and cummingled, as in actual experience, yet each with sufficient distinctness to make its presence and place manifest to every sincere observer. Had the accusers of Mercersburg

been as careful in their examination of this subject, as explained in the answer under consideration, as they have been zealous in searching out flaws in the issues of that school, they could not have failed to perceive, and make due account of, the peculiarity above referred to. Dr. Nevin has nowhere denied the sinner's entire dependence upon the righteousness of Christ for acquittal and for justification, but most distinctly avowed his full and cordial acceptance of this doctrine. He has indeed not sluggishly and servilely tracked the spoor of those, who seemed to have assumed certain traditional technicalities in theology, as being themselves the orthodoxy they are designed to define or illustrate, and who are thus, by their one sided and false apprehension of those popular and time-honored terms, beguiled into the very errors they are professedly so anxious to avoid. On the contrary, he has been unreserved in declaring his hearty dislike to the mechanical adoption of such stereotyped terms, and the perversion of them to the support of views which they were never designed to teach. At the same time, however, we are convinced that a candid and impartial comparison of his view of the doctrine of Imputation, with the acknowledged standards, must result in his complete acquittal of the charge brought against him, and in the full conviction that not he, but his antagonists, have departed from the highway of evangelical orthodoxy.

In confirmation of this, pages of evidence might be quoted from accredited writers of the earlier periods of the Protestant Church, from Zwingli, Luther, Calvin, and indeed all the more prominent expounders of evangelical doctrine, who wrote previously to what has been fitly termed the scholastic age of Protestantism. But as in making such quotations, we should not feel justified in citing detached sentences out of their proper connection, (as the prosecution in the present case are accustomed too much to do,) and whole paragraphs would swell our article beyond its intended limits, we must beg the reader to consult authorities for himself, or accept of the subjoined extract from Ursinus as a fair and satisfactory specimen of what may be found in the rest.

In his exposition of the 60th question, in answer to the inquiry: "In what does righteousness differ from Justification?" he says:

"Righteousness is conformity with the law; or it is the fulfilling of the law, or that by which we are justified before God. Justification, on the other hand, is the application of

this righteousness to any one. They differ, therefore, as shape and the application of it to an object, or as whiteness and whitening or making white. Justification admits of the same division which we have made of righteousness, into that which is legal and evangelical. Legal justification consists in effecting in us conformity with God and the law. This is commenced in us when we are regenerated by the Holy Spirit. Evangelical justification is the application of evangelical righteousness; or, it is the imputation and application of the righteousness of another, which is without us in Christ; or it is the imputation and application of that righteousness which Christ wrought out for us by his death upon the cross, and by his resurrection from the dead. It is not a transfusion of righteousness, or of the qualities thereof; but it is the acquitting, or declaring us free from sin in the judgment of God, on the ground of the righteousness of another. Justification and the forgiveness of sins are, therefore, the same: for to justify is, that God should not impute sin unto us, but accept of us and declare us righteous; or, which is the same thing, that he declare us righteous on the ground of the righteousness of Christ made over to us."

If the opponents of Dr. Nevin were quoting Ursinus against him, they would probably stop with this period, and persuade themselves, and others, if possible, that they had furnished a fair specimen of that commentator's sentiments, and fully sustained their accusation. One or two expressions indeed occur in the above which might occasion some misgivings, but they could be read softly or hurriedly, and their sense be lost in the higher sound of the rest. Let us however proceed onward a few paragraphs, and allow our author the benefit of a fuller explanation. He asks: "How does the satisfaction of Christ become our righteousness, seeing that it is without us?"

Note every word and phrase of the subsequent reply.

"At first view, it seems absurd that we should be justified by any thing without us, or by something that belongs to another. It is necessary, therefore, that we should explain more fully how the satisfaction, or obedience of Christ, becomes ours; *for unless it be made ours, or be applied to us, we cannot be justified by it, just as little as a wall can be white if whiteness be not applied or fixed upon it.* We remark, then, that there are two ways in which the satisfaction of Christ is made over to us: 1. God himself applies it unto us, that is, he makes the righteousness of Christ over unto us, and accepts

of us as righteous on account of it as though it were ours. 2. We apply it also unto ourselves, when we receive the righteousness of Christ through faith, that is, we rest assured that God will grant it unto us, that he will regard us as righteous on account of it, and that he will free us from all guilt. There is, therefore, a double application; one in respect to God, and another in respect to us. The former is the imputation of Christ's righteousness, when God accepts of that righteousness, which Christ wrought out, that it might avail in our behalf, and accounts us as righteous in view of it, as much so as if we never had sinned, or had at least fully satisfied for our sins. The other side of this application, which has respect to us, is the act itself of believing, in which we are fully persuaded that it is imputed and given unto us. *Both sides of this application must necessarily concur in our justification; for God applies the righteousness of Christ unto us upon condition, that we also apply the same unto ourselves by faith. For although any one were to offer another a benefit, yet if he to whom it is offered does not accept of it, it is not applied to him, and so does not become his. Hence without this last application the former is of no account.* And yet our application of the righteousness of Christ is from God; for he first imputes it unto us, and then works faith in us, by which we apply to ourselves that which is imputed; from which it appears that the application of God precedes that which we make, (which is of faith) and is the cause of it, *although it is not without ours*; as Christ says, "You have not chosen me, but I have chosen you. (John 15: 16)"—(Ursinus' Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism, translated by Williard, pp. 326-9.) Again we may say, in view of the above extract, "if it be in the power of language to convey an idea clearly," it is here exhibited by Ursinus. The ground and procuring cause of justification is the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ. This is imputed and made over to the sinner, and reckoned as his own, through the free mercy of God. In order, however, that this imputation may take effect, the sinner must make Christ's righteousness his own by a believing appropriation of it. When thus appropriated and embraced, it continues indeed to be the righteousness of Christ, but it is the righteousness of Christ in him, or, in the still more comprehensive and expressive language of the Holy Scriptures, "Christ in him." And this righteousness, thus "freely granted" by the grace of God, and believingly embraced by the heart of man, is the

actual basis of man's justification. God's free and sovereign application by grace, combining with man's hearty appropriation of it by faith, results in the sinner's full pardon and acceptance. "*Both sides of this application must necessarily concur in our justification. For although any one were to offer another a benefit, yet if he to whom it is offered does not accept of it, it is not applied to him, and so does not become his.*"

Which view of imputation, now, harmonizes most fully with this elucidation of the subject by the author of the Heidelberg Catechism, that of Dr. Nevin, or that of his opponents? Had these latter not given so many and such painful proofs of disingenuousness, we should be willing to let this question rest with a direct appeal to their own judgments. But although the case is so clear as not to admit of candid doubt, it is questionable whether they will have the courage and manly frankness to acknowledge it. Whether however they do or not, the issue between them and Mercersburg manifestly becomes something very different from what they would make it appear to be. The point which was to be settled by the German Reformed Church here again, was not whether the old evangelical doctrine of Justification should be adhered to, or a philosophical and cunningly contrived modification of the Romish error be adopted as a substitute for that doctrine; but whether that doctrine, as legitimately carried out by Dr. Nevin, should continue to be held sacred in its genuine old sense, or the mechanical and superficial theory of modern Puritanism be allowed to usurp its place, and be embraced as the only orthodox and rational exposition of it. The Church has almost unanimously decided in favor of the old school view. This has been an occasion of unfeigned chagrin to the antagonists of her theological Professor, and of some grief to her, because of the bitterness of spirit manifested by the profuse revilings they have heaped upon her, for having so firmly maintained her ground against all their assaults. But these days of calumination will pass by, as have others by which they have been preceded. And then, when the reputation of the Church will shine forth all the brighter, for having been made to pass through the fires of unmerited reproach, it will be well for her calumniators if they can prove, that though they were strangely mistaken, through the influence of unconquerable prejudice, in their judgment of the whole case, they were nevertheless upright and sincere in what they did. We trust that when their day of trial comes, (and who does not see that the errors

of their rationalistic form of modern Protestantism are hastening it on?) they may have at least this consciousness for their comfort, amid the terrors of times of such a warfare between truth and error, the Church and the world, Christ and Anti-christ, as has never yet been witnessed upon the earth.

Before dismissing this point, we cannot withhold an expression of amazement, at the strange oversight, on the part of Dr. Nevin's antagonists, of the remarkable resemblance between their notion of Justification, and one of the most foolish and exceptional contrivances of the Papal Church for securing this same benefit to the sinner. They should not need to be told that we refer to the peculiarly convenient method, which the Church of Rome has discovered and adopted, for supplying the moral deficiencies of one man by drawing upon the redundant righteousness of another. *They* of course are aware, how extensive and lucrative a traffic pious priests are busily engaged in carrying on, for the advantage of the Church, by means of the precious treasures of works of supererogation with which her spiritual granaries are so abundantly stored. A great and glorious idea that, of so husbanding the crumbs of the ecclesiastical table, that poor dogs nigh to perishing with hunger, and yet too lazy or too dumb to find food for themselves, may draw near and grow fat upon the superabundant gatherings of others, more laborious or more lucky than themselves—and that too without the toil of mastication, merely by gazing at the dainty droppings, and having the virtue they contain made over to them, externally, by a sort of sacerdotal magic!

There is of course a vast diversity between this sagacious device and the other scheme, in respect of the moral dignity and intrinsic excellence of the advantages thus transferred, corresponding with the infinite superiority of the perfect righteousness of our Lord Jesus Christ, over the pitiful performances of Rome's most rigorous saints. But the fundamental conception of both is the same. The mode of transfer in the one case is as fully external and superficial as it is in the other. Indeed so striking is the analogy between the two, thus contemplated side by side, that they seem to be, if not the twin issue of one parturition, at least fraternally related. Which claims to be Esau, and which Jacob, we shall not pretend to decide, but there can be no doubt as to their common paternity.

How remarkable that those precisely, from whom we are accustomed to hear the most unqualified denunciations of Popery,

and who are so notable for their sagacity in detecting, and their zeal in prosecuting the first and faintest Romanizing tendencies betrayed by others, should themselves be so warm and earnest in maintaining one of Rome's most favorite dogmas, and that too one of the most unscriptural and pernicious! But it only furnishes another illustration of the close consanguinity existing between extremes. The Unitarian Brownson became a Papist long before Bishop Ives. And it will be far easier for the editor of the *Protestant Quarterly* to embrace Romanism than for Dr. Nevin. The barriers in the way of the former are the mere wicker-work of sentiment—feeling—passion. Before Dr. Nevin can renounce faith in the Catholic Protestant Church, and bow hearty assent to the monstrous claims of Popery, he must abandon his profound and firmly established theory of the Church as a living organism imbued with self-developing capacities, subdue his convictions of the potential presence of God in history, and demolish those very arguments with which he has been so long successfully promoting and strengthening the cause of truth, and repelling the assaults of its foes. For a passionate man, it is comparatively easy, upon growing cool again, to stand forth and say, "I spoke in anger foolishly, and repent." But for an upright man, who calmly lays down a proposition, and with the severe precision of a mathematical demonstration establishes it, to turn around and deny what he has proved to be certainly true, and repudiate the result so cautiously reached by rigid demonstration, requires a mental and moral revolution which cannot be executed in a day. In spirit and theory, therefore, we regard the *Protestant Quarterly* as standing in far closer affinity with Brownson's *Quarterly* and Rome, than does the sadly stigmatized "*Mercersburg Review*."

The last item in this special list remains to be noticed. But how shall it be approached or treated? We confess we are at a loss to determine. It is difficult to ascertain precisely the real temper and spirit in which this last specific charge is brought. The matter involved is of so serious and solemn a nature, that it seems hardly supposable that the accusers were merely jesting, or experimenting, for their own amusement, upon the excitability and the credulity of a proverbially mobile religious public. True, there are men, (we do not say that the editor of the *Protestant Quarterly* is one of them,) whose love of joking has become so violent a passion, that they will pay almost any price for a laugh—men capable of the

most indecorous levity, even in treating of most sacred things, if only mirth may thus be excited. For such, as well as for himself, poor Burns admonished in vain, that

"An atheist's laugh 's a poor exchange
For Deity offended."

The nature of the present case, however, prompts the hope, that even the most powerfully besetting levity would be sobered into somewhat becoming awe and earnestness, on approaching a point of such sacred moment as that embraced in this particular charge. And yet the heresy of which Dr. Nevin is here so unhesitatingly accused is so blasphemous, and involves moreover such violent and glaring contradictions with all that has gone before it, in the way of blame and condemnation, that it is not easy to persuade oneself that the charge is seriously preferred. Whoever takes the trouble of a candid and careful examination of Dr. Nevin's peculiar views upon the several subjects involved in this entire controversy, cannot fail to remark, how manifestly they tend to inspire the deepest awe and reverence for the person of our Divine Redeemer. Whatever else might give offence or excite suspicion, no cause, assuredly, could be found for taking exception to the Christology of the Mercersburg school. In the construction of every theory, and the discussion of every subject, the chief and highest aim is always seen to be the exaltation of the person of Christ, and the reverent admiration of His work. What other effect would be legitimately produced, by the subjection of private judgment to the reasonable restraints imposed upon it? What else, of greater magnitude than this, would result from the general prevalence of the doctrine, that the Church, which is the Body of Christ, is as divine as the Bible, which is His book? How clearly would this be the effect produced by a hearty acceptance of the reality of Christ's presence in the Holy Sacraments, and the efficacious virtue of His presence in them for those who receive them upon the prescribed conditions! And, finally, what theory of the sinner's justification before God can beget such holy and awe-inspiring convictions of the relation of the ransomed to the Redeemer, as that revived and advocated (not invented) by Dr. Nevin? And yet one of his antagonists professes to have discovered evidence against him, to prove that he teaches, *that the Theanthropic person of Christ was tainted and defiled with sin*. How many of Dr. Nevin's

accuser's have been persuaded by the evidence adduced to believe this serious charge, we have not had the means of ascertaining. It has probably been too gross even for the most prejudiced to entertain. Upon matters affecting less fatal issues, they might suffer themselves to be beguiled into a cordial hatred of Mercersburg heresies, by the witty and amusing logic of their Philadelphia friend. But they have doubtless halted here, alarmed at the audacity which the indictment for such a heresy involves.

To suppose that this charge has not been brought seriously, and in good faith, shuts us up to the necessity of a painful inference with regard to the sincerity and veracity of the party making it. This inference Dr. Nevin, with the honest indignation of injured Christian uprightness, does not hesitate openly to charge upon the party by whom he considers himself maligned. Who can wonder at the warmth of his indignation? Who can take offence at the plainness of speech with which he repels the abhorrent accusation? If his antagonists think so lightly of the sin as to feel no reluctance in laying it at his door upon trivial grounds, he nevertheless cannot so regard it. And we honor him for his decided repudiation of the charge. When calumniated as teaching what he thought his opponents had abundant reason to know, that he not only did not hold, but abhorred, it was not merely his right but his duty to speak out, and it would have been pardonable if he had expressed his indignation in terms more intelligible even, to ordinary readers, than merciful Latin.

But we prefer yielding to the softer suggestion of charity, and allow that, whatever may have been the impression made by the first perusal of Dr. Nevin's views upon the person of Christ, the party originating this remarkable charge did, upon gazing longer at them, begin to see the evil sought, and presently persuade itself that the monster error lay really lurking in the theory advanced. As already intimated, however, we do not believe that many agree with this persuasion. Whatever difficulty one or two of Dr. Nevin's most uncompromising antagonists may have, in understanding how Christ could assume humanity in its *fallen form*, without becoming an actual sinner, others are not necessarily so prejudiced or so dull of apprehension, but that they can at once perceive, that this view is nothing but the prevailing orthodox view of this subject, only presented in an abstract and scientific form. They have ever had the humanity of Jesus Christ presented to their

view as one bearing most distinctly, yet innocently, the humiliating lineaments of the fall. In the lowliness of his earthly condition, and his constant poverty, they behold him stooping down to be, in his own holy person, the bearer of sorrows to which mankind would have been utter strangers, but for the fall. In the literal fulfilment of the minute delineations of prophecy, setting him forth as "a root out of dry ground, without form or comeliness, as having no beauty in him that we should desire him; as despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief; as wounded and bruised; as oppressed and afflicted; and having his visage so marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men;"—in all this it is seen that our divine Redeemer, in taking upon him our nature, was pleased to assume it in that form *in which he might freely, yet innocently, share, suffer, and triumph, over all those griefs and woes, which, though harmless in themselves, are yet the entailments of a sinful fall.* "Christ took not on him the form of angels," nor yet of Adam unfallen, but of the seed of Abraham. In him we see an illustration, not of innocent human nature, in the glorious and exalted development through which it would have passed, had not the fatal fall blasted its prospects and its powers,—*but of innocent human nature bearing up triumphantly under the sorrowful effects of that fall innocently assumed, that for our sakes they might thus be triumphed over even in the endurance of them in our flesh.* It is written twice that Jesus "*sighed,*" and once "*deeply in his spirit.*" Who will question that these sighs were the heavings of an aching, bursting heart, and not the mere affections of sorrowful oppressions never felt? But would the heart of Adam unfallen, or unaffected by the fall, ever have been susceptible of such unutterable grief? It is again twice written that "*Jesus wept.*" Were those genuine human tears, flowing not from the eyes merely, but from his human heart? There is but one answer. And yet how incongruous with all our conceptions of what would have been man's happy lot on earth, but for the fall, to assume that Adam or his posterity maintaining their integrity, would ever have felt a pang of sorrow, or let fall a single tear of grief! But why cite special instances in illustration of what is uninterruptedly exhibited in the whole life of our Lord on earth, the glorious hours of Transfiguration on Tabor alone excepted?

It is hard to understand how, with facts like these so plainly

set before them, any should take offence at the declaration that Jesus our Lord took upon Him human nature as marred and afflicted by such sad effects of the fall. Even if special care had not been taken to say and show, that this was meant in a sense which utterly excluded all idea of personal guilt, it might have been supposed and charitably presumed, that the view did not involve so blasphemous an imputation. But with this almost superfluous precaution, to secure himself against misapprehension, it seems strange indeed that Dr. Nevin's opponents should still persist in misunderstanding him. All that he has affirmed amounts to this,—that in the Lord Jesus Christ we do not see an exhibition of human nature as it would have been without the fall, but of human nature as bearing upon it and in it the effects of the fall, though without the defilement of that sin and corruption which have entailed these effects upon human nature. Christ entered into full and proper union with human nature in this form. That this union might be preserved pure from all taint of human depravity in the process, it was effected by the creative overshadowing of the Holy Ghost. That it might, at the same time, be real and substantial, the process involved, naturally, the assumption of her flesh and blood in whose holy womb it was so mysteriously and mercifully accomplished. And thus, miraculously shunning the heinous taint of sin, our blessed Redeemer nevertheless submits, with amazing condescension and pity, to the endurance of the infirmities and sorrows to which mankind are liable only in consequence of the fall. He joined his Divine nature to that of fallen humanity.

That there is nothing in this view which is inconsistent with the teachings of the Bible, or the acknowledged doctrines of the German Reformed Church, or indeed any other evangelical Church, need not be proved. It bears the impress of genuineness and orthodoxy upon its face. And, in all probability, Dr. Nevin's accusers would not have failed to see this, but for the superficial and unsettled character of their own notions upon this solemn and important subject.

Having almost unconsciously dwelt longer, than was intended at the outset, upon the consideration of the special charges preferred against Dr. Nevin by his antagonists, and in the guilt of which they have endeavored to implicate the German Reformed Church, our notice of the two remaining general complaints, in which they gather up and bundle together whatever else they can find, that is deemed faulty and pernicious, in the

man and his writings, shall be cursory and brief. Indeed the case, as we view it, demands but little additional consideration, and might even be dismissed at this point without further remark. If Dr. Nevin has been sincere in avowing his views and convictions upon the several topics already reviewed, (of which no one enjoying his acquaintance can entertain a doubt,) he must be thoroughly Protestant, in the very best sense, and both logically and theologically, in head and in heart, adverse to Popery. No man can be a Papist who entertains his view of the relation of the Bible to the Church—for the Council of Trent says, virtually, "Whosoever affirms that opinion, let him be accursed." No man can be a Papist, either intellectually or affectionally, who maintains the right of the individual Christian, as Dr. Nevin has argued and defended it; for the Council of Trent has declared most solemnly concerning such an one, "Let him be accursed." No one can deny and disprove the physical ubiquity of our Lord's body, and its material presence in the Holy Sacrament, as he has done it, and be else than a Protestant, still less be tending Romewards; for the Romish Hierarchy again denounces its fearful curse against all such. No man can hold and avow his view of Justification by faith in Christ alone, and be any thing less than a Protestant, in the eyes of Rome, or elude its dire anathema against every one who embraces and maintains this ancient Apostolic Protestant doctrine. The declaration of Rome on this point is most explicit: "*Si quis dixerit, homines justificari vel sola imputatione justitiæ Christi, vel sola peccatorum remissione, exclusa gratia, et charitate, quæ in cordibus eorum per Spiritum sanctum diffundatur, atque illis inhaereat; aut etiam gratiam, qua justificamur esse tantum favorem Dei; anathema sit.*" (Concil. Trid. De Justificat. Canon. 11.) And as for his theory of the person of Christ, by the testimony even of his antagonists themselves, the anathema by which Rome sent Nestorius to the portion of heretics, would doom Dr. Nevin to the same inheritance. So long as Dr. Nevin holds fast, with a sincere grasp, to the views upon these doctrines, for which he has been hitherto so earnestly contending, he cannot leave the fold of Catholic gospel Protestantism, and could not find admittance into the courts of Rome. So far therefore as our own impressions and feelings are concerned, we could bring this article to a close, with but two or three additional remarks, briefly expressive of our disagreement with some of Dr. Nevin's views as well in reference

to Protestantism as Popery, and yet of our full conviction, that he has spoken of neither, in a manner which at all justifies the fierce and sweeping denunciations of him, in which some of his more passionate anti-Popery antagonists have so freely indulged. So summary a disposal, however, of such vital points, would doubtless subject the writer and the article to the severest suspicions and censures of those whose gross misapprehensions, misrepresentations, or malice, he has ventured to expose. It may be well, therefore, to avoid the appearance of evil, by giving these points some of the special attention they may be thought to merit.

In the items remaining to be noticed, Dr. Nevin is charged with *treason against Protestantism, and a virtual vindication and adoption of the most offensive characteristics of the Romish Church.*

As already intimated, we differ very decidedly from much that Dr. Nevin has said upon both these points. With an upright and commendable desire and effort, to arouse sleeping Protestantism to a proper sense of her evils and perils, and to stir up her friends to some worthy endeavors to have those evils remedied, and those threatening perils guarded against, he seems unconsciously to have been led into an exaggerated apprehension and representation of them. He has looked at the miserable isms and schisms, by which the harmony of the Protestant Catholic Church has been distracted, and her strength enfeebled, with so earnest and steadfast a gaze, has put himself so closely in front of these sadly prevalent and deplorable developments, and contemplated them so absorbingly, that they seem, at times, to have shut out every other prospect, and to have filled his heart with well-nigh hopeless apprehensions for the final issue, to which they appear to be resistlessly tending. Supposing that he was dealing with sincere friends, and with honorable enemies, his unreserved candor in announcing his convictions, unguarded by qualifications which he presumed would be taken for granted, has exposed his expressed opinions to most unfortunate and prejudicial inferences. Disappointed and grieved at such unfair and ungenerous conduct, he has been tempted to entertain and avow still stronger aversion to the evils, whose frank exposure brought so much unmerited and unexpected abuse upon him, and still more desponding fears for the ultimate success of a cause defended by such false friends. The result has been, that his honest and ardent zeal, in bringing the

faults of the Protestant system fairly into view, that they might be more deeply and generally deplored, and so in the end be radically corrected, has led him sometimes to speak of the system, as though it were all faulty, diseased with an incurable cancer. And in such connections the reader will be occasionally pained at discovering, that he inadvertently commits the very error of making false issues, of which his antagonists are so often guilty in their treatment of his articles. Of this character, to cite but a single illustration, is the question put in the article on "Modern Civilization," (*Mercersburg Review*, 1851, p. 171,) concerning the apostacy of the Middle Ages, in which a view is impliedly ascribed to Protestants, which we feel assured is entertained by very few, if by any, prominent and influential members of the Evangelical Protestant Church. It would probably be no easy task, even for Dr. Nevin, to show that the sentiment, that "the presence of God in the Church became a total failure in the ten centuries following the fourth, making room only for the presence of the Devil," is cherished to the extent insinuated by the question.*

But it is much easier to find fault with another man's way of performing some needful work than to do it better, or as well, ourselves. Dr. Nevin has been practising ecclesiastical surgery, and, we are assured, with the most sincere and kind intentions. But who has not heard the faithful and skilful surgeon frequently charged with insensibility to his patient's sufferings under the operation, and with a seeming indifference as to the depth of the incision made, or the pain attending it, only so that no artery was severed, or vital organ touched, and the root of the cancer reached! So it appears to have happened to Dr. Nevin. The future must prove whether he has really succeeded in reaching the root of the disease in the present case, or whether, rough as some have regarded the

* The articles on "Pseudo-Protestantism," "The Sect System," "Bible Christianity," "Early Christianity," furnish many unpleasant instances of this character, attributing to Protestantism in general views which, if entertained at all in the form stated, are held by but very few, and those only blustering and fiery fanatics. We are as unwilling, and think it quite as unfair, that Evangelical Protestantism should be held responsible for the follies of all who call themselves Protestants, as others are to have Popery charged with all the errors and crimes of Papists. It were quite as just to blame the Romish Church with the earlier heresies that sprang forth, (or were cast off,) from its bosom, as to charge Protestantism with the guilt of all the errors and evils, held and done, by renegade sects, which have been cut off from Evangelical Protestant fellowship. The world is not divided between Protestantism and Popery, as Mr. Brownson, and other redoubtable Romanists, would seem to have it. There is another element at work.

operation, it was still too gentle to effect much good. Judging from his successful treatment of the Anxious Bench epidemic, there is reason to hope that most desirable effects may result from his management of this.

The real point at issue here, however, is not whether, in his discussions upon the present condition and aspects of Protestantism, he might not have written with less severity, or whether he has not conceded to the foes of the Evangelic Catholic Church, as well Romanists as Rationalists, more than it was proper or just to yield—but whether he has said or done any thing which fairly justifies an impeachment for treason, or which is irreconcilable with fidelity to the duties and obligations of his official position? His antagonists affirm that he has. But how do they attempt to sustain the charge? By a most disingenuous oversight of all that he has ever said in support and defence of Protestantism, and holding it back from that portion of the Christian public among whom their publications circulate, as though Dr. Nevin had never written but in denunciation of the system; by grossly perverting and misrepresenting his exposures of the evils and errors of Protestantism, and his object in making them; and finally, by attributing to him sentiments which he utterly repudiates.

According to the testimony of his opponents, Dr. Nevin would seem never to have used his pen, except in denunciation or defamation of the system he is pledged to defend. His translation and endorsement of Dr. Schaff's able Tract on the Principle of Protestantism, the sole aim of which is to show the impregnable strength of the foundations on which the Protestant Church rests,—his articles on Balmes and Brownson, the former designed to prove the claims of Protestantism to the incalculably great results of Modern Civilization, the latter to vindicate the Protestant principle of Christian freedom and authority, and prove the absurdity of the tyrannical theory of Romanism upon this subject,—all this (to say nothing of *the general aim of all* that he has written, or of the numerous remarks incidentally introduced even in articles written in order to make Protestantism more sensible of its sores,) is treated by his antagonists as though nothing of the kind had ever been written by him. Besides defending specific Protestant doctrines with unusual power, as has been seen in noticing the specific charges brought against him, Dr. Nevin has reiterated his firm faith in these doctrines, in their true old Protestant sense, and not only affirmed his full confidence

in Evangelical Protestantism as a system, but brought out stronger reasons why he, and all other Protestants, should maintain this confidence, than ever the readers of the Protestant Quarterly, at least, have been favored with. Who has ever proved more unanswerably than he has, that the Reformation was a great and glorious work of God, "*the greatest act of the Catholic Church itself, the full ripe fruit of all its better tendencies; . . . an actual advance of the religious life and consciousness of the Church, by means of a deeper apprehension of God's word, beyond all previous attainments of Christendom; . . . not a revolutionary separation from the Catholic Church, produced by the will of the Reformers, but a separation produced by the stiff-necked Papacy, which, like Judaism at the time of Christ, identifying itself in a fleshly way with the idea of the absolute Church, refused to admit the onward movement*"? Who has ever declared more emphatically than Dr. Nevin, that Protestantism is "*something immeasurably better than Popery,*" and that it was "*a legitimate and necessary reaction against the wrongs of Romanism*"?—But we will not abuse the reader's patience, nor our own, by continuing the superfluous task of quoting declarations found every where scattered over Dr. Nevin's articles, furnishing stronger evidence than a set argument on the subject, that Dr. Nevin has given his antagonists abundant proof, that he is as true a Protestant as any of them, if they had only been unprejudiced enough to take notice of the proof.

They have preferred, however, to pass all this by unnoticed, and refuse, in their consideration of his opinions, to give him the least credit for any such declarations. And not satisfied with denying him the advantage of his avowed opinions on this general subject, they seem incapable even of candidly reporting his views of the evils besetting modern Protestantism. His condemnation of the sect-system, as radically anti-Christian, they distort into a treasonable surrender of Protestantism itself; as though Dr. Nevin were the only Protestant who had lifted up his voice, or used his pen against this monster evil of our day; or as though the life of Protestantism were virtually bound up with that of fanatical and disorganizing sectarianism. His exposure of the wide departure of New England Puritanism from the proper doctrines and character of true Protestant Catholicism, they violently pervert into proof of an abandonment of those doctrines on his own part, and a surreptitious substitution of semi-popish notions

in their stead. And his earnest calls upon all true Protestants to unite in arresting the death-work of the canker inwardly devouring the strength of their system, have been tortured into evidence of lurking hostility to the cause which he has thus been seeking most faithfully to serve.

Such is the character of the testimony by which Dr. Nevin's antagonists have sought to establish their accusation touching this point, and bring both him, and the Church with which he stands connected, into bad repute. And did the Church err in refusing to be swayed by such palpable disingenuousness as this? Having eyes, was she to close them against so culpable a concealment of some facts, perversion of others, and conjuring up of yet others from the hades of dark and uncharitable suspicions? Was she under any special obligations to permit her judgment to be warped, as that of those antagonists appeared to be warped with reference to the points at issue, and to surrender the entire control of her understanding to them, allowing them to have all things arbitrarily their own way? Had they ever given such proofs of warm and zealous devotion to her interests, as to entitle them to such influence in her courts? Thus to have lent herself to their use, might indeed have led to issues which would have afforded them some temporary gratification and exultation; but in the end, instead of thanking, would they not rather have despised the Church, for stooping thus to be the tool of a weak and passionate faction?

The *last count* in this long and formidable indictment accuses Dr. Nevin of *vindicating and virtually endorsing some of the worst characteristics of the Romish Church*, and aims here again at involving the German Reformed Church in the guilt of culpable connivance at so heinous an offence.

In so far as this charge may have reference to special doctrines, it has already been disposed of. All that remains to be done, therefore, is to consider it as a more general complaint of suspicious and treacherous partiality to Popish peculiarities. It may be premised, however, that, emanating as it does from a source notoriously extravagant and fanatical in its opposition to the Romish Church, this charge will be received, by all acquainted with the persons and the facts implicated in the case, with considerable allowance. The advocates of wild and extreme measures upon any subject are poorly qualified to fix the terms of decent orthodoxy with reference to it, by which to test the claims of those differing from them to ortho-

dox fellowship. Who is a genuine Christian or true republican according to Garrison ?

And why is Dr. Nevin charged with the crime here alleged against him ? *First*, because, instead of uniting with those who carry on the contest with Popery, after the fashion of the Protestant Quarterly, he has disclaimed all sympathy with that mode of warfare, and declared his aversion to it. To this item, the readers of the Review will remember, Dr. Nevin plead guilty, in his "Notice of Dr. Berg's Last Words." It were too late, therefore, even if we felt disposed, to set up a defence. Indeed, he not only acknowledges the offence, but vindicates his refusal to denounce Popery, as his accusers are accustomed to denounce it, and his aversion to the prevailing tone and temper of their assaults upon the Romish system, upon the ground that he is a Protestant and not a Papist, and would therefore not feel comfortable in degrading himself or dishonoring his cause, by using against his Romish foes the filthy, cast-off weapons with which, in other days, at least, they were wont to belabor those whom they did not love. To some, this may seem to be an evasive defence, and prove painfully unsatisfactory. They will probably remember that Dr. Nevin has at different times been no way tender in his treatment of Protestantism. All the faults and imperfections of this system have been laid bare with a sharp and unsparing blade, and it has been exposed to view, in all the unsightliness of a body mangled and weltering in its gore. "If ever a man has fastened upon the diseases of a system, and probed them to the deepest root of their offensive rottenness," they may say, "Dr. Nevin has done this without compassion to American Protestantism ; his pen has rarely moved so freely, his thoughts have rarely expressed themselves so lucidly and so forcibly, as when developing this theme ; so that no papist could have said more or worse against the system than he has. Why, then, so sudden and so total a change in his manner and tone, when speaking of the antagonistic Popish system ? Has evangelical Protestantism, with all its lamentable imperfections, any faults so enormous as those which are not merely accidental and deformative excrescences, but the proper and legitimate fruits of the Romish Church system ? Does what may be evil and pernicious, in her actual life, grow so legitimately from her adopted principles, and so enjoy her approbation, as the gross errors and practices of practical Popery grow legitimately out of the avowed doctrines of the Romish

Church, and enjoy the fostering care and favor of its dignitaries? What themes for his pen would the practical, if not theoretical, idolatries of the Romish Church afford? What doctrines for dissection those concerning the mass, the mediatorial power of saints and their invocation, Mary, the adoration of images, relics, penance, indulgences, priestly absolution, purgatory, &c. &c. Judging from the power of his pen in dealing with other abominations, how effectually might he not have handled these, to the great advantage of many precious souls that are daily deceived by them to their eternal ruin? Why then has he so studiously avoided an earnest and faithful examination of these themes, and thus disappointed the expectations of many who were anxiously looking for that counterpart to his severe criticisms upon modern Puritanism and the sect-system, without which his entire argument seems unfair and deficient?"

To complaints and objections of this character, the circumstances under which Dr. Nevin has written, and the avowedly main purpose of his writings, must yield the candid and unprejudiced reader answers which will amply serve to relieve the case of the unpleasant and suspicious aspect it might otherwise wear. If there is one article of literary or theological commerce, with which the American book market has been abundantly supplied more than another, it has been with pamphlets, lectures, letters, and books of the ultra anti-popery brand, issued in quick succession during the last ten or fifteen years. No pains have been spared to furnish the religiously inclined public with all needful and desirable information, in reference to the theory and practice of Popery. Of the merits of these various issues, we shall say nothing else than this, that if any of them were libellers, they were unnecessarily so, for the Romish Church, theoretically and practically, furnishes facts enough to condemn it, without the unjustifiable aid of slanderous fictions; and if they insulted Christian modesty by the exposure of indecencies attaching to Popery, they are the less excusable, for the mournfully abundant opportunity they might have found of exploding its high pretensions, without offending Christian propriety by such disgusting exhibitions. Seeing, therefore, how fully the want of information of this sort has been met, why should an additional supply be expected or called for from another source, as it were simply to gratify a vain and useless curiosity, to know how Dr. Nevin would dispose of the evils of Popery, if he fairly laid hands upon them?

The Protestant American mind has been sufficiently excited upon the subject of Romanism. And what it has for some time been needing, far more than additional stimulants to fanatical bitterness against Popery, is such an exhibition of its own defects as may lead it to those efforts at correcting these defects, which will more certainly and securely qualify it to withstand the encroachments of Rome than the fiercest sentiments of hostility to the Papacy. Such at least has been Dr. Nevin's conviction, and the Church has given him due credit for it, in forming its opinion of the main tenor of those articles which some have considered most offensive on this score. Others had done the work of alarming the Protestant Church in reference to the perils threatening from the re-invigorated zeal of Papists, and had done it very effectually. But to fear and abhor Popery, was seen not to be enough to secure Evangelical Protestantism against the combined assaults of Romanism and Rationalism. The Protestant Church needed to awake to a clear consciousness of her own infirmities and faults, and to inquire humbly and earnestly after some sure and efficient remedy. To the work of arousing her to this, Dr. Nevin felt himself honestly called. And though he might readily foresee that his reward, for the time, would most probably be misrepresentation and abuse, that the imperfections with which he might perform the hard and thankless task would be continually exaggerated into the substance and burden of his work itself, was it not an object worthy of a noble Christian heart, and a task deserving all the toil and sacrifice it might cost? And with this object in view, why should he be expected continually to go out of his way, for the purpose of wasting his time in striking at Popery, merely to gratify a morbid appetite for the exhibition of such anti-popery gladiatorship? He had given the Church full reason to know that he was firmly and unwaveringly Protestant in all his convictions and feelings; and that he regarded the Papacy as an apostacy, left behind by the onward progress of the Church's history. The Principle of Protestantism, the articles on Brownson, &c. &c., besides their general argument, contain expressions which his antagonists have seen fit to overlook, but which the Church has not chosen to overlook or forget, quite as decided, if not so harsh, as those which many of his antagonists have employed in setting forth their antipathy to Popery. Interpreting therefore his refusal to make common cause with his antagonists in their zeal against Ro-

manism, in the light of these facts, the Church has not been willing to sustain their accusations against him. And who will deny that she has acted wisely and well in this? But it is said that Dr. Nevin has not only refused to aid in attacking Popery, but has even vindicated and virtually endorsed some of its most pernicious errors. Occasion for this complaint is supposed to be found in his articles on Early Christianity and Cyprian. Here again his opponents have betrayed the same inability or indisposition to do him justice which they have so uniformly exhibited on previous occasions. No one reading their representations of the character and purpose of those articles, particularly those on Early Christianity, could possibly form a correct opinion concerning them. As those articles have been so recently before the public, we shall not stop to give an analysis of them. The general aim of the former, it will be recollected, was to show, by an historical exhibition of Early Christianity, the great contrast between the Primitive and modern Puritan Church, as well in their constitution, as in their worship. Of the skill and faithfulness with which that undertaking has been executed, this is not the time or place to speak. Exception might unquestionably be taken to many things set forth in those articles. The connection, ritually and theologically between the second, and third, and the succeeding centuries, has not been shown to be quite as intimate, organic, and easy, as Dr. Nevin seems to consider it. The influence of extraneous and wholly heterogeneous elements, appears to be too much disregarded in the entire representation of the state of things, and the account given of the relation of facts and forms, as they successively made their appearance. For ourselves, it requires a considerable stretch of the imagination, to concatenate the pious and affectionate regard, manifested by the devoted disciples of Ignatius for the scorched bones of their martyred master, with the later invention of Popery concerning the venerability and miraculous virtues of saints' relics. And not much less to perceive any more real organic relation, between the high regard and hearty affection cherished in the early Church for the holy and sainted mother of our Lord, and the subsequent exaltation of the Virgin Mary, to that position of equality, in moral excellence and spiritual influence, (if not in natural attributes) with the ever adorable Trinity, to which Rome, under the influence of elements that mingled with that Church after the identification of the Empire with it, saw fit idolatrously to elevate her. And so of

other analogies, and ritual or doctrinal genealogies, supposed to be clearly traced back to their source. The suggestions which the excellent Neander occasionally offers, as solutions of difficulties ever and anon arising in the ecclesiastical historian's path, with reference to the actual origin of the changes in doctrine and practice which often spring up so suddenly in the life of the Church, should possibly be admitted with much caution, especially as they are frequently so very flattering to our preconceptions, and predilections. But we think that, upon the whole, Neander's apprehension and representation of the rise and internal history of the opinions and practices referred to, are far more natural and plausible, than Dr. Nevin's, as exhibited in the articles named. The fault may be in our own eye, but to our eye, Neander's portrait of Cyprian, is a far more lifelike picture, than that recently drawn in this Review. And the importance there attached to Cyprian, as a fair representative of the Christian Church in his age, is far beyond what may fairly be considered as belonging to a man who was a profligate pagan until after his fiftieth year. Whatever indubitable proof of sincerity and self-sacrificing zeal such a man might have given after his conversion, (and Cyprian's piety we believe has never been questioned,) it will still be acknowledged, that his previous pursuits and habits, must by this time have fixed so firm an impression upon his whole mental constitution, as would peculiarly disqualify him for becoming a true mirror of the condition of the Church in his day.

But the question to be settled here, is not whether Dr. Nevin's portraiture of Cyprian and Primitive Christianity is precisely accurate and true to life or not. If his antagonists choose, they have a full and fair opportunity of showing their skill in criticism, and their familiarity with the earlier ages of the Church, by taking an honest hold of those articles, and thoroughly sifting their contents. They might thus render an important service to the Church. It is to be hoped they will not permit so good an opportunity to escape unimproved. The point at issue, however, in the present instance is, whether in drawing his picture, Dr. Nevin has done aught to justify the accusation made. Is a man chargeable with vindicating or abetting Popery, or guilty of a virtual endorsement of some of its cardinal errors, who simply narrates or sets forth, historically, the relation or analogy believed to exist between the earlier opinions and practices of the Church, and later devel-

opponents in her history? No answer need be given to this question. And yet this is the sum of what Dr. Nevin has done, in his articles on Early Christianity. He neither vindicated early Christianity, nor the forms which its principles and practices assumed in later ages, but simply reported facts, and pointed out what he believed to be the relation between them. Is it asked significantly—why he did this? He does not hesitate to answer, *first*, that prevailing errors in reference to those primitive times may thus be corrected; *then*, that the untempered mortar, with which modern Puritanism, and its friends outside of New England, are covering up and slightly soothing the sore places of that system, by persuading themselves that it is the genuine resuscitation of pristine ecclesiastical simplicity and purity, may be removed, and the way thus prepared for a thorough examination and cure of its ailments. And is this an object incompatible with loyalty to Protestantism? Are the foundations and binding beams of the system so frail and loose, that historical misconceptions and errors, currently entertained in its favor, dare not be investigated, or corrected, without putting the whole fabric in peril? "We hope for better things of it, though we thus speak."

As this accusation, therefore, rests upon a false basis, it cannot be sustained. How could the German Reformed Church be asked to condemn Dr. Nevin upon the unfounded charge of his adversaries, indicting him for what he never has done, and for what he indeed has most abundantly shown he never can do, until he abandons his entire theory of the Church, and leaps hoodwinked and headlong, into the very Charybdis in which he but recently saw Mr. Brownson so hopelessly engulfed.

In view of the whole discussion, in which we have been engaged, we are justified in maintaining that, until the antagonists of Dr. Nevin, and the accusers of the German Reformed Church, demonstrate, that earnest endeavors to vindicate the authority of the Church, as a divinely chosen and living witness for the truth, and for righteousness, against the assaults of those who seek to conceal their schismatic spirit under cover of high regard for the Bible only, and jealousy for individual rights;—that a resuscitation and defense of the original sacramental doctrine of the Reformed Church, instead of unresisting acquiescence in a shallow spiritualistic theory, which has been insinuated as a poor and pithless substitute;—that the maintenance of the cardinal doctrine of Justification by Faith alone, in a real, actual form, and one harmonising fully with

the evangelical doctrine of our orthodox standards upon this subject, instead of that modern theory which, by its outward apprehension of the doctrine, transforms it into a forensic fiction; that to represent the person of our Lord Jesus Christ as having stooped compassionately to such a union with human nature, as subjected him to a real yet sinless participation in all the sufferings entailed by sin upon our race;—that to portray the defects and diseases of Protestantism so openly and unsparingly, as might lead those truly concerned for her welfare and advancement to deplore more heartily than they do, the presence and pernicious influence of those diseases, and prayerfully consult and toil together for their speedy removal, instead of wasting their energies in denouncing the Papacy, or throwing away those sympathies which are so badly needed at home, upon thankless and stubborn strangers; and, finally, that along with all this, to have very distinctly averred, in the course of the discussion of the several topics included in the above enumeration, that the Papacy was regarded as an apostate Church, which, on account of its many and gross errors and superstitions, was, by a lawful and powerful moral force, forsaken in the sixteenth century by the true Catholic Church, and left thus to pursue its own way to its own end; *until these things are demonstrated to be incompatible with loyalty to Evangelical Catholic Protestantism, Dr. Nevin cannot be convicted of treachery to the true Church, nor the German Reformed Church of infidelity to her history, her character, and her profession, in having refused to condemn him.*

We have now discharged, in good faith, what has been considered a duty owed, not merely to the Church which has been most unjustly held up to suspicion and reproach, but still more to those Churches between which and the German Reformed, the most friendly correspondence has been heretofore maintained. Knowing that to whatever extent they had been unfavorably impressed, with reference to the doctrinal integrity of the German Reformed Church, they were laboring under the influence of great misconceptions, or gross misrepresentations, there was believed to be a Christian propriety, in endeavoring to disabuse their mind of the unhappy effect of those misrepresentations. And we think it must be manifest to all, who may be willing fairly to weigh the statements made in the course of this review, that so far from having given the least occasion for fear or suspicion, that she was permitting herself to be decoyed from "the old paths, and good way," of Evan-

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gical Protestant Orthodoxy, the true secret of any recent troubles, which may for a season have disturbed her peace, is to be found precisely in her firm refusal to be frightened or frowned out of those paths. (To be sure the party making the attempt proved not to be very formidable. But that was the fault of their calculations, not of their hopes and desires.)

Let this proof of firmness, maintained amid the agitations of past trials, be accepted as a pledge of what may always be confidently expected of this old branch of Evangelical Protestantism in the future! Let it also be regarded as a friendly but earnest challenge, offered to all who hold the same general faith with her, to renew their oath of adherence to the cardinal doctrines of the old standards of Protestant Catholicism, or to return to them if they have been at all forsaken.

J. H. A. B.

Easton, Pa.

ART. II.—THE CHARACTER OF THE GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH,
AND ITS RELATION TO LUTHERANISM AND CALVINISM.

[The following article, now translated from the German, was published in the October number of the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1850. Though somewhat difficult to read, it will richly repay perusal, on account of the new light which it throws on the early history of the German Reformed Church. The author is Dr. H. Heppé, Licentiate and Professor of Theology in the University of Marburg.]

BEING engaged for some time past in the study of archival records, bearing on the historical development of German Protestantism, the conviction gradually forced itself upon me, that the so-called Calvinistic Reform, introduced into the Palatinate, Hesse, and partly into Brandenburg, and several other countries of Germany, must be looked at from a point of view altogether different from the usual one. The common view will appear worthy of little confidence, when we remember that the events, occurring in the Hessian Church between the years 1600 and 1610, have hitherto rested in obscurity, and that in the history of the Church of the Palatinate, the particularly important period, from 1561 to 1567, has been

handled in a manner altogether external and unsatisfactory in the older work of Struve and in later treatises, such as Seisen's "History of the Reformation at Heidelberg," and Vierordt's "History of the Reformation in the Grand Duchy of Baden." I was thus led to undertake a strict examination of the church history of the Palatinate and Hesse (for which the archives of Cassel afforded the necessary documents) in order to determine the character of the Reformed Church established in these countries, by a comparison of the results thus obtained with the universal phenomena observed in the development of collective Protestantism. A very concise statement of these investigations and their results I now take the liberty of communicating.

CALVINISM.

Evangelical Protestantism did not enter into history as a dogma and a doctrine, but as a work of earnest souls, who, prompted by an unappeasable longing after a personal interest in redemption, strove to surmount the restrictions that bound them in the old church order. Hence its character is just what the essence of Christianity is in a formal view, salvation in the possession of every believer.* As soon, however, as Protestantism became conscious of its inward antagonism to the dogma of righteousness by works, to which merit on the part of the believer is wholly *essential*, it was compelled of itself to embrace the dogmatic conviction, that the self-determination of the subject to a personal communion with God in Christ, i. e., *Faith*, could be the only and exclusive condition of salvation. But the carrying out of this principle was possible both in a *conservative* and in a *radical* way. The first Luther followed, and with him the whole German Reformation. And hence the delivery of the Augsburg Confession took place with the express design of proving by it, that the Evangelical Estates, with their reformation, should remain throughout upon the foundation of the old Church.

Far otherwise, on the contrary, fared it with the Reformation beyond Germany, especially after it fell into the hands of Calvin. This powerful systematizer made use of the above mentioned principle—the ardent longing of the individual after a personal interest in redemption—in a manner altogether radical, i. e., he brought this principle of Protestantism to bear

* And herein lies at the same time the divine right of Evangelical Protestantism.

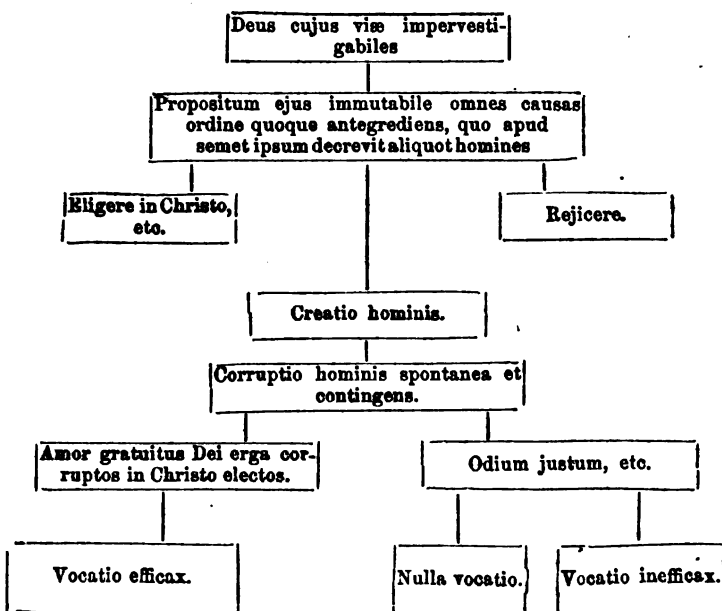
not against isolated corruptions of the old Church, but *against its universal conception*; for to him the free, personal access of the believer to the personal source of salvation, only appeared possible by the entire destruction of the idea of the Church as a communion, which includes in itself a peculiar, historically conditioned life in the process of development, and conveys through its traditional organs and ordinances the gift of salvation to each of its members. But, since the gift of salvation could not be conveyed to each member through the historically and organically mediating life of the Church, *the absolute, unmediated will of God remained as the only condition of salvation.* The root of the Calvinistic principle, therefore, is a protest against every tradition of grace conveyed by the ordinances of a historical Church. Calvin tore the individual loose from the ground of history, in order to bring him into absolute unmediated dependence on the divine will. Hence he found in the dogma of predestination the principle of his system and the nerves and sinews of his whole doctrine.* This fundamental protest against every sacramental meaning of the church order, handed down in history, revolves perpetually between two poles, one of which shows itself as the exclusive origin of salvation in the unchangeable will of God, and the other as absolute subjectivism. By the denial of all free spontaneity to man the whole race appears like a great host of puppets, part of whom are held in the condemning, and part in the saving hand of God, and each one hanging by the *funis desperationis*.† The church order of the sacraments plays throughout a meaningless part in its historical transmission among those who are already predestined to eternal happiness or misery, and only becomes a *sign* of the communication of grace when it happens to meet with one of the elect, in which case the reception of the external elements coincides with the unmediated reception of the gifts of divine grace. In the prosecution of this fundamental view and its natural consequences, it came to pass that Calvin denied the participation of unbelievers in the Lord's Supper and the necessity of infant baptism—abolished the specific distinction between the communication of grace in the *Word* and in the *Sacraments*—regarded the relation of the *res externa* in the sacrament to the

* All other principles ascribed to Calvin (on which consult Schweizer's *Dogmatik*) leave the question, on what ground Calvin could find this necessary, unanswered.

† In his *Summa totius Christianismi*, Theodore Bèze sets forth the Calvinistic

res interna as that of a sign to the thing signified—founded worship in its simplicity and public morals in their severity on the letter of Holy Writ (i. e., of the divine will delivered once for all) and in his form of church government made great account of the rights of subjectivity over against every kind of churchly authority.*

But a system, hanging by such a "*funis desperationis*," can never have power to satisfy the unappeasable necessities of the human heart. And, although the collective creeds of the dogma of predestination very clearly in the form of a genealogical tree, the beginning of which is as follows :



* Hence it happened, moreover, that the Calvinistic doctrine, because it could not allow the right of historical development, even in itself, appeared complete from the beginning, whilst Lutheranism gradually improved and purified itself;—hence, too, that the Reformed Church, carrying out the right of subjectivity to its consequences, had just as many confessions as territories [for it suffered each individual society to embody its conceptions of truth in its own peculiar forms], whilst the Lutheran embraced all its territories in the communion of the *Augustana*;—and hence also, that Calvinism, with its subjectivism opened gate and door to the entrance of sects, whilst the German Reformation, in spite of all its theological quarrels, understood how to keep alive successfully the feeling of the need of churchly communion.

Reformed Church place the doctrine of predestination at the head of their dogmatic explications, yet we find the pure and severe metaphysics of Calvin firmly retained by scarcely any confession. Nearly all treat the dogma in an *infralapsarian* sense (which severs the life-nerve of Calvin's system), and, at the Synod of Dort, Gomarus, with his Calvinistic supralapsarianism, found himself in the position of a separatist. Three confessions only contain the dogma of Calvin pure and uncolored, namely, the *Consensus pastorum Genevensis ecclesie*, the *Formula Consensus Helvetica* of 1675, and the *Westminster Confession* of the Puritans. But the *Consensus* of Geneva has most probably been just as little subscribed even by Zurich as by any other of the Swiss churches. The *Helvetic Formula* is to be regarded only as a posthumous work of the Church, or rather as a scholastic production, which was forgotten by the Church in a few decades of years, so that neither the one document nor the other can serve as a witness to the spirit which animated the Reformed Church, and the Westminster Confession alone remains as the solitary symbol of Predestination,—evidence enough, that strict Calvinism, in its protest against the historical and sacramental Church, and in its recourse to the *decretum Dei absolutum* possesses no living power. Even Calvin himself was compelled, in most open contradiction to his principles, to insist strongly on the necessity and significance of divinely ordained church ordinances to the life of faith! *

THE GERMAN REFORMATION.

In diametrical opposition to the Calvinistic doctrine, the German Reformation had from the first held firmly to the historical ground and the objective character of the Church. The perception of the fact, that tradition stood in contradiction with itself (i. e., Scripture † with the later dogmatic development of the Church), called forth measures, by which that defect of tradition might be obviated. This happened, when Luther made so much account of the eminent significance of the Scripture and of the primitive Church against the succeeding church development, because he found in that just what his religious consciousness demanded,—namely, the

* Compare Calv. Instit. iv., 11, 12, 13.

† It is here worthy of notice, that according to the Catholic view, from which the Reformers diverged, the Scripture throughout appears only as an element of tradition.

express assurance to the penitent sinner of a true personal possession of salvation. If this Scripture-principle had only worked itself out into the consciousness of the Protestant world, the tradition of the Church would never have been ignored (as in Calvinism), but acknowledged in its proper and corrected form, i. e., *according to the measure of the Holy Scriptures*. For the Augsburg Confession was only a corrective and palliative, founded on the authority of Scripture, against various unscriptural elements brought into tradition in the old Church. This itself, with its catholic character, continued to be essentially acknowledged, until the force of events (at first gradually) produced and sharpened the consciousness of a churchly antagonism in the Confession.*

Since it was now acknowledged by the German Reformation that salvation is mediated and conveyed to the individual through traditional organs and ordinances, it became necessary that the dogma of the eucharist, for example, should assume the following preliminary form: "Where the sacrament is rightly (*stiftungs mässig*) administered, it is always the bearer of supernatural grace, and with the visible species really conveys also the invisible blessing." In this form of the dogma, which corresponds strictly to Art. 10 of the *unaltered Augsburg Confession*, Catholicism and Lutheranism stand on common ground; for even the Catholic dogma is in no wise injured by this formula. But the difference of the Catholic dogma becomes apparent when looked at from the side of the principle of the Reformation and measured by its rule. According to the primitive view of Protestantism, salvation was prepared only with the express design of becoming the personal property of the individual. It was not given for its own sake merely, nor for idle exhibition,† but in order that every one might lay hold of it and possess it for himself. God, therefore, bestows the blessings of grace in the sacrament only for the purpose of participation. Since then, the object of the divine institution

* The Augsburg Confession was never esteemed as a new ground of church life, in the time of the Reformation, but regarded rather as a church reform, modelled after the Gospel and bearing witness for itself; for every church communion, which held to the doctrine of the Trinity, acknowledged justification by faith, abolished the sacrifice of the mass, restored the cup, and permitted the marriage of priests, i. e., which made tradition conform to Scripture, was from the beginning looked upon as allied to the Augsburg Confession..

† The Catholic Church has to do primarily with show, on which account it has turned the doctrine of the presence of the Lord in the Eucharist into the dogma of transubstantiation, and elevates the consecrated host in the pyx.

and the extent of the divine promise complete themselves in the attainment of the destined end, it follows that the promise of supernatural grace in the sacrament must be bound throughout to the condition of its reception and participation, and that the formula above given must be modified in the following manner: "Where the sacrament is rightly administered and received, it is always the bearer of the supernatural grace promised, and with the visible species conveys also to the communicants *in the act of participation* the invisible blessing." *In this form we find the dogma—as the specific Lutheran doctrine in the Formula of Concord.*

But, in the consistent carrying out of the Protestant principle, this form must undergo yet a second modification. It became necessary to assert, that supernatural grace is conferred in the sacrament, not for participation merely, but *for participation in the salvation of the recipient*, and that in the attainment of *this* end the promise attached to the sacrament must have its limitation. This was brought about by Melancthon.* The focus of the Melancthonian theology was the soteriological principle of German Protestantism itself, carried out in perfect purity and to its most rigid consequences, which, however, received from Melancthon a peculiar direction, in so far as he thought only of the saving power of God in reference to a capacity for salvation really existing, and a need of redemption actually springing out of the experience of life. From this practically-teleological point of view, Melancthon found the basis of the whole sacramental doctrine comprised in the acknowledgment, that the sacrament in its general view *must be ordered only for the sphere of those who are truly Christians*, and that the question concerning the grace communicated by the sacrament could only hold in reference to *faith* and the *believer* (by whom this gift of grace can be realized). Hence the formula of Lutheranism had to take the following form at the hands of Melancthon: "Where the

* These two steps in the development of the evangelical dogma of the Lord's Supper [the Lutheran and the Melancthonian] differ widely, as may be seen from the two following declarations of Melancthon. At Regensburg [1541] he observed: *Christus adest propter hominem, non propter panem, and in his explic. alterius partis symb. Nic. [of 1546] declared, papistas tantum dicere de præsentiâ in pane, et prorsus tacere de præsentiâ assidua in credentibus.* Compare also the *Repetitio Anhaltina* in Niemeyer's *Collectio conf. eccl. reform.* p. 628: "*Ut filius Dei promissionem corporis sui non fecit panis sed vescenti, h. e. servanti ordinem a se institutum, extra quem nihil rationem sacramenti habet etc.*"

sacrament is rightly administered and *received by faith*, it is always the bearer of the grace promised.*

From this stand-point, where Melancthon made only the interests of believing consciousness, or rather the end of redemption in those capable of receiving it, the centre of his whole study over the contents of the sacrament, and despised every consideration of the mere external signs (bread and wine), there must spring, 1,) the question as to the participation of grace on the part of *unbelievers*, as well as that concerning *the relation of the res externa to the res interna* falling away of itself as impertinent to the principle, and 2,) the specific difference (affirmed on the Lutheran side) between the communication of grace *in the word* and *in the sacrament* must in consistency be denied.

Hence it happened, that Calvin and Melancthon joined hands over the sacramental controversies of their time, because, looking away from the immeasurable difference of their principles they rested content with the full or relative congruence of their results.† The fundamental distinction between the two doctrines was essentially this, that Melancthon derived the qualification of the believer from the grace underlying the free self-determination of the individual, whilst Calvin made it dependent merely on the *decretum Dei absolutum*; but the character of the subjectivism was the same, on both sides.

The Authority of the Melancthon Theology in Germany, up to the Diet of the Princes at Naumburg, and the Church Reform of the Palatinate.

Already before Luther's death, as the history of the Augsburg Confession and its emendations undeniably proves, the whole evangelical theology of Germany recognized in Melancthon its chief advocate and leader. The *Variata* (afterwards so called), which Melancthon had published with the consent of Luther, was unhesitatingly admitted, at all meetings of the Imperial Diet, conferences, and colloquies, as the authentic

* This view of the Lord's Supper, although first complete in the Formula of Concord, was developed at an earlier period, and made its first appearance in the Smalkald Articles, in which form it was afterwards used *against Melancthon*. It is worth while to notice here what has not been known hitherto, that a *communication of Melancthon's at Worms* [1557], agreeing with the conception of the Smalkald Article, looked over and approved by him, contains a distinct Melancthonian form of the dogma, which was afterwards altered, at the suggestion of Arnsdorf, behind his back.

† Calvin, as is known, had subscribed the edition of the Augsburg Confession, published in 1540.

interpretation * of the *Invariata*, and could boast at length of an acknowledgment so universal and of a use so exclusive, that towards the middle of the sixteenth century every notice of the original Augsburg Confession had disappeared.† It is true indeed, that, early enough, a party arose (coming out at first in a manner altogether separatistic), which, as the Zion's watchmen of "Genuine Lutheranism," ventured to attack the highly celebrated authority of Melancthon by appeal to the word of Luther.‡ The peculiar character of its doctrine consisted in this, 1) that it made use of the authority of Luther and of the forms of doctrine produced by him against the development of Protestantism derived from Melancthon, and 2) that it was no longer content with grounding its Protestant tenets on Scripture, but busied itself with speculative deductions and constructed out of its dogmas a system, in which every proposition had its unalterable dogmatic back-ground and its proof contained in the harmony of the whole system, and in which the connecting thoughts, coming between the dogmas and binding them together, as the frame-work of a system completed once for all, shared in the dogmatic significance of the whole and became themselves a dogma. This party, displaying just as much of the most peaceful spirit of faith as of carnal passion, had its vindication in the not-unfounded concern, lest the fraternization of the Melancthonian and the Calvinistic theologies should, in the end, lead to the most pernicious connivance at the gangrene imbedded in the principles of Calvin, and the entire destruction of the evangelical consciousness amid the mazes of Calvinism. Nevertheless, the credit of Melancthon, at the time of the Colloquy at Worms, in the year 1557 (where he, as a contemporary report informs us, was received *numinis instar*), stood yet so firm, that his opponents, the followers of Flacius, found themselves there defeated, and forsook the city and the Colloquy. How glorious and complete the victory of the Melancthonian theology was, appears in this, that a *confession of the most conspicuous Reformed theologians of France* was brought to Worms and approved throughout as

* This was entitled "the explained," "the somewhat improved" Confession.

† Weber, *Hist. of the Augsb. Conf.* vol. 2, p. 807.

‡ The separation of two parties in the bosom of German Protestantism, the one narrowly conservative and the other [with Melancthon] seeking to profit by the capacity of development in the Protestant consciousness, was possible, as soon as Protestantism had created a certain common fund of dogmatic views.

purely evangelical. The Frankfurt Recess, which was subscribed, in the year following, by the most important evangelical Princes, and was intended to serve as a formula of concord for the dissenting parties, was conceived by Melancthon, and several confessional declarations, which were drawn up by the evangelical congregations of Trier and Aachen, as well as by Caspar Olevianus (the preacher of the Trier congregation and afterwards co-author of the Heidelberg Catechism) and expressed the Melancthonian-Calvinistic doctrines of the Lord's Supper in the most decided form, were acknowledged by the collective Protestant Estates as agreeing throughout with the Augsburg Confession*. But during the same year yet the crisis began to develope itself, which must separate the repellent elements of the evangelical Church.

Provoked by the fanatical productions of the general superintendent, Heshusius, and his adherents at Heidelberg, who wished to see the strict Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper obtain an exclusive acknowledgment, at any cost, the Elector Frederick III., of the Palatinate, had requested of Melancthon an opinion concerning the controversies relating to the sacrament†. Melancthon communicated to the Elector the desired opinion, which brought out the above-mentioned elements of the Melancthonian doctrine in the greatest precision‡; and this opinion the Elector not only caused to be printed and sanctioned as *the public rule of doctrine* by a resolution of the highest ecclesiastical court of the country, but he even issued a decree on the 12th of August, 1560, *that all the clergy of the country, who would not conform to Melancthon's mode of teaching in the doctrine of the sacrament, should immediately vacate their places.*

Thus did the Palatinate, in opposition to the pretensions of "Genuine Lutheranism," declare itself with the greatest con-

* Consult my treatise on the Reformation in Trier, in Niedner's Zeitschrift für hist. Theol. Jahrg. 1849. Heft. 8, [against Marx, on Calvinism in Trier].

† S. Seissen, Hist. of the Reform. at Heidelberg, p. 89.

‡ Melancthon remarks for example: "The word *communion* is to be explained. It means not: the nature of the bread becomes changed, as the Papists say; neither, as the Bremenites, that the bread is the *real* body of Christ, but it must be a communion, i. e., the one by which union with the body of Christ takes place,—which forms itself in the participation, and certainly *not without thought, as when mice nibble at bread.*—The Son of God is indeed present *in the service of the Gospel*, and he is there *truly active in believers.* And he is not present *for the sake of the bread*, as he indeed says: Abide in me and I in you. And in this true comfort he makes us members of himself and assures us, that he will again quicken our bodies."

fidence, in favor of the authority of the (afterwards so-called) altered *Augustana* and of Melancthon's forms of doctrine. The development, which, in the years next succeeding, carried the evangelical Church in a contrary direction, necessarily led to a separation of the Palatinate from the other Evangelical Estates of the Empire.

The decisive event was the Naumburg Diet of the Princes in the year 1561. The significance of this Diet, at which all the Protestant Princes, in order to preserve the unity of faith among the Evangelical Estates over against all theological quarrels, were willing to subscribe the Augsburg Confession anew and hand it over to the Emperor, was this, that Protestantism, as an ecclesiastical order, existing of right in the Empire, would once more start from the beginning, and thus completely do away all dogmatic differences. But the Naumburg Diet was just that, which brought about the permanent division of the evangelical party. The Princes assembled at Naumburg did, it is true, subscribe the unaltered Augsburg Confession, but in the new *preface*, with which it was to be presented to the Emperor, 1) sanctioned at the same time the *Variata* (as the authentic interpretation of the *Invariata*) and 2) strongly affirmed and acknowledged the Melancthonian doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The Duke of Saxony found himself so injured by the resolutions of the Diet, that he left Naumburg in night and mist, and put forth another preface, in which only the *Invariata* and the strict Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper were acknowledged. All the Princes at first resented the imputation of the Duke in the most decided manner. But in the course of the negotiations, which were carried on among them, concerning the Naumburg question, uninterruptedly and with incredible activity to the close of the year 1561, the anti-Melancthonian movement, which was taking hold of Protestantism, made itself known in this, that the majority of the Princes (among whom especially Christopher of Wurtemberg and Wolfgang of the Palatinate, who sought to mend matters by proposals to compromise*) suffered the Naumburg resolutions to fall through, *without however coming out on the side of the Duke of Weimar*†. In the autumn of

* They both made this proposal, to attach the explanation of the Lord's Supper contained in the Ducal preface as a supplement to that of Naumburg.

† Christopher and Wolfgang requested, for example, the Duke of Saxony, by letter as late as Jan. 17, 1562, to yield, whilst they remarked, that the Elector Frederick would keep to the view, which he had once laid hold of.

1561 only two Princes yet adhered to the Naumburg resolutions, namely, the Elector Frederick and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse. The latter also found himself at last prevailed upon by the majority of the Evangelical Estates of the Empire, although he laid it on the ground of a decision received from his theologians †, that both prefaces, that of the Naumburg Diet and that of the Duke of Weimar, were to be acknowledged as evangelical,—so that now the Elector of the Palatinate found himself altogether isolated in his ecclesiastical position. But Frederick determined not to yield an inch. Therefore he resolved, since it seemed to be demanded *in opposition to "Genuine Lutheranism,"* to secure, in the practice of the established Church of his realm, the results of the previous development of German Protestantism, derived from the *authority of Melancthon*, which involved *union with Calvinism*. To accomplish this it was requisite, 1) that the doctrine of Melancthon, as it was acknowledged in the Frankfurt Recess (1558) and in the Naumburg Preface (1561) as the common consciousness of all the Evangelical Estates, must be embodied in a formulary peculiar to the Palatinate, and 2) that the acknowledgment, expressed most strongly by Melancthon, of the absolute authority, which belongs to Holy Scripture over against any confession dependent on human weakness, must be so turned to account, that the whole ecclesiastical order of the Palatinate will be regulated according to the letter of Scripture. By this means the union with Calvinism from the Melancthonian stand-point became actually verified. The Elector Frederick caused, therefore, a new catechism to be prepared by Caspar Olevianus and Zacharias Ursinus in the year 1562 and then a new church-discipline, and published them both in the following year 1563. The Catechism—divided in its three principal heads on Sin, on Redemption, and on Thankfulness for Redemption in a manner altogether soteriological, i. e. Melancthonian—contained the doctrines of Melancthon to a hair, whilst the Church Discipline gave to

because "he considered unnecessary further explanation than that contained in the Preface, and first of all in the Confession and Apology, to which the Preface expressly referred. The two princes then called the attention of the Duke to the fact, that his definition of the Lord's Supper was considered severe by many, because they thought the doctrine of transubstantiation, or local inclusion was taught in it, and they counselled him to rest satisfied with Bucer's Confession of Concord.

† Lauze, *Life and Acts of Philip, the Magnanimous*, vol. 1, for the year 1561.

worship and ecclesiastical usage a form thoroughly Calvinistic: the pictures and crucifixes were removed from the churches, the fonts set aside, the altars with communion tables sold, the baptism of infants by midwives forbidden, the festivals of the Virgin abolished, the organs closed and the use of common bread instead of the wafer, as well as the breaking of the bread, introduced into the celebration of the Holy Supper.

But it was not anticipated, that should a change of doctrine also be aimed at with the reform of worship and of customs, the Calvinistic features of the new ecclesiastical order would directly aid in the maintenance and security of the previous (Melancthonian) form of doctrine. This showed itself in the most decided manner in the intercourse of Frederick with the other Protestant Princes, occasioned by the reform of the Palatinate. Already on the 6th of April 1563, Duke Christopher, the Count Palatine Wolfgang and the Margrave Charles in a joint letter urgently besought the Elector of the Palatinate to cut himself and his established Church loose again from Calvinism and come back into the communion of the Evangelical Estates of the Empire, which request was repeated in a later joint communication of the three Princes. The Elector answered, however, in a declaration of September 14, 1568, that he would suffer neither the word of Luther nor of Calvin to be acknowledged in his Church, but the word of Christ alone. He was also thoroughly conscious of not falling away from the previous doctrine or departure from the communion of the Evangelical Estates of the Empire. "For," continued he, "because we found (seeing that we with others signed and sealed it with its introductory preface at Naumburg lately) that the Augsburg Confession, together with its accompanying Apology, taken from the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments and founded thereon, derives from thence all its points, and must be explained and understood accordingly, and therefore always chose it along with Your Worship and the other Estates, appealed to it at meetings of the Imperial Diet and elsewhere, but especially of late at Frankfurt before his Imperial Majesty, and accepted likewise and for similar reasons *both Frankfurt Recesses* of the years '57 and '58, so we again acknowledge the same *Divine Word, the Confession* derived from it, *the Apology* and the *Recesses* and embrace the same. It cannot be expected, that we, standing on some firm ground, should pass by in silence, what has very little proof to sustain it, that we, having hither-

to intended or deliberately undertaken something in our dominions in behalf of religion and doctrine, are so hostile to the before-mentioned *Word of God, the Augsburg Confession* and the *Recesses* alluded to, that we have dismissed honest preachers *subject and allied to the same.*"

Touching the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Frederick announced that his clergy must give evidence, that they (and he with them) believed and taught, "that not bread and wine alone, though holy, divine signs and seals (so styled by the holy, divine Scriptures, and also by the Augsburg Confession and Apology), nor the merit of Jesus Christ alone or his divinity alone, but *the Lord Jesus Christ whole and entire (ganz und gar)*, true God and true Man, his real body and real blood, as delivered and poured out for us on the tree of the cross, together with all his merits, benefits, heavenly treasures and possessions and life eternal are truly, without any deception and not in mere fancy, but really, reipsa, through the power and working of the Holy Ghost, presented and handed over by the Lord himself for the food and drink of our souls, *present to faith*, so that we, by such communion with Christ, become true members of his blessed body, He remaining and living in us and we in Him."

Frederick announced thus in the most decided way, that he would hold immoveably 1) to the confessional writings of the evangelical Church and 2) to the dogmatic ideas of Melancthon and the resolutions of the Frankfurt Recess, by which Melancthon's doctrine was asserted as the common conviction of the Evangelical Estates. And that the explanations, which Frederick gave the Princes concerning his reform-movements, did not rest on an opinion hastily assumed and abandoned again, but on the basis of the most positive conviction and the most correct historical view, is verified by the Elector in the most decided manner in the year 1566. For proof of my assertion I bring forward three events of this year.

1. At the meeting of the Imperial Diet at Augsburg (1566), Duke Christopher and Count Palatine Wolfgang thought it questionable, whether the apostate, Frederick, should be permitted to subscribe an address, which, with the signatures of the Evangelical Estates attached, was to be handed over to the Emperor. But, even though the schism of the evangelical body of the Empire stood out, in the most glaring manner, in this position, which the other Protestant Princes assumed toward the Elector of the Palatinate, yet were the dying re-

mains of the common Melancthonian consciousness still too much alive, to suffer them to forget the dogmatic integrity, which Frederick had shown from the first transactions. Thus Frederick addressed the Elector of Saxony: "Your Worships have kindly understood, that we still abide by the much-talked-of Augsburg Confession, the Apology of the same, and the Frankfurt Recess, at which Recess, we all acknowledged, that it should be taught concerning this article, as it was professed in the Augsburg Confession, namely, that in the ordinance of his Holy Supper Jesus Christ is present in a true, living, and real way, and along with the bread and wine thus ordained by him gives us Christians his body and his blood to eat and to drink;—that, although some say this only, that the Lord Christ is not really present here and that this sign is only an external sign, by which Christians may know and confess him, such language is wrong.—*This is the formula, which, having examined it thoroughly at Frankfurt and subscribed it, we yet profess and cause to be regularly preached on and taught in our schools and churches.*"—This declaration of the Elector had the best effect; the other evangelical Princes henceforth acknowledged the orthodoxy of Frederick, and permitted him to sign the address with them.

2. The scarce-expected (sudden) re-union of the other Protestant Princes with the Elector led the Emperor to hope that in the end the reconciliation of the parties might be effected. He invited, therefore, all the evangelical Princes to hold a conference for this purpose at Erfurt. Electoral Saxony and Wurtemberg hesitated at first about joining the proposed attempt at reconciliation. But the Elector Frederick declared again, that he held firmly to the doctrine of Melancthon, as professed in the Augsburg Confession, in the Apology, in the Frankfurt Recess, and in the repeated (elaborated for delivery to the Council of Trent) Confession of 1552, and would only express the wish, that in the proposed theological conference *foreign theologians* might also be invited to take part, since Theodore Beza had fully approved of the repeated Confession of 1552 with the exception of a single word, and thus the re-establishment of a great evangelical church-alliance might be expected.

3. During the reformation of the Upper Palatinate, in the years 1566 and 1567 following, the clergy of the city of Amberg were particularly hard to please. For this reason Frederick gave them to understand, by the magistrate of Amberg,

on the 11th December, 1566, that since it was the duty of every Christian ruler "to uproot, as much as possible, idolatry and error, as well as scandal among his subjects, and promote and maintain instead the true worship of God and pure doctrine," and since, moreover, the present controversy concerning the Lord's Supper referred only to the question, "whether the true communion and participation of the true, real body and blood of Christ takes place by *living faith in Christ*—or by a *corporeal* invisible entering of the flesh and blood of Christ through the mouth into the body of the godly and ungodly, whilst all are agreed as to the true participation of his true natural body, it *shall* therefore be required of the clergy *on the strength of the Frankfurt Recess* *, 1,) that they must refrain from condemning and abusing the Heidelberg theologians, who adhere to the doctrine of the participation of Christ's body by faith; 2,) that they must not employ their spiritual influence to hinder others from embracing that doctrine; 3,) that they must use in the administration of the Lord's Supper such forms of speech only *as are contained in the Word of God, the Augsburg Confession, its Apology, its Repetition and the Frankfurt Recess*, and detailed in *Philippi locis communibus, examine ordinandorum, responsione ad articulos Bavaricos, concionibus in Matthæum per Froschelium Amburg, and Commentario in 1. ad Corinth, by Paulum Eberum*, and avoid all new phrases; and 4,) that they must discard all ceremonies leading to superstition and erroneous ideas.

4. In the year 1566 appeared at Heidelberg: "*The doctrine of the Augsburg Confession, its Apology and Repetition, and of the Frankfurt Recess also, on the sacraments, in their own language, arranged in the form of question and answer.*" In the introduction to this catechism, which consists of seven quarto-leaves, it is remarked concerning its design: "Because we have discovered that many people are so weak, that they in many parts of Christian doctrine, but especially in the dispute concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, ground themselves much more upon human authority and prejudice than upon the divine Word, and also imagine somehow, as on their side, those persons and writings, old and new, which are yet fundamentally opposed to, or at least do not agree with them, many of them appealing chiefly to the Augsburg Confession, although they have never yet examined it carefully, or certainly not

* The signers of the Frankfurt Recess had pledged themselves strictly to prohibit all angry discussion among their theologians.

compared one portion with another, so as to understand it thoroughly and properly, therefore certain persons, in order to put an end to this whole business, have consented to bring together in order and arrange in the form of questions, which can be answered out of the writings themselves,—*the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession on the Sacraments, and on the Lord's Supper from the Confession, the Apology, the Repetition sent to the Council of Trent in the year '52, and the Frankfurt Recess of the year '58 (all which writings serve for the illustration of the Confession).*"

A new edition of this catechetical pamphlet appeared in the year 1584; and that the Church of the Palatinate was, at a yet later period, fully conscious as well of her German-evangelical character, as of the historical occasion of her breach with Lutheranism, and of the design of her Calvinistic form of church-discipline, may be inferred as well from the preface to this edition of the Catechism of 1584, as from the paper which appeared at Heidelberg in the year 1607, entitled "Detailed Report of what the Reformed churches believe or do not believe: item, what ceremonies they use or do not use, why they practice or omit one thing or another," and also from the apologetical publications of the Heidelberg theologians called out by the controversy with the Lutherans in the following years.*

To the doctrine of predestination, in the sense of Calvin, there was no where any allusion.

It follows, therefore, that the church-reform of the Palatinate is not to be regarded as an apostacy from German Protestantism (of the Augsburg Confession) to Calvinism, but as a churchly order, which, in opposition to the dogmatic consolidation of a later period coming out more and more powerfully and basing itself on Luther's type of doctrine, would establish securely the old-evangelical church-consciousness, (i. e., the results of the Melancthonian development of German Protestantism) with its irenical reference to the Reformation beyond Germany under Calvinistic forms, which up to the year 1561 was almost exclusively in power.

* Here belong: "A short Supplement to the Detailed Report of what the Reformed Church in Germany," &c., [1609]; "Reply of the Heidelberg Theologians to the Continuationem examinis of the Detailed Report," &c., [1610]; "A Final Proof, that the enemies of the Reformed Church quote her writings falsely, or at least put a wrong construction upon them"; and the "Conclusion to the Heidelberg Final Proof, and to all other writings exchanged for six years past with the Wurtemberg Theologians" [1614].

The retrograde, exclusively Lutheran tendency, which broke with the historical development of Protestantism, derived from Melancthon, and placed itself, with repentant heart and loud Flacian outcry, upon the letter of Luther's dogmatic system, grew with increasing strength (though for ten years without any proper self-consciousness), and knew how to attract to itself by degrees nearly the whole domain of German Protestantism. At first, it was only opposition to the Calvinistic form received by the Palatinate and concern for the preservation of the German-evangelical principle from Calvinistic deterioration, that roused the sympathy of the Evangelical Estates for Luther's peculiar forms of doctrine and worship. For how ingenuous their common judgment was, concerning the relation of the Melancthonian system of doctrines to the church-reform of the Palatinate and the existing confessional positions in Germany, appears, as clear as the sun, from the history of Andreæ's Work of Concord in the years 1568—1571. The five Articles of Concord namely, which Andreæ had drawn up by the advice of Duke Christopher of Wurtemberg, and with which he had travelled through Upper and Lower Saxony in the years 1569 and 1570, under the protection of Landgrave William of Hesse and Duke Julius of Brunswick, and—nearly everywhere with the best results—had sought to establish unity of faith among the evangelical theologians, were considered so decidedly Melancthonian and congruent throughout with the Frankfurt Recess of 1558*, that Doctor James Andreæ, not otherwise than under the protection of a Hessian and Brunswick ambassador, in the camp of his subsequent co-laborers in the Concord-formulas of Torgau and Berg—ventured to visit Weimar. But the Flacian Zion's watchmen of Weimar and Jena prized the Melancthonian character of the Five Articles of Concord so highly that they were ready to pitch Dr. James Andreæ—this Father of the Lutheran Church—out of the pulpit as a legate of Satan, of Christ and Belial, cursed him publicly, and conjured up against him in the whole Duchy the wildest spiritual tumult.

But the autumnal Convention put an end to Andreæ's first Work of Concord and Melancthonian period. From the year

* Yet had Andreæ, at the request of Landgrave William of Hesse, translated the five articles into the *Latin language*; in order to be able to employ them as a means of union with the Calvinists of France, England, &c.!

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1578 on, in the most confidential alliance with his former deadly enemies, and supported most strenuously by the influence of the more powerful Princes of the Empire, Andreæ understood how to make so much out of the opposition to the Palatinate, and how to guide the revolution in the dogmatic consciousness of the time so successfully, that by degrees the preponderating part of the Estates of the Empire fell away entirely from the Melancthonian Patristic Inheritance of Faith and the spiritual tendency, which at first was represented by the sectarian party of the Flacians, adopted the Concord-formula of Berg*.

The Hessian Church, in the dogmatic movements of the sixteenth century, and its reformation under the Landgrave Maurice.

From the year 1576, when the Book of Torgau appeared, on till the close of the century, the Hessian Church was the centre of the collected opposition, which looked on the posthumous ubiquity-orthodoxy of the Formula of Concord as a mischievous falling off from the Melancthonian Patristic unity of faith. Hence the Book of Torgau was rejected by the General Synod of Hesse, in the year 1576, as well as the Book of Berg by the General Convention at Treifa, in the year 1577, and at the latter the resolution was passed, that all controversies should cease, until they could be settled in a successful and orderly manner by a General Synod, that every one should abstain from all new and unusual forms of speech respecting the relation of Christ's natures, and that the doctrine of the natures of Christ should be treated of only *in concreto* (in reference to his person) and not *in abstracto* (in reference to the individual natures). But whilst Lower Hesse, under the wise Landgrave William IV., adhered with unshaken fidelity to the old-evangelical foundation, Upper Hesse, under the strenuously Lutheran Landgrave Lewis, and under the influ-

* The gradual sinking of the common-consciousness of the Evangelical Estates of Germany shows itself in a manner particularly remarkable in the changing position which they assumed toward the *Anglican Church*. At the Naumburg Diet [1561] the Queen of England had presented a request to the assembled Princes, to bind themselves with her to common measures against the Romish Church, and the Princes accepted the proposition of the Queen with joy, and sent her the following year the resolutions of the Conference at Fulda. In the year 1569, on the contrary, when Elizabeth made similar propositions to the Conference at Erfurt, several Princes thought it would look suspicious to enter into union with the Queen, because according to report she was Zuinglian or Calvinistic. And when the Queen, in the year 1577, asked, by a commission sent to the German Princes, for a removal of the condemnations, contained in the Book of Torgau against Calvinism, the embassy met with a favorable reception only in Cassel and Heidelberg.

ence of the powerful theologian, Doctor Ægidius Hunnius, gave herself up to the modern tendency in a way so violent, that by it the unity of the Hessian Church was wholly destroyed and the further development of the common confessional consciousness rendered impossible. When from that reason the Synods of 1578, 1579 and 1580, had adjourned without any success in settling the ruinous quarrels, the Synod of 1581, in order to meet the necessity, felt by both parties, of a truce for both parts of the country, decreed on the ground of a previous agreement between the Landgrave William and Lewis, that all pastors and teachers "on the article de persona Christi should teach according to the contents of the prophetic and apostolical Scriptures, of the three symbols of the approved ancient oecumenical councils, of the *Epistola Leonis ad Flavianum*, of the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, and of the Smalkald Articles," and refrain from all modes of speech not occurring in these confessional writings, this however excepted, that should the freedom of conscience be in any wise brought into peril thereby, a dissenting view might be introduced in a moderate way, not endangering the peace of the Church. Meanwhile the remains of the old-evangelical church-consciousness were yet so much alive even in Upper Hesse, that the Melancthonian-Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper received the fullest acknowledgment at both the last Hessian General Synods, (1581 and 1582) and that not merely through the preponderance of Lower Hessian theologians*. But with the discontinuance of the General Synod the division of Hesse into a Lutheran Upper and Melancthonian Lower Principality was completed. For whilst the Church of Lower Hesse in her Diocesan Synods (which continued to be held) moved with the greatest confidence upon the ground pointed out by the Synodical resolution of 1581, and acknowledged that resolution repeatedly as the lawful norm of public doctrine, Upper Hesse worked herself so decidedly into the modern Lutheran tendency, that already before the close of the century, every hope of composing the confessional antagonism in Hesse vanished in the farthest distance. Moreover, the position of the Lower Hessian Church had become so singular in the sphere of the

* Concerning the church-development of Hesse thus far, my History of the Hessian General Synods from 1568 to 1582 may be consulted; concerning what follows, my article, which appeared during the year past, "The introduction of the period of improvement into Hesse and the origin of the Hessian Church-discipline of 1657," will give the necessary particulars.

Evangelical Estates, that Landgrave Maurice (William's successor) believed that he could find the security of the Melancthonian character of his established Church only in the self-same way, which was formerly taken by the Elector Frederick in the Church of the Palatinate. The Melancthonian dogma must now be acknowledged, according to his view, in express opposition to Lutheranism and worship reformed in the Calvinistic method, if the Hessian Church would remain conscious and secure of the Melancthonian development of German Protestantism, and, conformably, of its irenical reference to Calvinism. Accordingly Landgrave Maurice (after he had come into sovereign power by the decease of Landgrave Lewis of Upper Hesse in the year 1604) enjoined in the three well known points of reformation :

1.) That all preachers in the land, on the doctrine of the person of Christ, should adhere closely to the old-Hessian Synodical decrees (from 1577—1582,) in accordance to which they must discuss it only in concreto, and leave off the use of newer (ubiquitistic) forms of speech ;

2.) That the prohibition of images be restored to the decalogue, and all pictures removed from the churches ; and

3.) That the custom of breaking the bread must be introduced into the administration of the Lord's Supper.

It is clearly evident, therefore, from this edict of the Landgrave, that, in this reform of his, no breach with the past history of the Hessian Church was aimed at ; for the second and third resolutions had specially in view, to carry out fully the principle, by which the Synodical decrees were sustained.

For the confirmation and closer illustration of this fact I would refer to what follows *.

1. In a sovereign edict of 23d of December, 1605, it was made the duty of the superintendents to ask the pastors, "if they would demean themselves in conformity with *the Synodical Recesses* de persona Christi in concreto, by discoursing according to the Holy Scriptures." (Besides, the resolutions concerning the breaking of the bread and pictures, were here repeated also).

2. The purport of the first point in the proposition, which Landgrave Maurice laid before the Diocesan Synods, held in

* The few proofs here given might be multiplied a hundred fold. I confine myself, however, only to bringing into notice here, that the Marburg theologians were dismissed by the Landgrave Maurice for this very reason, because they would not acknowledge the resolutions of the Old-Hessian Synod.

202 *The Character of the German Reformed Church*, [April, February 1607 at Cassel, Eschwege, Marburg and St. Goar, and the General Synod convened in April of the same year at Cassel, was this: *Whether the pastors were ready to obey the Recesses of the General Synods of 1577, 1578, 1579, 1581 and 1582, touching the doctrine of the person of Christ.*

3. In the Confession, drawn up by the General Synod of 1607, and afterwards printed as the public norm of doctrine with the sovereign approval, 1) the resolutions of each General Synod concerning the doctrine of the person of Christ (in § 4.) were expressly sanctioned; 2) (in § 5.) in respect to the article on election, Luther's mode of teaching was adopted*, and 3) (in § 6.) the dogma of the Lord's Supper was made to assume the following form: "Because the Lord says of the bread, This is my body, which was given for you, and further, So do in remembrance of me, by which words he demands faith, and intends that we shall not eat the earthly bread alone with the mouth of the body, but shall eat and drink *with the mouth of the heart* the heavenly manna, i. e., his true body, as given for us, and his true blood, as poured out for us from his side and wounds on the tree of the cross for the remission of our sins, so we believe, that in the Holy Supper, *besides and with* the reception of the sacrament of the body of Christ by the mouth, we *at the same time* become partakers also of the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ himself, not *imaginarie*, or by mere thoughts, but truly, and that through such participation Christ dwells in our hearts. For this reason, then, the Lord Jesus Christ, not absent but present, in his Holy Supper feeds us truly with his flesh and gives us his blood to drink, and this participation of the body and blood of Christ brings and communicates strong consolation, life and eternal salvation to weak, troubled and believing hearts. . . . This *two-fold eating*, namely, 1) the eating of the sacrament by the mouth, and 2) the spiritual eating of the body of Christ, is contained in the plain, clear letter of Scripture. But though, besides this, there may be yet another eating, since the body can be taken into the corporeal mouth even of blasphemers,

* It is true indeed that the doctrine of predestination was adopted in the form, which Luther gave it in his well known preface to the Epistle to the Romans, but with the express remark that every one "should abstain from severe discourses lest he might be diverted from other points and become the occasion of doubt and carnal security to the simple, and so use this language that it may help men to sure, lasting comfort, and holy living and conversation."—Of the doctrine of predestination as a *principle* there is no trace even to be seen in the Confession of the Hessian Church.

sorcerers, and other *unbelievers*, in a way not to be detected, *yet without any advantage or fruit*, this is not contained in the institution, nor any where in the Holy Scriptures. Therefore, we abide by the above-mentioned two-fold eating, expressly declared in the Word of God, and *suffer the third*, as one which has neither command nor promise in the *Scripture*, to remain in its own place, but yet wish neither to contend with any Church, that believes or holds otherwise, nor to condemn her.

4. The definition of the *Hessian State-Catechism*, published in the year 1607 by the same General Synod, runs thus on the Lord's Supper: "The Lord's Supper is a sacrament or divine act, in which the Lord Jesus Christ, himself present, imparts, seals and hands over to us, with visible signs of bread and wine, the promised gifts and heavenly blessings, namely, his true body broken for us and his true blood shed for us for the remission of our sins;" i. e., the *Hessian State-Catechism* receives that definition of the sacrament, which Melancthon repeated innumerable times, without raising the question (considered as impertinent and irrelevant) concerning the participation of unbelievers.

5. In the consistorial ordinance of 1610, the Landgrave Maurice determined, that at the conventions and synods the spiritual superiors should see to it, that the preachers "in doctrine and ceremonies should conduct themselves by and conform to the Word of God, the three chief-symbols, *Apostolico, Nicæno, Athanasio*, the Augsburg Confession and its Apologies, both that of Triefa in anno 1577, and that of Marburg anno 1578, as also especially the Synodical Recess established at Marburg in 1607, and the points of reformation introduced by it and the Catechism growing out of it." . . .

Thus it appears as clear as day*, that it was not the design of the church reform by Maurice, to break with the previous development and historical continuity of the Hessian Church, but the direct aim rather of the reforms arranged by him was to secure and preserve the results of the Melancthonian development of the old-Hessian Church (the decrees of the General Synods, &c.) against the apprehended introduction of exclusive Lutheranism.

* The history of the origin of the Hessian Church-Discipline of 1657 brings this fact out in the most decided manner. Consult my tract, before alluded to, on the introduction of the Reformation-period, &c.

THE BRANDENBURG CHURCH REFORM.

In relation to the Church Reform projected by the Elector John Sigismund of Brandenburg, I limit myself to the quotation of a few passages from the *Confessio fidei Ioannis Sigismundi*, in order to prove its complete agreement with the Reform of the Palatinate and Hesse. The passages of the Confession, which exhibit this fact in the clearest manner, are the following:

“His Electoral Grace has nothing nearer and dearer to his heart, than that in the future by gentle means every vestige of Papal superstition yet remaining in the land should be done away, and that *everything should be ordered according to the rule of the Divine Word and the primitive Apostolic Church*; and lest any one may entertain the thought, or fancy, through peevishness and discontent, that His Electoral Grace has taken up with something new, not grounded expressly on the Word of God, His Electoral Grace has determined to publish herewith his Confession of Faith.

In the beginning, His Electoral Grace heartily acknowledges the true, infallible and saving Word of God,—which is and shall be the only rule of all pious people, and is perfect and sufficient for salvation; after this the Christian and Catholic Creeds also, such as the Apostolic, Athenasian, Nicene, Ephesian and Chalcedonian; and then the Augsburg Confession, as handed over to the Emperor Charles V. by the Protestant Princes and Estates in the year 1530, and *afterwards in some points revised and IMPROVED*.

The *locutiones abstractivas*, i. e., such modes of speaking as: “The Godhead of Christ has suffered, the humanity of Christ is almighty, everywhere present,” and the like, because they are not found in Holy Scripture, and are contrary to the principal creeds, His Electoral Grace would put aside and wish to compel no one to the highly dangerous and scandalous use of the same, *calling specially to mind that neither the orthodoxi Patres, nor Luther thus taught*.

In the *Holy Supper*, His Electoral Grace believes and professes, that, since *two different things* are found in it,—the external signs, bread and wine, and the true body of Christ, as delivered to death for us, and his holy blood, as poured out on the tree of the holy cross,—they can also be partaken of in *two different ways*—the bread and wine *by the mouth*, and the true body and the true blood of Jesus Christ peculiarly *by faith*, and that therefore, because of the sacramental union,

both together are at the same time bestowed and received in this holy transaction." (The use of "natural unleavened bread" and the breaking of the bread were recommended on account of Christ's words, "hoc facite").

As the direct results of this comparison* we discover the complete identity of the Reformation, which the Palatinate under the Elector Frederick, Hesse under the Landgrave Maurice and (as an experiment) Brandenburg under the Elector John Sigismund had experienced, by which moreover the following facts were established:

1. *There exists a GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH, which formed itself as a peculiar church-order in the Palatinate, Hesse and Brandenburg.*

2. *The historical and dogmatical root of the German Reformed Church is not Calvinism, but the GERMAN (OLD LUTHERAN) REFORMATION with its confessional writings (the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the Frankfurt Recess, &c.).*

3. *The origin of the German Reformed Church was occasioned by the secession, beginning at the Naumburg Diet of the Princes (1561), of exclusive "Genuine Lutheranism" from the old-evangelical communion of the Evangelical Estates of Germany, which was essentially derived from the authority of Melancthon.*

4. *The tendency of the German Reformed Church is: the maintenance of that which up to the Naumburg Diet of the Princes, was chiefly contained in the Augustana Variata (as the authentic interpretation of the later so-called Invariata) and sanctioned by the Frankfurt Recess (1558), namely, the Melancthonian common-consciousness of the Evangelical Estates and, as conditioned thereby, the irenical reference of German to foreign (Calvinistic) Protestantism.†*

* Since the present design was to place the German Reformed Church generally in a clear light, I thought it could be accomplished by a closer examination of the other Reformed Communions of Germany, who in part demand a churchly and dogmatic consideration wholly special.

† The relation of the German Reformed and Lutheran Churches to old-evangelical Protestantism and its development up to the Naumburg Diet of the Princes, is expressed in a very clear manner by the collocutors of the Leipsic Conference [1821]: "For, at the very first, the theologians of Electoral Brandenburg and Princely Hesse voluntarily declared, that they would acknowledge with mouth and heart the Confession handed over to the Emperor Charles V. on the 25th of June, 1530, at the Imperial Diet of Augsburg, and were willing to subscribe it, whenever and wherever desired, without hesitation; so much so, that they would not object to testify their approval by sign-

5. *The German Reformed Church follows this tendency, when she (strictly after the fundamental view of Melancthon) makes so much account of the absolute authority of Scripture, and prevents any deterioration to be feared from the "Genuine Lutheran" system by placing church-discipline throughout on the letter of Scripture.*

6. *The purest fragments of the old-evangelical communion of faith and the surest hope of its re-establishment on a historical basis to be accomplished in the future, are at present to be found in the German Reformed Church.*

CLOSING REMARKS.

It was not my design to write a history of the Reformed Church of Germany from the year 1562 on, wherefore I leave undiscussed its development in the 17th century. Yet I believe it must here be admitted, in order to meet possible objections at the start, that the theology of the German Reformed Church in the 17th century had deformed itself by its connection with the doctrinal forms of Calvin (particularly in the dogma of predestination) almost to a complete denial of the German-evangelical type. Through the power of circumstances and the confessional divisions of evangelical Germany, the German Reformed Church was limited to its intercourse with the foreign Calvinistic sphere of life, and, consequently, could not prevent the influx of Calvinistic elements into the German Reformed sphere. It must also be admitted, that the Calvinizing of Worship and the whole church-discipline must have plainly appeared in the conviction of contemporaries as a breach with history*, and this did severe injury to the productive power and vigorous life of the Church. But these Calvinistic schools are long ago dead, and the imperfect judg-

ing the self-same copy, which was present in the Library of Electoral Saxony. But in respect to the edition, which had been presented by the evangelical side in the conferences held with the Papists in 1540 at Worms and in 1541 at Regensburg, they neither were able nor desired to reject this even, but guided themselves in this case by the explanation of the Evangelical Electoral Princes and Estates, which they had made for this edition of the Augsburg Confession in the Diet of Naumburg [1561] against the Emperor Ferdinand. *Which the delegates of Electoral Saxony, it is true, have left undecided, but, on the contrary, because of the part which they had taken against the Naumburg action, they appealed to the explanation, which the Evangelical Electoral Princes and Estates gave in the preface to the Book of Concord."*

* Hence also the opposition, which the Reform met with in the Palatinate, Hesse and Brandenburg.

ment of contemporaries on these reforms must fairly yield to the unbiassed judgment of history. For history teaches that the German Reformed Church has crammed no Calvinistic dogma into the testimonials of her faith, but has rather clothed them in her peculiar form, in order to keep her heart truly German-evangelical. The Lutheran Church will have to turn back to that point, where it was once united with the German Reformed Church, and this latter will then, with the interest in her polemics with her blood-relation, of herself give up also her Puritanic narrowness. But without the acknowledgment of these historical relations the successful union of the confessions is impossible.

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ART. III.—FRANCIS JEFFREY.

LIFE OF LORD JEFFREY: *With a Selection from his Correspondence.* By Lord Cockburn. 2 vols. pp. 848 and 868. Lippincott, Grambo & Co., Philadelphia, 1852. Shryock & Reed, Chambersburg.

THE MODERN BRITISH ESSAYISTS. JEFFREY. 1 vol. pp. 762. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia, 1846.

SOMETHING more than three years have elapsed since the death of Lord Jeffrey was announced, to the moving of the general grief, in the streets of Edinburgh. There he was personally known and beloved, and every body wept for him. But the shock was felt much farther. Wherever the English Literature had fastened its firm foothold, and English Essayists, who for half a century have been leading the van of that Literature, were read and appreciated, observant minds paused to note the final departure of the man who with much propriety might be called the morning star of British Journalism. Even to our own times no man has achieved enough to dispute his place among "the first three," if even he be not, as we suppose posterity will decide, "the chief of the three." The trio, of pre-eminent renown in English Periodical Literature, are, undoubtedly, Jeffrey, Macaulay and Carlyle. And without presuming that the distinctive lines can be accurately drawn, we would designate the first as Critic, the second as Reviewer, and the third as Essayist. One has gone, the two others still remain.

About a year ago Jeffrey was recalled to the public memory by the appearance of his *Life and Correspondence* by Lord Cockburn. This brought him fairly before that tribunal, on whose benches he had so long sat, a very Rhadamanthus himself. During the last summer the English Reviews were busy with his history, character and writings; and he who had assigned, judicially, to so many aspiring or trembling authors their place in literature, and their niche in the temple of fame, or their bed in oblivion,—some rightly, others wrongly,—must now himself be scanned and canvassed, and assigned to his proper place along with the rest. The great Critic must be criticised; the great Reviewer must be reviewed;—the anatomist who was ever thrusting his scalpel into others, must now yield his carcass to the dissecting knife of those who come after him. It is more *our* purpose, however, to present him to our readers in his natural lineaments, because we deem his *Life and Character* form a delightful and profitable subject for study, especially to those who have read more or less of his writings.

We are free to confess that Lord Cockburn's book has very much changed our conception of the man, Jeffrey. All of us, probably, have a distinct mental image, more or less factitious, of every great or considerable man whose writings we are accustomed to study, and of whose inner life we are not allowed to have, biographically, a view. The erroneousness of these conceptions arises from the fact that many men assume quite a new individuality when they take pen in hand. The collateral influences which bear upon the every-day character are then wanting, and other qualities come prominently forward which were formerly kept in check. This is especially true of the writer writing from such a position as Jeffrey's. Sitting as critic and reviewer, and in some sort legislator, for the literary world, and all this behind the screen of anonymous writing, he would not only be strongly tempted, but really compelled to assume a character not exactly his own. Looking at Jeffrey simply as sitting in the editor's chair of the *Edinburgh Review*, seeing him belaboring Southey, applying the switch to Byron and Keats, thrusting his light shafts even at Scott, and presuming to look down with contempt upon the towering crest of Wordsworth, we fancied him to be a stern, severe, relentless man,—imperious, inflexible and cold natured,—almost a literary John Knox. We thought him a man to be afraid of, wherever met. Imagine then our surprise on beholding in these volumes a sprightly little good-natured man,

full of the milk of human kindness, loving every body and beloved by all; a genial, fervid, sentimental man, almost a poet; a domestic man full of affection, in whose heart all the virtues of the home and the hearth bloomed luxuriantly; easily melted and almost crushed by sorrow and bereavement; a most ardent lover of nature, in whose wildest and tenderest scenes alike he took the most exquisite delight; a man of most delicate and shrinking sensibilities,—in short, one of the last men, one should think *a priori*, fit for the work of literary slaughter. And yet there were elements in him, not so visible in private life, which made him fit for the station in which he earned his fame. In gifts of intellect he was admirably fitted; and when in the seclusion of his study he was confronted only by the dumb volume of the author, he could write as inexorably as the occasion required. Such was the Jeffrey with whom Lord Cockburn has made us acquainted.

To finish the picture in these minor respects, let us note further his very small stature. During his boyhood he is spoken of as “a little black creature,” and throughout life his person was slender, wiry and flexible, and his motions rapid. Southey, who had been chagrined by a criticism upon his *Madoc*, afterwards visited Edinburgh, and was introduced to Jeffrey, and writes to a friend that it was “impossible to be offended at any thing so diminutive.” In speaking of his conversational powers, his biographer indulges in the following curious little play of fancy:

“It may appear an odd thing to say, but it is true, that the listener’s pleasure was enhanced by the personal littleness of the speaker. A large man could hardly have thrown off Jeffrey’s conversational flowers, without exposing himself to ridicule. But the liveliness of the deep thoughts, and the flow of the bright expressions, that animated his talk, seemed so natural and appropriate to the figure that uttered them, that they were heard with something of the delight with which the slenderness of the trembling throat, and the quivering of the wings, make us enjoy the strength and clearness of the notes of a little bird.”

Other and graver qualities of his mind and character will come forth in the sketch which we intend to trace of his life.

The “Life and Correspondence” itself we regard as an admirable work of its kind. Jeffrey could have fallen into the hands of no fitter biographer. Henry Cockburn had known, admired, and loved the hero of his narrative for half a century.

In early manhood he had been his honorable and friendly rival in the struggle for professional success and distinction, the sharer of his proscribed political opinions, the bosom friend of his hours of relaxation, and the soother of his sorrows; and the friendship thus cemented lost nothing of its firmness amid the weightier cares and distinctions of riper years, when success had crowned the efforts of both, and both rejoiced in the triumph of their once proscribed politics. In mental qualifications, though not endowed with the fine literary taste of Jeffrey, Lord Cockburn has shown himself well fitted for his task. Though with this book he begins authorship, and that in septuagenarian life, it exhibits scarcely any of the defects which might be expected. The narrative is clear and compact, and never tedious and dry. The little digressions which frequently occur, show an unusual intuitive sagacity in the reading of character and motive, great shrewdness in the sifting of affectation and imposture, and a hearty appreciation of true worth. His youthful recollections and predilections inspire him with great zest in the sketching of Edinburgh society as it then existed, and he has given us a veritable Hogarthian gallery of notabilities, legal and clerical, of various periods contemporary with himself and his hero; some of them drawn with great vigor and prominence of outline, and even artistic skill. It is a book to delight the hearts of the old residents of the "North Countrey," whose *amor patriæ* glows warmly towards their "ain folk," and whose memories go back to a type of men and society which Lord Cockburn assures us has passed away forever. The book is evidently written by a thorough, practical, yet honest man of the world. It is not devoid of provincialisms, and anomalies of expression, and even considerable blunders in the use of metaphorical language; indeed, its literary defects are rather those of unpruned youth than those of tame old age. Some of the flights are quite uncommon for a septuagenarian. But its greatest defect grows out of the fact that the biographer is more of a lawyer than a literary man. Consequently in it Jeffrey appears more in his character as lawyer and civilian than as man of letters. True, his connection with the Edinburgh Review, and the mission which that organ accomplished in his time, are stated at length, but all pretty much in business style. There is evidently but little conscious appreciation of Jeffrey's true character as man of letters. That phase of his life which, however respectable in its time, will soonest fall into oblivion, is

made most prominent, whilst that on which his true fame must rest is made to hold a secondary place. It would probably, however, have been impossible to have had a biography without this blemish, which yet possessed the peculiar merits of this one. For the simple purposes of biography, we are disposed to think a Boswell superior to a Carlyle,—not to say, by any means, that Lord Cockburn is a Boswell. Better if his narrative had less of the stateliness of the Judge, and more of the abandon of “Bozzy.”—But let us to Jeffrey.

He was born in Edinburgh on the 28d of October, 1773. His father was George Jeffrey, of whose family Francis was the third child, and the eldest son. He had a younger brother, John, who spent several years of the close of the last century, and the beginning of this, as a merchant in Boston. His father was in respectable, though not lucrative circumstances, midway between the nobility and the peasantry, being a deputy clerk in the Court of Session,—a sensible though somewhat morose man. His mother is described as possessing all womanly virtues. Francis was “the tiniest possible child, but dark and vigorous,” and gained some reputation in letters while still in petticoats. At the age of eight he was entered in the High School of Edinburgh, where he continued his studies for six years. His teacher, Mr. Fraser, whom he describes, according to his first childish impressions, as “a plump, jolly, heavy-looking man, rather foolish-like than otherwise, and would have made a better landlord than a pedagogue,” had the singular good fortune to turn out, from three successive classes of four years each, Walter Scott, Francis Jeffrey, and Henry Brougham. In this school he is remembered as a clever, timid, anxious boy, “always near the top of the class, and who never lost a place without shedding tears.” He attracted no special notice, however, and apparently less as he proceeded. In the first year he had but one superior, in the last ten ranked above him. But he had given more time than most of his class-mates to voluntary reading.

During his last session, in the winter of 1786–7, the poet Burns, under the kind encouragement of Dr. Blacklock, hastened to pay his first visit to Edinburgh; and there, from being an Ayrshire ploughman, soon became the lion of the metropolis, and was awakened to the consciousness that he was a magnate in Scottish literature. One day Jeffrey was standing on the High Street, staring at a man whose appearance struck him; a shopman tapped him on the shoulder, and said, “Ay, laddie!

Ye may weel look at that man! That's Robert Burns." He never saw Burns again; though he was a most ardent admirer of his poetry, and twenty years afterwards he made him the subject of one of his most discriminating criticisms, appreciating highly his genius, but deprecating the eccentricities and deformities of his character; which he found to be even greater, doubtless, than those personal oddities which drew his curiosity, when a schoolboy, on the street.

In his fourteenth year he was sent to Glasgow College, where he remained for two sessions. Here he began to make a more "brilliant figure," especially in the departments of criticism, discussion and metaphysics. His prominent traits were quickness of perception, correctness of taste, and tenacity of memory. After leaving Glasgow he spent the next two years at home, left almost entirely to himself, and engaged in private reading and study. His early habits of industry were very systematic; and he very early began, and carried to an extent quite unusual during the years of preparatory study, a habit which no doubt exerted a decided influence on his future career, as it certainly affords a clue to the conformation of his mind,—the habit of collateral composition. His mind was perpetually working out its products in all imaginable directions. It seemed impossible for it to contain quietly its own lucubrations. Full vent was given to this propensity by the leisure he enjoyed at home after leaving Glasgow; and as the result of this there remain notes of lectures, essays, translations, abridgments, speeches, criticisms, tales, poems, *sermons*, &c. &c., on all possible subjects, and some of them of ponderous length;—a mass quite extraordinary, and which, written in a distressingly cramped and illegible hand, must have cost our practical biographer no little patience. Nothing is more visible in these youthful toils than the predominance of those faculties of analysis and criticism by which the name of Jeffrey is known in literature. Almost all of his early original compositions are of a critical character, and most of them close with a criticism on his own performance. Seventy pages folio, closely written, are taken up with an analysis of his own character! Most of his self-criticisms deprecate his scribbling habits as unprofitable, and speak of the performances themselves in no measured terms. After finishing an *Epitome of Lucretius on the Nature of Things*, he says: "The epitome I have now completed of this beautiful author is, I am sensible, a very disgraceful performance. The poetical beauties of the

original are entirely lost; the ingenious climax of argument which he has uniformly adopted, as well as the rhetorical declamation he has employed to enforce them, is necessarily annihilated," &c. A nameless discourse terminates thus: "I do not like this piece. But of which of my productions can I not say the same? Here, however, it is said with peculiar energy. The style is glaringly unequal; affectedly plain in the beginning, oratorical in the end," &c. "This barbarous version of the elegant Racine," says he, after rendering a part of Racine's *Britannicus* into blank verse, "I feel myself bound to stigmatize with its genuine character," &c. Here is the critic of the *Edinburgh Review* in embryo. What quarter could offending authors expect at the hands of a man who gave no quarter to himself? Never did twig give surer prophecy of the bent of the tree.

On the whole there seems little room to doubt that the indulgence of this habit of collateral composition to such an extent, was injurious to Jeffrey. We are disposed to doubt its beneficial effect upon any mind, except upon one strikingly deficient in the faculty of expression. To school oneself to the best style of writing, to say nothing of thinking, there is needed the motive power of a real object. Without it the tendency is to acquire superficial habits of thinking and redundancy of style in writing. The precise amount of harm it did to Jeffrey it may be difficult to determine, but that it did him harm, we think there can be no doubt. It certainly interfered with the thoroughness of his attainments. It contributed much to make him the brilliant and ready man he was, but there is no knowing how much it frustrated what he might have been. That he possessed the substantial material to have developed, under a proper course of culture, and with proper aims, with true original force and power in any one direction,—that he might, by bare possibility, have become a great thinker, going deep enough to build his structures on broad and firmly settled generalities, is not unlikely. Lord Cockburn laments that he did not, after middle life, lay out his strength on some great, original work, to secure his immortality of fame; and wonders that he did not do it. We think it no matter of wonder at all; nor do we think, had he attempted it, he would have succeeded, in the judgment of history. It was then too late. But even if this in any case was impossible for him, and admitting that the position he did occupy, demanding great quickness and versatility of talent, was his true one, we still think

the evil effects of his early scribbling are visible. It developed his facility of expression too rapidly. A correspondent development of thought could not keep pace with it. This led to a redundant and circuitous style, and to a habit of overloading his thought with a needless mass of illustration and verbiage. At the first dawn of an idea words flowed upon him so copiously that his pen ran faster than his mind, and the thought was often transferred to paper before it was half elaborated. His critical judgments were generally unerring when they were within his depth, but sometimes he judged beyond his depth. A different course of training might have made his task as editor more laborious, but it would have made him a better thinker and a surer critic. He might have avoided some of the gross blunders into which he fell, and have thrown out, in his miscellaneous writings, more that would have proved of sterling and truly permanent value.

In 1791 he left Edinburgh for Oxford, whither he went eager for literary improvement, and as he supposed to a great seat of learning and culture, with all the appropriate habits. It seems, however, that he soon found himself very much out of his element, depressed and disappointed. He pined under the separation from his friends, and from the "dear, retired, adored little window," where he had pursued his voluntary cogitations. Throughout life his happiness much depended on the presence of old familiar friends. "He ever clung to hearts," says his biographer. Kindred spirits he was so unfortunate as not to find at Oxford. He speaks of his fellow-students as a set of "pedants, coxcombs and strangers,"—most insipid companions, and much given to vicious excesses. He has dim, melancholy, poetical hallucinations which he can yet bring to no tangible form. He knows not what to make of himself. He wishes he had been bred a piper.—Verily he is not the first nor the last college student who has passed through such a transition and formation period. No, boy Francis, you came to learn afterwards that Chaos must precede Cosmos.

If he found little interest in the routine of his collegiate studies, he still pursued, though with less avidity, his private reading and his collateral composition,—adding, as usual, to each piece a criticism on its merits. His poetical propensities became quite clamorous, and he indulged them pretty freely. He barely escaped falling a prey to the muses. He writes to his sister from Oxford, "I feel I shall never be a great man

unless it be as a poet." He could not, for several years, find it in his heart to abandon poetical composition. Of these labors quite a profusion of odes, sonnets, elegies, &c., remain, mostly on the subjects of love and scenery; none of which Lord Cockburn has published for the very good reason that Jeffrey published none. He once left a manuscript with a bookseller to publish, and fled to the country; but, some obstacle occurring, he returned, recovered his poem, and never repeated the experiment. Had he published it, how much less might Keats and the "Lake poets" have been called to endure! It would have made him a canny critic, had it not vitiated his right, in the eyes of those whom he scourged, to sit on the judgment seat at all. He was not devoid of poetical qualities, but he was far better at pointing them out, or the want of them, in others.

His stay at Oxford lasted less than a year, and in the summer of 1792 he returned to Edinburgh, and after some veering and vacillation, finally settled down to the study of law as preparatory for the Scotch bar. It is worth stopping to say, that his "Notes" of Prof. Alexander Tytler's lectures on History,—which he attended in connection with those of Prof's Hume and Wyld on Law,—that is, his transfusion of the lectures into his own thoughts, occupy four hundred and thirty-six folio pages of his writing, which would be at least double in ordinary manuscript. After two years preparation, he was admitted to the bar. These two years give us many glimpses of the man. Although he pursued his studies with commendable industry, the law is never perfectly congenial. He yawns much over it. He has perplexing aspirations after something else. Literature presents strong temptations, and his propensities in this direction are nurtured by his connection with the Speculative Society. This had existed in Edinburgh since 1764, and still exists, a high model of a Society for debate and literary exercises. Jeffrey attended upon its meetings regularly or occasionally for nine or ten years, and it exerted a powerful influence upon him. Here he had to struggle with the choice athletes of Scottish mind: the Scotts, the Broughams, the Horners, the Cockburns, and he generally shone to advantage. In the Speculative he found himself at home, and nurtured the germs of future literary eminence. Though he is thus being led on by natural steps in the direction of his future career, he hesitates and parleys much. Every now and then he threatens to fly the legal course, and dash his lectures and law books to the winds. In 1793 he

writes to his brother John in Boston to let him know "what sort of a thing it is to be a merchant," and whether he would like it. Again he wishes for some quiet nook in the country, where he could live amid buds, and birds, and flowers, far from the work-day world, with a congenial "Hebe." He continually mingles his law "notes" with translations of Demosthenes and Tacitus, criticisms and sonnets, and what not? These symptoms of vacillation doubtless resulted from a habit which he showed, in various ways, ever after; namely, apprehensiveness. He ever looked timidly into the future. Although he could bear firmly the actual presence of trials and emergencies, and act manfully in them, yet no man looked at their approach with more shrinking. He rarely augured well for any thing. He was perpetually doubting his own success as a lawyer until that success was beyond doubt. Speaking of his mercantile intentions his biographer says: "He would have made a miserable merchant; for he had a horror of risk and a strong sense of the value of pecuniary prudence. With a liberality of disposition, which was evinced by munificent charity, he had no spirit of adventure, and therefore one shilling certain had charms for him which twenty shillings doubtful could not impart. He would have made himself or his partners crazy by perpetually demonstrating, in the midst of their most solid prosperity, that they were all bankrupt, or must speedily become so." A slight tinge of melancholy, which pervaded his nature, notwithstanding the fact that in society he was unusually happy and full of life and spirits, gave a gloomy cast to all his prognostications. Some of his speculations on the future prospects of England and English society, and humanity, are full of forebodings. He was quaking with qualms and trepidation during the war with France, and breathed delightfully free after the battle of Waterloo. He writes in 1800 to his brother John: "Your United States, I am afraid, will not deserve that title long; and that wonderful America, which all the discontented patriots of Europe have been holding out to our envy and admiration, will fall a victim, I think, to the constitutional malady of republics. With your yellow fever and party violence, I cannot think your situation very enviable." This is not to be taken as his permanent opinion respecting American liberty, of which he often spoke hopefully, but as the fruit of one of his desponding frames. This desponding habit explains the apparent want of stability in his early purposes. However with all his halts and parleys his interest in the law increased as he advanced.

With his admittance to the bar we enter properly upon Jeffrey's career as a public man ; a career begun under unfavorable circumstances, and which opened up slowly, but which is worthy to be traced on account of the issues which it finally reached. Although our chief concern is with the character and work of Jeffrey as a literary man, yet we cannot avoid noticing the other phases of his life, and his doings in other departments. The one aspect of the man and his work reflects light upon the other.

He was not immediately popular. His first fee was tardy in coming, and he had to wait long for professional success. Two obstacles were in his way. The lesser of these was personal. He had "an unpopularity of manner which it is somewhat difficult to explain. People did not like his English"—we are told before that at Oxford "he had lost his broad Scotch and gained the narrow English"—"nor his style of smart sarcastic disputation, nor his loquacity, nor what they supposed to be an air of affectation. These peculiarities gradually faded, and people got accustomed to them ; but they operated against him throughout several of his early years." The other obstacle was of a more serious nature. He belonged to the unpopular, almost the proscribed, party in politics. He was a Scotch Whig. His political convictions seem to have grown with his growth, to have been the natural offspring of his liberal mind, and to have been embraced in all sincerity. They were directly in the face of all his present interests. His father was a bigoted and somewhat morose Tory, and was sadly grieved at the defection, and ruin as he supposed, of his promising son. By them he forfeited the attention of his first patron, the friend of his father, Lord Glenlee, and was thrown entirely on his own resources. It would be impossible to make the reader understand or appreciate Jeffrey without stating clearly what it was to be a Scotch Whig at the close of the last century.

In England the Tories were strongly conservative, the unquestioning adherents of the government, and the advocates of existing usages ; the Whigs were moderately progressive, proclaiming the existence of, and demanding the reform of, certain evils and abuses. The first French Revolution naturally produced very opposite effects upon these two parties. The latter thought that that terrible example, by showing the dangers of wrongs too long maintained, was the strongest reason for the timely correction of existing defects in England.

The former thought this opinion a mere revolutionary device, and held that the atrocities in France were a conclusive warning against exciting any sympathetic hopes, or reformatory measures, by the admission that curable defect existed. Each was ranged the more fiercely against the other, and the hostility was mingled with political and personal animosities.

In Scotland things were even worse. The country was politically dead. It knew no such thing as popular representation. It had no independent press, no free public meetings, scarcely a more than nominal trial by jury, no Secession Church. Everything was completely in the hands of the government. Scotland was a mere village at a great man's gate. All opposition was overawed. Wealth, success, promotion were only probable in submission to the government. And the country hugged its chains; the great mass of the aristocracy sided with the government. Only the few liberal and sympathetic minds secretly espoused opposite principles. By and by those men in public life, who were firmly established in the popular favor, and of marked power, could allow their political predilections to be known without ruinous detriment. Thus the Whig party gradually formed, a small but sterling band; and started the wave which ultimately swelled into massive and victorious strength, and upon which Jeffrey and many leading Scottish and English minds mounted to popularity and power. Their object was to reform certain abuses, to break up the monopoly of administration, to secure a popular representation, a free press, an equality of patronage; in short to bring Scotland within the action of the Constitution. These ends Jeffrey lived to see triumphantly gained; and helped no little to gain them through the powerful instrumentality of the *Edinburgh Review*. But in his youth the position which he chose, to the paternal grief, was extremely hazardous. Everywhere, but especially at the bar, a youth of a Tory family who was discovered to have imbibed the Whig poison was considered as a lost son. Whether Jeffrey at this time realized the consciousness of the age sufficiently to know that he was living in a transition period, that old things were passing away; whether his eye was prophetic enough to look through the mists of the future, and see the ultimate issue of the principles he espoused, we do not know. It seems out of character with his habit of evil prognostication. He seems to have adopted his principles from sympathy with the oppressed, and love of intellectual freedom. The courage and self-denying honesty

which he manifested in asserting them are worthy of all respect. His whole character was remarkably free from even the appearance of dishonesty or obliquity.

Although Jeffrey belonged politically to the progressive party of his age, he was very far from being a radical in the ordinary sense of the term. He had a large conservative element in his nature. He had no slight tinge of native aristocracy and defended the distinction of classes as they then existed in society with great zeal. He was no destructive. No man had a stronger dread of the abuse of the free principles he advocated, by their being run out into lawlessness in the hands of the masses. He was for watering the tree and abiding its growth. He was a true conservative and at the same time a true progressive. He frequently expresses great sympathy with, and admiration for, the freer principles then developing on this Western continent, but always trembles lest the chariot should be driven too fast. Where the only alternative is between tyranny and democracy he sympathises with democracy, but only as a last resort. His denunciation against the radicals and destructives of his own day, especially his latter years, are sufficiently strong. Before leaving the subject we cannot forbear quoting from a letter of his to Charles Wilkes of New York, written in 1818, because it contains a prophecy, not only more hopeful than his vaticinations generally were, but one which our own age seems to be so strikingly fulfilling. "There is nothing, and never was anything, so grand and so promising as the condition and prospects of your country; and nothing I conceive more certain than that in seventy years after this its condition will be by far the most important element in the history of Europe. It is very provoking that we cannot live to see it; but it is very plain to me that the French revolution, or rather perhaps the continued operation of the causes which produced that revolution, has laid the foundations, all over Europe, of an inextinguishable and fatal struggle between popular rights and ancient establishments—between democracy and tyranny—between legitimacy and representative government, which may involve the world in sanguinary conflicts for fifty years, and *may* also end, after all, in the establishment of a brutal and military despotism for a hundred more; but *must* end, I think, in the triumph of reason over prejudice, and the infinite amelioration of all politics, and the elevation of all national character." We must return to the struggles of the unpopular young Whig lawyer at the Scotch bar, and see to what they led.

For several years he lingered about the courts, without doing anything sufficiently marked to attract the attention of the Judges, or the body of eminent counsel. He spent much of his time in the "Outer House," a "large, handsome, historical chamber, in immediate connection with the Courts,—the Westminster Hall of Scotland," pacing its uneven floor along with his fellow expectants, many of them the young men of the Speculative Society, with whom he enjoyed congenial and mutually sympathetic intercourse, and looking on with a feeling bordering upon despair when the great, established lawyers put forth their ablest efforts, and reaped their rich gains. The Tory lawyers passed him by unnoticed, and only two even of the prominent Whig lawyers seem to have given him their friendship. This coldness resulted partially from the unpopularity of his manner, but chiefly no doubt, though Lord Cockburn leaves us indistinctly to infer this, from his wanting the passport of gentility. His family connections were not such as were generally expected in what was then the first occupation in Scotland. This prejudice the leading Whig advocates, with very rare exceptions, shared, and were little disposed to welcome politics without a pedigree. His employment nearly all came from his father's personal friends, or through their influence, and was mostly of the dullest kind, affording no fit opportunity for the display of his powers. In his fifth year his bar practice did not bring him more than £100. Like many other eminent Scotch barristers he made his first considerable effort before the bar of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, a tribunal which afforded a fine display of his peculiar gifts, and where he ever afterwards was immensely popular. Lord Cockburn's sketch of this Assembly is among his best, but we have not room for quotation. The significant period of Jeffrey's life is yet before us.

Amidst these discouragements and weary waitings, it is not strange that his vacillations and parleyings continued. At one time he thinks of trying his fortune at the English bar; at another time he looks toward India and dreams of wealth and fame in its golden climes. Now he pants for literary distinction, would fain be the rival of Hume and Smith, and again his old poetical hallucinations trouble him. At one time he even dashed upon the path of a mere literary adventurer. In 1798, he writes to a young kinsman, after announcing an excursion to London;—"I have thoughts of settling there as a grub. Will you go into partnership with me? I have in-

roductions to review and newspaper editors, and I am almost certain that I could make four times the sum that ever I shall do at the bar." This proved however a mere adventure. He could find none of the lordly publishers to lend him a helping hand, or give him a nod of encouragement. "So much the better for him," says Cockburn. "He came home, and was gradually drawn by circumstances into the line of life which was the best for his powers, his usefulness, and his happiness."

His repinings were confined to his hours of solitude, and when he took pen in his hand to write to his friends. In the society of his companions he was buoyant and happy as tho' to him no cloud rested upon his future. In his abundant leisure he also found opportunity to his heart's content to pursue his voluntary studies, and his habits of writing. He gave some attention to science, was a member of the Academy of Physica, liked chemistry, and understood its general principles respectably. He was never calculated, however, for a patient plodder through the labyrinths of exact science. He owned no love for mathematics.

As his practice slowly gathered he resolved upon a step which now served to fix him firmly in Edinburgh, and to dissipate his illusory and changeful schemes. He evidently had great taste and talent for married life, and he was not disposed to spoil all the romance of it, by prudential calculations. He was married on the 1st of November, 1801, to Catharine, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Wilson, Professor of Church History at St. Andrews, a second cousin of his own. His chosen was penniless as himself, and their first years of married bliss had all the recommendations of poverty. "I have determined," writes he to his brother John, "to venture upon this new state. It shows a reliance on Providence scarcely to be equalled in this degenerate age, and indicates such resolutions of economy as would terrify a less magnanimous adventurer."

We have now reached the point at which occurred by far the most important event connected with the life of Jeffrey; we mean the projection of the Edinburgh Review. It marks his transition, publicly, into his proper sphere, and his introduction to the world and to posterity as a man of letters. In tracing his previous life we have been careful to note those things which properly made it a preparatory stage for this his true work. We enter now upon the stage of successful effort, and growing reputation, and wide-spread influence; and

henceforth, though we will not entirely lose sight of him, we will see less of the personal Jeffrey. We will be more concerned with what he has done.

Jeffrey and his companions were fond of social and even convivial life. We have no obscure intimations that not a few of their evenings were passed together in very hilarious fashion. After Jeffrey had established a hearth of his own this was their head quarters. Here in his humble apartments in an obscure street in Edinburgh, some half score of the very first young minds of the time, meeting often, discussed their principles and prospects, and the prospects of the country; propounded schemes of ambitious effort and literary distinction, which might dispel the dull burden of their distressing leisure. At one of these meetings, about Christmas, 1801, on a tempestuous evening when the wind was howling without, it was proposed by Sidney Smith that they start a Review, devoted to literature and liberal politics. The proposal was received with acclamation, and the merry coterie amid the storm made themselves merrier yet at the thought of the greater storm they were about to raise. The attractions which the scheme presented to their minds have been well presented by Lord Cockburn:—"A review combined all the recommendations that could tempt such persons into print. Of all the forms of addressing the public, it is the one that presents the strongest allurements to those who long for the honors, without the hazards, of authorship. It invites every variety of intellect; it does not chain its contributors to long courses of labor; it binds no one to do more than he pleases; it shrouds each in the anonymous mystery, which each is so apt to derive a second gratification by removing; it exalts each into an invisible chair of public censorship, and pleases his self-importance or his love of safety, by showing him, unseen, the effect of his periodical lightning." The chief of these young literary conspirators were Smith, aged 31; Jeffrey, 29; Horner, 24; and Brougham, 23,—“excellent ages for such work,” says the spirited, though no longer young, biographer. A few others soon came into the scheme; and here we have no hesitation in saying that although the name of Jeffrey, more than that of any other, is identified with the Edinburgh Review, yet he was really inferior to each of his co-adjutors we have mentioned. Sydney Smith we regard as having possessed the very rarest of gifts. With a broad sweeping intellect, great fecundity of thought, boundless stores of wit and satire, the

most consummate knowledge of the world, and a keen eye for the ludicrous, the absurd, the pretentious, he soars above Jeffrey, in all the elements of abiding power, like the eagle above the falcon. And although he might not have been the man to have made the *Edinburgh Review* fill the exact place it should fill, he would have made it greater in his own way. His name in literature will live longer than Jeffrey's. Francis Horner had a massive and well balanced mind; and a face of great thoughtfulness and contemplation looked out from under his "vast eyebrows." No one exerted a more controlling influence upon Jeffrey, or at the same time held a higher place in his affection. He had an overshadowing, commanding mind. He soon removed to London, made no slight figure in the metropolis and in Parliament, and died early, or history would have known more of him. Henry (Lord) Brougham was gifted, impulsive, ardent and powerful. He was for many years prominent in English politics, and is known as the eloquent, liberal and eccentric Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain for several years. These three were for many years active co-workers in the *Review*. They did much to give it character and popularity; and although Jeffrey was on the whole perhaps the fittest man for the editor's chair, and gained most fame by it, yet it must be confessed that by the truest standard the crests of his companions overtop his own. Had they not worked for him, the world would probably never have heard of Francis Jeffrey,—or of this article.

The publication of the first No. was unexpectedly delayed a few months, Jeffrey all the while predicting failure, yet working zealously in its preparation. Finally it was issued, by the publisher Constable, on the 10th of October, 1802; and besides other articles it contained seven by Smith, four by Horner, four by Brougham, and five by Jeffrey. Here we yield to the testimony of an eye and ear-witness:

"The effect was electrical. And instead of expiring, as many wished, in their first effort, the force of the shock was increased on each subsequent discharge. It is impossible for those who did not live at the time, and in the heart of the scene, to feel, or almost to understand the impression made by the new luminary, or the anxieties with which its motions were observed. It was an entire and instant change of every thing that the public had been accustomed to in that sort of composition. The old periodical opiates were extinguished at once. The learning of the new journal, its talent, its spirit, its wri-

ting, its independence, were all new; and the surprise was increased by a work so full of public life springing up, suddenly, in a remote part of the kingdom. Different classes soon settled into their different views of it. Its literature, its political economy, and its pure science were generally admired. Many thoughtful men, indifferent to party, but anxious for the progress of the human mind, and alarmed lest war and political confusion should restore a new course of dark ages, were cheered by the unexpected appearance of what seemed likely to prove a great depository for the contributions of able men to the cause of philosophy. Its political opinions made it be received by one party with demonstrations of its iniquity, with confident prophecies of the impossibility of so scandalous a publication lasting, much pretended derision, and boundless abuse of its audacious authors. On the opposite side, it was hailed as the dawn of a brighter day. It was not merely the intelligent championship of their principles that those on that side saw apparently secured, but the far higher end, that reason would be heard. The splendid career of the journal, as it was actually run, was not anticipated, either by its authors or by its most ardent admirers; none of whom could foresee its long endurance, or the extent to which the mighty improvements that have reformed our opinions and institutions, and enabled us to engraft the wisdom of experience on the maintainable antiquities of our system, were to depend on this single publication. They only saw the present establishment of an organ of the highest order, for the able and fearless discussion of every matter worthy of being inquired into; they could not then discern the consequences."

"Nowhere was its pillar of fire watched with greater intensity than in Scotland, where the constitutional wilderness was the darkest. Many years had to pass before it could effect actual reform; but it became clearer every day that a generation was forming by which the seed sowing by this work must at last be reaped. To Edinburgh in particular it was of especial benefit. It extended the literary reputation of the place, and connected it with public affairs, and made its opinions important. All were the better of a journal to which every one with an object of due importance had access, which it was in vain to bully or despise, and of the fame of which even its reasonable haters were inwardly proud." (*Life*, Vol. 1, p. 106-7.)

This picture must evidently be taken with a little abatement on account of the enamoured spirit in which it is drawn.

And we pause here to say that too great an agency is attributed to the Review in working out the changes which took place, and too little account is made of the fact that the grand propelling causes were more general and lay deeper. The Review simply pointed out and interpreted, accelerated, and to some extent, directed those movements. But of this more hereafter, when we come to speak of the transition character of the times in which it had its birth. But the immediate and unprecedented success of the work cannot be doubted. Railroads were then unknown, but in every considerable town in Great Britain the lumbering mail coaches were looked for with eagerness about the period of publication, and the copies scrambled for with great impetuosity. It was an age of unusual intellectual excitement, and the sensation produced was thrilling compared with what an equally able work would have done in more phlegmatic times. The rancor which it excited in the breasts of the ultra class of Tories was a sure mark of its power, and the signal of its triumph. The Earl of Buchan, with great formality, and self-confident contempt, literally kicked one of the numbers from his hall into the street.

The first few numbers were edited in common by the jovial associates, and it was designed at first to be wholly a gentleman-like concern, no pay to any body but the publisher. But as in about eighteen months from its first projection, the young aspirants for fame began to be scattered to various spheres of effort,—most of them to London and England,—the shrewd Sydney saw that if their work was to have any permanency, it must have a salaried editor, and must pay for its articles. This arrangement was made, on a liberal scale, and Jeffrey was chosen editor. With some hesitation lest he should degrade his gentility by getting into too much of a “business-like concern,” he accepted this post. Time proved the wisdom of the choice. For twenty-seven years he discharged the perplexing duties of an editor, being at the same time himself the largest contributor, amid other multiplied and onerous engagements, in such a manner as probably none of his more powerful companions could have done. His knowledge, if not profound in any one department, was unusually varied and extensive, and his quickness of mind and tenacity of memory enabled him to use his stores with great advantage. He was never prostrated by an emergency. In almost all the branches of literature, in poetry, in fiction, in science, in metaphysics, in politics, he could appreciate what

he read, and judge with confidence of the contributions of his allies. When started on a train of thought by the suggestions of a book, even though the main stream was too deep for him, he could in his fertile way amplify and illustrate to any extent desired. He was admirably qualified for the work of "vamping and patching," as he calls it, the productions of his "journeymen," which we are told he was accustomed to do by wholesale, sometimes to the arousing of no little ire among thin-skinned writers. His post, besides, was one which required much wisdom, prudence and tact. He had to watch the signs of the times; to hunt up writers; to suggest subjects; to keep down absurdities; to infuse spirit; to excite the timid; to scold the indolent; to repress violence; to soothe jealousies; to quell mutinies; and all this in the morning of the reviewing day, when the first lessons of experience had to be learned. The manner in which he controlled and directed the elements he presided over shows a master's hand, and the wonder is that his constitutional irresolution could be so entirely compensated by other qualities. But in his editor's chair he had no special need to look to the future, in regard to which his indecision was specially manifested, but only to the book or the manuscript lying before him, and then he could act. His moral qualities were admirable as his intellectual. He displayed boundless courtesy and kindness of feeling in his personal intercourse,—often contrasting strangely with the asperities of his pen. He was inferior to none in preventing and healing schisms among co-laborers. He was honest, and honorable, and conscientious. He possessed the most delicate moral perceptions. He shrunk from grossness like a fine-minded woman. He gave no quarter to licentiousness in literature. In the vast mass of his letters, his biographer assures us, "there are scarcely three lines that might not be read with propriety to any sensitive lady, or to any fastidious clergyman." Not the most powerful inducements, not even the strong spell of personal friendship, could prevent him from doing what he deemed to be justice to a book. "Justice must be done," replied he to Horner, who had written pleading that Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel* might be reviewed with a little partiality; "justice must be done; and I, like the executioner, shall kiss him and whirl him off, if the sentence be against him." He seems to have had a fondness for exposing defects, and, friend or foe, they must be exposed, often with quite an air of relish.

Although from the first the *Review* abundantly sustained itself in a pecuniary respect, it was for many years sustained with great difficulty in another and more important respect,—that of having its pages filled. It is sufficiently amusing, and encouraging to those embarked in similar enterprises, to see how the frisky little editor dashed about in jogging on his workmen, and with what zeal, amid perpetual despondings, he labored in the cause himself. “The *Review* comes on very ill, or rather it does not come on at all,” is his frequent reiteration. “Now my dear Horner,” he writes after giving his friend a doleful account of his destitution of contributors, and the printer’s want of “copy,” “do not take these for verba solemnia of my official dunning. I am in profound earnest, and most serious perplexity. You must not only work yourself for us, but you must set on the rest. Tell Smith we cannot do without him. We shall have no light articles at all, if he deserts us. Do stir up Peter Elmsley, moreover, and tell him that he promised to let me have something. Both of these culprits have concealed their addresses from me. Let me know where to find them, and I shall persecute them in person. You are sick of reviewing, I daresay. So am I; but I have very little else to say to you.” A year and a half later he writes perhaps the tenth letter of the same sort to the same indolent associate, thus:—“If you will not write reviews, I cannot write any thing else. This number is out, thank heaven, without any assistance from Horner, Brougham, Smith, Brown, Allen, Thompson, or any other of those gallant supporters who voted their blood and treasure for its assistance. Will you, or will you not, do Malthus for April? Is it fair to the *Review*, or kind to me, or well for yourself, to keep up an article of this kind for so enormous a time?” Any number of such extracts could be given from his letters. “I am behindhand again with my *Review*, and sick at heart of it.” “I am in the middle of a review at this moment, and, as usual, in great perplexity and huge indignation at the perfidy of my associates,” writes he to Charles Wilkes as late as 1815–16. Without such a man in the chair, the *Review* would have sunk in the midst of its towering flight. The amount of matter he prepared from one quarter to another, under the pressure of these emergencies, is truly astonishing.

The influence which the *Edinburgh Review* exerted upon English Literature, and especially upon English Periodical Literature, it is not easy to estimate. Its abstract merits, or

rather its relative merits measured by the standard of our own times, may be estimated with some accuracy ; but its relative merits measured by the standard of its own times, or the times preceding it, cannot easily be estimated too highly. A fair field of conquest was open for it. There had been no critical journal in Scotland since the days of the original "*Edinburgh Review*," the first number of which appeared in January 1755, and which lived but one year. England had not been without reviews ; and of these perhaps Lord Cockburn speaks too contemptuously. Periodicals which numbered among their managers and contributors men of the stamp of Smollett, and Goldsmith, and Gifford, and Taylor of Norwich could not, by any possibility, be worthy of contempt. But although they were respectable in their way, their sphere was narrow, and they were too early to catch the vivifying spirit of the age. The *Edinburgh Review* surpassed them not so much on account of the superiority of its contributors, although this on the whole is manifest, as on account of the wider range of its sweep, the better material furnished to it, and the more genial and invigorating atmosphere in which it was allowed to breathe. It was a time of great mental excitement and activity. The stagnation of thought had been broken up by the startling explosion of the French Revolution. New ideas had been put astir ; inquiry had been started ; speculation was on tip toe. Old abuses began to put on hideous aspects. Men began to wonder at their stupidity and thralldom. The time had come when these views and emotions must find utterance. These new ideas and new feelings first came to clear consciousness, and first found definite expression in Scotland. The Scotch national mind is more fervid, more impassioned, more susceptible than the English. Scotch thought is more rapid, more impetuous, more emphatic, and Scotch feeling more glowing and intense, notwithstanding the bleak mountains and cold snows of the north. "*Perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*," was the well-known phrase universally current, centuries ago, in Europe to express the idea of the Scottish character ; and it told the truth, as an induction from the mass of eminent Scotchmen would substantiate. It is not strange, then, that here the struggling spirit of the age should first utter its voice. Its promptings were felt in the minds of the gifted young clique of whom Jeffrey now forms, historically, the centre. They spake out, and the thinking English world was surprised and delighted. Thus the politics of the *Review*, and its free,

independent spirit; gave it its power at the time;—were, as Jeffrey says, its “right leg.”

In literature a prolific harvest was gathering. Verdure in thought, as in nature, rarely fails to follow after the storm has passed. In poetry, just ready to step upon the stage were Byron, and Moore, and Campbell, and Wordsworth, and Southey, and Coleridge, and Crabbe; in fiction, Scott, and Edgeworth, and Godwin, and Maturin; in history, Sharon Turner, Hallam and Mackintosh; in mental, moral and economical science, Malthus, and Mill, and Bentham, and Chalmers; all men of vigor and strength whatever may be thought of the results, ultimately, of their labors. This literary activity not only demanded the censorship of the corps of reviews of which the Edinburgh Review led the way, but it opened to it a wide and attractive field which aided much in its success, and gave it vast influence. The critical labors of Jeffrey, and Hazlitt and others furnished the left leg on which it stood.

The period, then, in which the Edinburgh Review started into life, was a *transition* period, The English nation and the English mind were passing on to another stadium. In this passage the leading minds of the time were the pilots. In them the necessities of the age found utterance. Of this utterance the Edinburgh Review was one great organ. The moving causes were deep and general, and could neither be wholly guided, much less originated, by any single mind or any single organ. The Review brought the movements to definite expression, and thus at the same time inevitably exerted a powerful positive influence in their behalf. It served as the medium between the thinking minds and the masses. It brought the reasonings, and suggestions, and impassioned desires of the former to the minds of many who could appreciate them though they could not produce them. It communicated to the many, the ideas and knowledge already in the possession of the few. This is one of the chief functions of periodical literature; an office next in usefulness and honor to that of the great discoverers and writers of high and original genius. It furnishes, with more facility than any other instrumentality, what Mr. Morell somewhere calls the “stairway of thought.” This office the Edinburgh Review under Jeffrey performed in a novel, a most effective, and incomparable manner. It brought all classes of minds in the nation into sympathy, or into collision. It accelerated the tide on which it was so opportunely launched. It served to quicken and in-

crease the power and action of the intellectual machine. We do not regard the thinkers of the Edinburgh school in Jeffrey's time as of the highest order ; nor do we think that they have produced much that will prove, in the best sense, enduring in literature. But this was not needed to accomplish the valuable service they did accomplish. Clearness of conception, sharp, definite expression, piquancy and raciness of style, keenness in the exposure of defect, emphatic statement, and commendable zeal and earnestness in their work, were their distinguishing characteristics, and none better could have been possessed in the circumstances. The Great Britain of 1829, when Jeffrey gave up the Review was very different from the Great Britain of 1802 when he assumed its editorship. The changes and reformations effected, Lord Cockburn gives in detail : the agency of the Edinburgh Review in them we have endeavored to state.

Not only was the age in which Jeffrey and the Edinburgh Review launched upon the tide of successful experiment a transition period from a past state of things ; but the period which was thus ushered in, the period of Jeffrey's fame and prerogative, and which he and his compeers helped to create, was itself an intermediate step to a still subsequent transition ;—especially in the department of literature. From the retirement of his old age the former Coryphæus of the Edinburgh Review could look out upon a new world of letters. And in this new order of things the Scottish influence was no less prominent than in the former. But the phase was changed. History never repeats itself, but at every turn of the wheel evolves men of new features, and new deeds. The Edinburgh Review in its literary characteristics was a vast improvement upon anything of the kind that had gone before, and in Jeffrey the type of writing and criticism then originated reached its culmination. Reviews have since sprung up which “channel deeper” than did his. The “beauty and blemish” style of criticism in which he excelled no longer suffices. The writers in the North British, the London Quarterly, the Westminster, Blackwood's, Fraser's, and the rest, and even in the present Edinburgh Review, have discharged but half their task when they have told the public, in handsome style, the merits and defects of a book. They are expected to thrust their critical probe into the underlying and generative elements from which a certain book or books have been thrown off ; to furnish original disquisitions on topics worthy of them ; or to embody in

literary monographs life-like presentations of the representative men of leading intellectual tendencies of the present or the past. A new race of authors also had sprung up in English literature before Jeffrey had passed off this earthly stage. He stood at last like a Nestor amid the warriors of a second and third generation, with whom he could have only partial sympathy. Nearly contemporaneous with himself were three men far more affiliated with the future than he was; connecting links with the succeeding period. These were Thomas Chalmers, whom the North British Review called "a man through whose mind there roll forever the stars and all mysteries;" William Wordsworth, the poet-patriarch of Rydal-mere and Thomas Carlyle, the "deep-mouthed" utterer of dark sayings. The first affiliates with a healthful influence in literature; the last with a morbid yet powerful influence, and the second stands midway between both. When Jeffrey passed away the power, the glory and the shame of British literature was resting upon chiefs who owned but partially the legacy of his mantle;—upon such as Wilson, and Hunt, and Macauley, and Brewster, and Hamilton, and Isaac Taylor, and M'Cosh, and Hugh Miller, and Bulwer, and Dickens, and Thackeray, and Tennyson, and Philip James Bailey, and Kingsley, and Browning, and Morell, and Martineau, *et ceteris*. The new influences which were breaking forth around him in his old age, Jeffrey could but partially understand or appreciate. He belonged to a past period; and his want of power to appreciate these influences in their initial stages, may account, as we shall see shortly, for some of his literary blunders. But let us not forget that, however deep or broad the stream of English literature has become, or promises to become, the Edinburgh Review greatly assisted to dig a channel for it through the woody defiles and volcanic strata of a previous time.

But we must pause to bring up and complete, in a brief way, the personal history of Jeffrey, from the point where we left it. The novelty and success of the Review soon brought him into notice, both at the bar and in Edinburgh society. Of this Society as it then existed Lord Cockburn gives a graphic and engaging picture. In its ranks, besides a sturdy corps of titled gentry, shone Robertson, and Blair, and Dugald Stewart, and Playfair, and Archibald Alison, and Dr. Thomas Brown, and other literary brilliants. Noticed and caressed in this society, Jeffrey soon began to develope a decided leaning towards "re-

spectability" and aristocracy. Though never wanting in the courtesies of life even to the lowest, he rated his caste at a high mark. Nothing now seems more amusing than his often repeated fears that by his connection, as salaried editor, with the Review, he would lose his standing as a gentleman. But it ought to be remembered that if review editing was a respectable business when Jeffrey retired from it, it was not so respectable when he entered upon it. Nothing but the high and unusual tone of his review sustained his respectability and made the post respectable. At the bar, business soon flowed in upon him, and his peculiar talents in that direction began to attract attention. As a lawyer he was remarkable for "distinct conceptions leading to clear expression, habits of neat and perspicuous arrangement, a tenacious memory to retain the maxims of positive law, and the statutes or judicial decisions in which it is contained, an extensive and varied range of not very profound general knowledge to supply apt and pleasing illustrations, self-possession, and a ready command of language." His tenacity of memory was prodigious. He never forgot a case, judgment or statute, that he had once examined. His fluency was no less remarkable. A good heavy citizen of Glasgow, against whom he was employed on one occasion, after listening to the rapid torrent of words which he poured out, declared that "he had spoken the English language twice over in three hours." He was generally shackled by conscious effort. He did most justice to himself in cases to which he attached little importance. On such occasions he gave the reins to the spontaneous flow of his thought and fancy, and the result was inimitable. Through this peculiarity it not unfrequently happened that he was great on unimportant occasions, and the reverse on great occasions. Of some of his associates and rivals at the bar, his biographer gives very striking pictures, of which the most original and skilful are those of John Clork, James Menckrieff and George Cranstoun. The first is a real gem. At the tribunal of the Kirk, Jeffrey was employed on one side of every trial, and this gives Lord Cockburn an opportunity to draw some ecclesiastical portraits, of which the chief is that of the Rev. Sir Harry Monckrieff, among other things "the noblest deliverer of prayers at striking funerals" (!) Jeffrey rose at the bar on the rising tide of Whig influence, and helped in his own way to propel it. Years after his father's death he used to lament that the brave old tory did not live to witness the triumphant success of his renegade son.

He proved to be an exemplary and most felicitous husband. To him married life was the *summum bonum* of earthly bliss. But domestic affliction came soon. His wife and child both died within four years after his marriage, and left him as he says, "without joy, or hope, or comfort in this world." No one could have felt the affliction more keenly, and though he did not cease to mingle in society, and assume its gaities, the revealing of his inward pangs in familiar letters to his friends is truly melting. After five years he made the acquaintance of Miss Charlotte, daughter of Charles Wilkes, Esq., a noted banker in New York, during a visit she made to Scotland; and in the fall of 1818 he came to New York and married her. The account of this voyage is among the most characteristic and amusing passages in his biography. Notwithstanding his strong love of nature, and admiration of the sublime and romantic, all these were completely crushed by the burden of his loneliness, and the sense of personal danger. He abuses "great ocean" with the zest of Billingsgate itself. He sees no beauty, feels no enthusiasm. "Ugly," "mean," "ungraceful," "nasty," "horrid," are the epithets he deals out. But he survives its horrors, reaches New York, gains his prize, visits the principal American cities, has an interview and a sharp discussion with President Madison respecting the war then raging, returns to Scotland, and resumes his labors. This second wife was a happy choice, and all domestic joys were again his. His only daughter became the wife of Prof. Empson, lately deceased.

Soon after the death of his first wife comes an absurd and painful passage in his history. In 1806 he wrote a criticism on Moore's "Epistles, Odes, and other Poems," censuring severely their immorality. The poet takes umbrage. Jeffrey defies him. The result is a hostile meeting near London, which at the critical moment is arrested by the interference of the police. The parties have time to breathe; concessions are made; they embrace, and part friends. A more absurd piece of business for a censor of morals it is hardly possible to conceive. Horner intimates that Jeffrey's eagerness for the duel grew out of his indifference of life, caused by the sorrow preying on his heart. A sad reason indeed!

In 1829 he was chosen Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, a post merely of honor, simply the presidentship of the body of advocates, but in the circumstances a post of high honor, and Jeffrey saw fit to demit the office of editor, which it seemed

inconsistent to continue to hold on account of its political leanings, and accept the sinecure of the deanship. Perhaps he was right in thinking that he had now rendered the Review* all the service he was likely to do, and the best thing he could do, would be to put it into younger hands. Mr. Macvey Napier became his worthy successor in the editorship, and to him succeeded Prof. William Empson, Jeffrey's son-in-law, whose death has been recently announced. The Review itself has conformed to the style of the times, and if it has less of sprightliness and petulance and popularity, than characterised its earlier years, it has perhaps more breadth and volume.†

His sinecure did not last long. In 1830 the Whigs came into power, and he was made Lord-Advocate, principal crown lawyer or attorney general for Scotland. He must now, not without regrets at the loss of his ease, exchange Edinburgh for London, present himself in Parliament, and endure the harassing cares of an unenviable office. He came to London with great reputation, and though always esteemed and popular, he failed to make the impression his friends hoped and desired. Greatness in an editor's chair proved to be a different thing from greatness in Parliament, and it is not to be wondered at. He never attempted but one elaborate speech, and that was soon after his arrival. However, he discharged the duties of his office satisfactorily, and aided materially in bringing to a consummation the Reform Bill of 1831, which brought Scotland within the action of the Constitution.

In 1834 he was placed upon the Bench in Scotland, and from that to the time of his death, in January 1850, he discharged with all fidelity, and sufficient, though not very marked ability, the office of judge. For the interesting details of his later years, and his peculiarities on the Bench, we must

* Lord Cockburn gives a list of the principal contributors to the Review during Jeffrey's administration, which it is worth while to transcribe:—Jeffrey, Smith, Horner, Brougham, Thomas Brown, Walter Scott, John Playfair, Hallam, Malcom Laing, George Ellis, Wilberforce, Lord Melbourne, John Allen, Coleridge, Malthus, Payne Knight, Professor Lesley, D. Mackintosh, Daniel Ellis, Moore, Dr. John Gordon, Palgrave, Leigh Hunt, Romilly, Foscolo, Dr. Chalmers, Professor Wilson, J. R. Macculloch, Empson, Dr. Arnold, Sir William Hamilton, Macaulay, Carlyle, Robert Grant, Hazlitt, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Campbell, Peter Elmsley, Phillimore, James Mill, Macvey Napier, Chevenix, Bloomfield, Sir H. Parnell, Gen. William Napier. "Many other bright stars," he tells us, "might be added; but the sky that blazes with these constellations is bright enough."

† Since the above was written, MR. GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS has been announced as Mr. Empson's successor in the Editorship of the Review.

refer the reader to Lord Cockburn's volumes. A public monument is being erected to his memory.

During many of his later years he was afflicted with bronchitis, which often subjected him to feebleness and sore despondency: and the attendant weakness of voice is one of the reasons given, no doubt fairly, of his failure to attain prominence in parliament. We get an amusing glimpse of the inquiring and dialectical habits of his mind in connection with this affliction. "A restless fancy, and an unfortunate sprinkling of medical knowledge, were apt to set him a speculating on the structure and working of his own system: and on this topic, so fertile and interesting to every invalid, he of course got easily eloquent, generally to the diversion of others. One of the difficulties that all his doctors had to encounter was to hear, and then to refute, or to evade, the theories of the patient. But when anything had to be submitted to, passively or actively, he did it bravely."

The second volume of Lord Cockburn's work consists entirely of selections from Jeffrey's correspondence. They show him to have been a voluminous and lively letter writer, and to his particular friends most commendably affectionate. We get here many interesting glimpses of the inner man, as well as outside glimpses of other men, and of matters and things in general. What a homely glance we have here of Dugald Stewart: "Stewart comes in sometimes, and has become quite robustious;—jogs on horseback two hours every day in all weathers, and superintends transcribing as a serious business all evening. He is an excellent person; without temper, or a sufficiently steady and undisturbable estimation of himself. And then he is an idle dog." We have alluded before to Jeffrey's love of nature. Many of his letters contain vivid and delightful sketches of his rambles and tarryings in the summer months among the hills and lochs of the Highlands. Soon after his second marriage he established his residence at Craigercock, a mountain spot three miles from Edinburgh which he adorned for a paradise of his fancy, and loved with sufficient ardor. Of the glories of this paradise many of his correspondents are made to hear.

The second work, placed at the head of this article, consists of a selection, made by himself about the year 1840, from his contributions to the *Edinburgh Review*. Of course it embodies those articles on which he was willing to stake his permanent reputation, as a writer and a critic. In this work the

articles are distributed under seven general heads, covering almost every department in literature. The merest glance at the subjects of the books reviewed is sufficient to show the great versatility and fecundity of his mind, whilst a careful perusal will show that he sometimes essayed to write on subjects for which, doubtless of necessity, he had but imperfect preparation. This was his misfortune as it is the misfortune of every man similarly situated. To have to do too many things insures the doing of some things imperfectly. Perhaps no man was ever helped out better by readiness of fancy and of words, when he stuck in the subject matter. His ablest papers are perhaps those upon the works of Jonathan Swift, and upon Madame de Stael. He excelled in dealing with Biographies and Historical Memoirs. Here he indulged his keen observation and sportive fancy with great felicity. Among his most happy efforts in this way we may cite the "Memoirs of Samuel Pepys," the "Memoirs of Margrarine of Bareith," and the "Life of Colonel Hutchinson." His next successful department was that of Prose works of Fiction, in which we may instance "Miss Edgeworth's Tales of Fashionable Life," and the "Waverly Novels." But with all his predilections to literature he doubtless earned the most substantial merit in the sphere of General Politics. In Metaphysics and Mental Science, though he fancied himself *en fait*, he has not done much that will endure.—The "Contributions" will not soon lose their place in British literature; whilst the Edinburgh Review itself will be to him a monument more lasting than the statue to be placed in the "Outer House."

It remains for us to look a little at some of the great critic's critical blunders, and at some of those phases of his character which detract from our unqualified admiration, or give pain.

It has been currently held among his special admirers that his critical *forte* lay in poetry. From this judgment we think dissent is daily becoming stronger. His taste in poetry was no doubt that of a highly accomplished man; but it was wanting in depth and universality. He had a delicate perception of the fine, the exquisite, the pathetic, in poetry when clothed in finely-adjusted measures; but he had little sympathy with the yearning, the indefinite, almost ineffable in feeling, and passion, and spirit-suffering, which by its very nature could not find utterance in such dapper forms. He had a better ear for the songs and chirpings of nightingale, and plover, and

oushat, than for the storm-born music of the sea. He had a quick perception of beauties and a still quicker perception of defects, according to the rules of his own, and, it is important to say, of contemporary taste. And when the subject was within his range, his critical judgments in poetry have proved to be singularly just. The opinions pronounced thirty and forty years ago on the works of Scott, Campbell, Crabbe, Moore, Keats, Rogers, Hemans and even Byron, are the opinions generally held with regard to those authors now, and are more just than are usually passed upon contemporaries. His judgments of the older poets, Shakespeare and the versifiers of Queen Anne's time, of Cowper and Burns, are equally accurate. His taste was unerring in what belonged to the past and present in literature, but when it came to test what properly belonged to the future, it wavered and missed the true estimate. Of Coleridge, of Shelly, of Lander we meet with scarcely any notice in his writings. Through his finely woven wicker fence of principles, by which he would mark out the road for Pegases, the wayward geniuses of the age were continually breaking and involving him in trouble and contradiction. Like the wild squadron in Mazeppa, "the steeds rushed on in plunging pride," and would not be coaxed or scolded to allow themselves to be held in with bit and bridle.

Jeffrey's most notable blunder was in his unsparing attack on what is known since his day as the Lake school of poetry; of which he took Wordsworth as the representative and allowed him as his principal associates, Southey and Coleridge. This attack began in the first number of the Review, and did not entirely abate during Jeffrey's connection with it. On what principle he associated these three together in a *school* it is difficult to tell, for they have very little in common. Southey's type of mind was radically different from that of the other two; and certainly Coleridge's poetry owns no very near kinship with Wordsworth's. All three were personal friends and companions, fond of dwelling in secluded spots among peasants and shepherds, of rambling among lakes and mountains, and of illustrating their poetical conceptions perhaps too profusely from these sources; a habit which the sharp critic calls "the natural drawl of the Lakers." Upon the head of the last named of the three, the poet of Grasmere and Windermere, the lately deceased patriarch of Rydal Mount, and poet laureate of England, were the heaviest vials of wrath poured out; and notwithstanding all Jeffrey's fairness and honesty, he re-

views the poetry of Wordsworth with an asperity and a petulance which are not only unworthy of himself, but which almost irresistably beget the suspicion of a deep-seated personal antipathy, if not against the man, yet against the poet. He seemed incapable of applying in this case principles which he himself asserted, and seemed to some extent to appreciate. In his review of Mrs. Hemans, written towards the close of his editorial career, he discourses thus:—"It has always been our opinion, that the very essence of poetry,—apart from the pathos, the wit, or the brilliant description, which may be embodied in it, but may exist equally in prose,—consists in the fine perception and vivid expression of that subtle and mysterious analogy which exists between the physical and moral world—which makes outward things and qualities the natural types and emblems of inward gifts and emotions, or leads us to ascribe life and sentiment to everything that interests us in the aspects of external nature."

Now the very burden and significance of Wordsworth's poetry is to give expression to this "subtle and mysterious analogy" spoken of above. He gives all the forms of nature a spirit and a voice, communing with and speaking to man's inward spirit. And though he is often extravagant and even puerile, there is enough to have made the critic estimate him more fairly, if he had given full play to what had "always been his opinion." Though it had great faults, yet despite its great merits, he begins his review of *The Excursion* with an imperial "This will never do!" and proceeds to speak of it thus: "The volume before us, if we were to describe it very shortly, we should characterise as a tissue of moral and devotional ravings, in which innumerable changes are rung upon a few very simple and familiar ideas;—but with such an accompaniment of long words and long sentences, and unwieldy phrases—and such a hubbub of strained raptures and fantastical sublimities, that it is often difficult for the most skilful and attentive student to obtain a glimpse of the author's meaning, and altogether impossible for an ordinary reader to conjecture what he is about." "His effusions are what may be called the physiognomy of external nature, or its moral and theological expression, are eminently fantastic, obscure and affected." He is perpetually complaining of the lowness of the poets characters and scenes, his schoolmasters, his pedlars, his weavers, his servant girls and his parish paupers. They are quite too ungenteel to exhibit any high sentiment, or impassioned thought, or intense emotion,

or poetic utterance, which it is the object of the poet to show do exist concealed among the lower classes ; and yet the critic tolerated and praises the equally low characters and scenes of Crabbe ; lauded Burns for not attempting to exhibit his intense emotions in the persons of gentlemen, whose dignity makes it becoming for them to conceal such ebullitions ; and complained of *Lalla Rookh* that it was too dazzling, too brilliant, too magnificent, and wanting in "plainness, simplicity and repose."

We have no doubt that Jeffrey's dislike of the style of poetry which Wordsworth attempted to introduce, became heightened into a personal pique when he found his strictures so utterly lost upon the subject and his special friends. The poet set the critic at defiance, notwithstanding the stop he put to the sale of his works. He continued to write precisely in the same strain, and to put forth no modest predictions as to the ultimate success of his works. The more the critic endeavored to abase him, the more he determined to exalt himself, and this again re-acted upon the critic, who felt in the language of Campbell:

"Proud bird of the mountain, thy plume shall be torn."

The Review of the *Excursion* was written in the acme of Jeffrey's vigor and reputation, when he had been in the editor's chair about thirteen years, and his fame and success had given him something of the position of an aristarch in the kingdom of letters, and he thus speaks of the outlaw against his authority: "The case of Mr. Wordsworth, we perceive, is now manifestly hopeless ; and we give him up as altogether incurable, and beyond the power of criticism. We cannot indeed altogether omit taking precautions now and then against the spreading of the malady ; but for himself, though we shall watch the progress of his symptoms, as a matter of professional curiosity and instruction, we really think it right not to harass him any longer, with nauseous remedies, but rather to throw in cordials and lenitives, and wait in patience for the natural termination of the disorder. In order to justify this desertion of our patient, however, it is proper to state why we despair of the success of a more active practice." Afterwards he speaks of him as being incorrigible "after all the admonitions he had received," and as being "finally lost to the good cause of poetry." There is no excuse for the use of such language towards William Wordsworth even from the beginning of his career ; and Jeffrey, before he closes his article, seems to feel this, for he

points out, with his own hand, enough of beauties to make his previous denunciations absurd. And yet in his subsequent notices he treats him with still more contempt. The review of the *White Doe of Rylstone* is made up of unmitigated censure; and when other poets came before his tribunal, he was continually going out of his way to have a thrust at this standing delinquent. He could have no peace while this rhyming Mordecai sat at the Muses' gate.

It is scarcely necessary to say that, although Wordsworth long lay under the ban of the Edinburgh Review, a powerful re-action came on in time, in public sentiment with regard to the merits of his poetry, and that Jeffrey lived to see the patient who refused to swallow his critical nostrums, placed in the first rank of English poets. His asperity was then compelled to relent, and in a note to the article on the *Excursion* in his selected "Contributions," he makes many graceful apologies for the personalities, but clings to the critical principles laid down in it, showing thus that his mistakes were partially, at least to be attributed to his intellect. Posterity has accredited the indignant prediction of Southey, when in reply to a letter from James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, in which the article on the *Excursion* was called "*a crushing review*," he exclaimed, "Jeffrey crush the *Excursion*! Tell him he might as easily crush Skiddaw." Wordsworth's ultimate triumph is the more remarkable because it has been accomplished in the face of the fact that he has written vastly more bad poetry than any other poet of similar reputation. This too may atone somewhat for Jeffrey's blunder. He could see his defects with vivid distinctness, and his merits were of a kind not exactly suited to his vision. A new spirit was showing itself in British literature and poetry; a spirit deeper, broader, more fervent in its high aspirations and more genial in its sympathies than the one Jeffrey had imbibed. Of this spirit Wordsworth had caught the first strong breathings, and the critic's "This will never do," was the signal of the old in literature being perturbed by the approach of the new.

Another palpable blunder which Jeffrey committed was in the only attempt he ever made to deal with any thing German. This was his critique upon Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, which was written so late as 1825. He was evidently in "a strange land" when he got over into Germany, and his lungs were by no means suited to its literary atmosphere. It is amusing enough in the light of our own day, to see how the sprightly Scotch

critic, with his small polished weapons hacks away at the towering Teutonic genius, and all his tribe. And he does so with all the *sang froid* of full assurance that he is doing the work of demolition completely. The defects of the work he finds to be substantially the same which he discovered in Wordsworth and his "school," namely, lowness of imagery and association, coarseness, common place, want of gentility,—a very chronicle of plebeian life! "To us it certainly appears, after the most deliberate consideration, to be eminently absurd, puerile, incongruous, vulgar and affected; * * * to be so far from perfection, as to be, almost from beginning to end, one flagrant offence against every principle of taste, and every just rule of composition. Though indicating, in many places, a mind capable both of acute and profound reflection, it is full of mere silliness and childish affectation; * * * never once bringing us into contact with real life or genuine character; * * * conversant with incomprehensible mystics and vulgar men of whim." Nor do the products of German genius in general fare much better. They are offensive to his delicate olfactories. "Their works smell, as it were, of groceries,—of brown papers filled with greasy cakes, and slices of bacon,—and fryings in frowsy back parlors." As a solution of these phenomena he sagely submits that, "these peculiarities of German taste are to be referred, in part, to the comparative newness of original composition among that ingenious people, and to the state of European literature when they first ventured on the experiment,—and in part to the state of society in that great country itself, and the comparatively humble condition of the greater part of those who write, or to whom writing is there addressed." Well might Thomas Carlyle vociferate his scorn at the reception given to German literature in England. Not one word does the critic of Wilhelm Meister drop about the spiritual significance of the book, the index it affords of the author's spiritual struggles, the point it marks in his inward history, the glimpses it gives of life in its depth and variety, the profound questions it starts, or the solutions it offers of enigmas which press more or less heavily upon every earnest spirit made conscious of the apparent anomalies and contradictions which environ it. Nothing of all this! He looks at it as a mere story very badly constructed and wading perpetually through scenes, where it is hardly respectable to follow it. Here too was the new in literature impinging upon the old, and nowhere could the collision be more sensibly or keenly

felt than in the mind of the Edinburgh Aristarch. But let us look a little more at the man.

No trait of Jeffrey's character is more manifest, we think, than his want of *depth*. He could dash about skilfully and effectively upon the surface, but he had no ear for the music that came up from the "pearled and coral caves" beneath, and no heart to bring up the sparkling gems that shone there. He had an eye to admire and a heart to love nature as well as Wordsworth, nor was he less enthusiastic, in his own way, among lakes and mountains than the poet himself. But Wordsworth viewed nature with a more impassioned and imaginative eye, and loved it with a deeper ardor. Whilst Jeffrey painted nature, Wordsworth communed with it. To the one it presented a delightful and exhilarating spectacle, to the other it whispered with a mysterious and almost audible voice. Although Jeffrey was sincere in his way, he was not possessed of the deepest earnestness. Devoid of guile he yet knew almost nothing of a whole-souled appreciation of truth. He was generally satisfied with the plausible. He was a stranger to yearnings, and struggles, and spiritual agony. His aspirations were of swallow-like flight, avoiding the filth of earth, but never soaring into the empyrean. He never wrestled with the enigma of the universe. He was deficient in that reflective and contemplative habit, that serious pondering on the truths or the perplexities of philosophy, without which no man was ever a great writer, or a worthy critic of great writers. He was inclined to be sceptical and yet was a stranger to the tribulation of serious doubt. A man of pure motives, his motives were yet of a superficial kind. In law he was noted more for a discursive, acquisitive habit than for either solidity of attainment, or depth, or originality of view. This trait we think the key to his character, and the key certainly to another trait, which is the only thing in Jeffrey that gives us positive pain.

We refer to the almost entire *absence* of all traces of the *religious spirit*. Genuine piety was rather a scarcity in the young coterie which projected and fostered the Edinburgh Review. Even Sydney Smith, though a minister of the Gospel, gave many evidences of a very superficial and sceptical religion, and some of the articles in the Review, which were most offensive to the religious portion of its readers, were from his pen. The Speculative Society no doubt tolerated, and perhaps incited in its debates, considerable laxity of sentiment

and expression in religious matter; and the talented projectors of the Review seem to have had nothing more than a very loose speculative interest in religion. Horner, no doubt half in jest, in a letter describing the reception of the first number, speaks of *Atheism* as among the extravagances which "some wise and fair ones had expected of our set." Straws show which way the wind blows; and the Review subsequently indicated clearly enough the non-religious character of Jeffrey's and Horner's "set." It is not a little remarkable that orthodox Scotland should have originated a periodical, the first great one of its kind, so entirely impervious to the devotional spirit. All its earlier ecclesiastical articles carried in them nothing of the Scotch fervor, and breathed unmistakably the spirit of what is technically called "worldliness." Its sympathy was ever awake for the wrongs of suffering humanity, but only in a humanitarian way. Jeffrey in a review of Paley's *Natural Theology*, approved and applauded as masterly the author's argument, but showed himself insensible to the deeper phases of the subject. No doubt the Review took its coloring largely from Jeffrey's own character, and in it we have looked in vain for any marked traces of devotional religion. His life was singularly free from outward stain, if we except the affair with Moore, and his extraordinary relish for good wine; the latter, however, seems never to have led him into great excesses. But his outward stainlessness of character seems to have been the result of mere worldly morality. He had no deep religious wants, or yearnings, or aspirations. He was a man of his generation. He sought his chief good within the scenes of time. Scarcely a thought of his eternal interests seems to have crossed his mind, and they seem to have concerned his biographer as little as himself. The book could have said little less on the subject, if Jeffrey's soul had died with his body. Age and affliction made him look forward to coming death, but he anticipates it and speaks of it with mingled sentiment and stoicism. We have scarcely an intimation that he ever thought of the cross or the Crucified. He shows a profound respect for christianity as a present institution, and estimates highly its moral influence, but on the matter of personal religion his familiar correspondence drops scarcely a hint. A respectable heathen, a Socrates, a Plato, a Cicero, would have said more. Neither in Lord Cockburn's narrative, nor in the letters have we any evidence that Jeffrey was ever a communicating member in any church. In all his writings it

is impossible to gather definitely anything with reference to his personal creed, except that on doctrinal points it was comfortably latitudinarian. Very many of his letters are dated Sunday, and he continually luxuriates in sentimental descriptions of the repose and stillness of the world about him. It seems exceedingly doubtful whether he had a habit, during his vigorous time, of attending divine worship. He sometimes speaks of religious things and persons with a levity that is not only indecorous, but exhibits the pitiable shallowness of his religious nature. Here is a specimen:—"We baptized little Charley (Charlotte) yesterday, with perfect success. It would have done your heart good to have seen with what earnestness she renounced the devil, and the vain pomp and glory of the world, as she lay sputtering off the cold water, in the arms of the Rev. C. Terrot. The ceremony was at two o'clock, and then we had lunch and champagne, and then all the party reeled out, some to the greenwood shade, and some to the bowling-green, where I won three shillings from Cockburn (quite fairly) by the sweat of my brow, and then we had a jolly dinner,—and the loveliest summer day ever seen so far to the north."

Even as late as June, 1847, he refers to the death of Chalmers thus: "A great man has fallen in Israel! Poor Chalmers was found dead in his bed yesterday morning. He was, I think, a great and a good man; and the most simple, natural, and unassuming religionist I have ever known." Surely the man is to be pitied who could find it in his heart to apply such an epithet as "religionist" to Chalmers!

Yet it should be said that Jeffrey showed some spirit when the question before him simply was the honor of the religion of his country. He would have defended Scotch piety against the world. He was thoroughly aroused during the troublous times of the disruption of the Kirk, and sympathized heartily with the *exodus* of the Free Church. He condemned severely the unjust measures which compelled it, and lauded the courage and self-sacrificing spirit of those who made it. But he seems to have regarded it simply as he would any other social phenomenon. With him religion was altogether an outside matter, and we fear it continued so until his death.

This, we say, is the only thing in Jeffrey's character, which gives us pain. His moral influence, both in society and in literature, was certainly of the purest kind, but with all his moral worth and fervor of nature he was almost wholly destitute of

the consciousness of his spiritual wants. And surely it is painful that so lovely a human character should have lacked so sadly the "one thing needful."

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ART. IV. — THE NATURE OF CHRISTIANITY.

It has come to be quite a prevalent imagination that the reading of the Scriptures, and their proper interpretation, is a work of comparatively easy accomplishment. The only prerequisites acknowledged, are a pious spirit, a desire to know the truth, and a tolerable share of common sense. With these qualifications, together with a becoming sense of their divine authority, any one may address himself to this task, with all needful guaranties that he will be led by the Spirit of truth, to such an apprehension of their living power, as necessarily to preclude the danger of material errors. Each one therefore, with these several qualifications at hand, is authorized to esteem himself a suitably furnished expositor of the word of the living God—a commissioned interpreter, so far at least as his own faith is concerned, of the mind of the Spirit. Than this, no conception could well be farther removed from the truth in the case. And no more convincing proof of its utter vanity need be asked, than its practical working. To say nothing of the folly of imagining any one human mind, and that too beclouded and cramped by sin, as being the measure of truth, even when it is endowed with the faculty of spiritual discernment, we need but judge the tree by its own fruits, in the history of the prevalent sect system, to feel ourselves authorized to declare concerning it "Tekel."

The history of the Church in our own age, presents us a most lamentable commentary upon the utter inability of man—yea Christian man we may say, to expound the word of inspiration by the measure of his own powers, and private experience. With far more appropriateness of figure, can the dimmer phase of the waning moon, conclude and display the full glories of the summer sun, than the feeble fallen spirit of man, the infinite range and majesty of eternal truth. And yet, monstrous

as is the assumption, we are on every hand confronted with its bastard fruit. By it the Church stands rent and torn asunder. Hearts that once beat in sweet unison are alienated. And instead of the Church presenting an unbroken front against the powers of darkness, it is overwhelmed with internal strife and discord. The noise of conflicting opinions, the tumult of discordant notions, and the poor, unmanly tricks for the ascendancy among the sects, unanswerably demonstrate the fallacy of that assumption, which holds asunder the several sections of the great brotherhood of love, which else "like kindred drops, had mingled into one." For there exists not that sect claiming the Christian name, from the meanest up, that does not boldly produce the Holy Scriptures as its letters patent—its title deed to a divine commission—the final verdict of condemnation against all conflicting claims. It is indeed humiliating, beyond patient endurance, to hear a sect, whose history a few years since found its centre and circumference in the person of some disaffected religionist, assaying to arraign and convict the whole Church of Christ of all ages, of defection from the truth. And in the fullness of its charitable spirit, spare the sentence of reprobation solely upon the ground of helpless ignorance. And yet so long as we concede the assumption, that the individual christian is, for himself the competent and divinely commissioned interpreter of the Bible, we strip ourselves of all right, at the bar of consistency, to file our protest against such ridiculous proceedings. It is for the reason precisely, that the conflicting parties lay aside the restraints of consistency, and each claims this assumption as valid for itself, and false for all besides, that our ears are ever ringing with their clashing anathemas.

Verily if the Scriptures are to be defined and interpreted by the subjective measure of the individual, does their substance become a thing of wax; to be wrought into whatever shape the spiritual mould of the interpreter may chance to require. The particular form which it thus receives is, for him at least, the absolute truth, fixed and established upon the authority of the Spirit of God. If, however, his inner standard should undergo some change, which is not of unfrequent occurrence, then of course, the sense of Scripture is held bound for any amount of accommodation. And should his opinions undergo twenty changes in a year, and his conceptions of truth suffer as many corresponding modifications; at each halting place in his peregrinations, he fancies himself in the possession of the

unadulterated truth as it is Jesus Christ. Now where we ask, in such a case, is to be found the tribunal for ultimate appeal? Surely it will not be answered, in the Scriptures *as thus interpreted*. Let a man be never so firmly persuaded of the truthfulness of his present apprehension of the sense of Scripture, he knows not but that before he shall have grown a month older, he may believe just as firmly that his convictions are erroneous. Such has been his past experience, and what possible guaranty has he that such it will not be again. How is he to know when he apprehends the *true* sense of the Word of God? Or is its true sense that particular conception which he may form of it at any given time? In other words, Has the truth an objective, real, substantial existence independent of the opinions and belief of men. If it has, which is beyond all question, by what means are we to arrive at a true knowledge of it?

In replying to this question we would premise, that the Holy Scriptures must not be taken as the *absolute source* of truth. This holds alone in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ. He is the living, concrete truth. The Bible presents this same truth however, in the form of a written revelation. It becomes consequently the rule and portrait, if we may so call it, rather than the living substance itself. It is therefore our infallible guide and directory, in all our efforts to know the truth; and to this standard must all our conclusions relating to it, precisely correspond.

No merely outward contemplation, moreover, of this revelation will suffice to discover its eternal beauties to the enquirer. It is supernatural in its character, and of spiritual essence, not for that however, the less real, and is cognizable only in the sphere of its own existence. "Neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and to whomsoever the Son will reveal him," (Matth. 11: 27.). Reveal him—not in outward description, but by raising him, by the power of his Spirit, into the sphere of his own supernatural existence. Here, and here only, is it possible for man to *know* God, "whom to know aright is everlasting life." "But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness to him; neither can he know them"—he has no power to transcend the sphere of the natural, "because they are spiritually discerned." (1. Cor. 2: 14.)

To be in the sphere of the Spirit then, is the first absolute prerequisite to a correct apprehension of the truth as revealed in

the Bible. But this, together with a "competent share of natural talents and learning, and a love of truth,* by no means constitute the full equipment necessary in the case, although our author just quoted, seems to know of none others. This doubtless would be all sufficient, but for the blinding and numbing effects of sin. By these is man's spiritual vision obscured, and with the most devout wishes and prayers to the contrary, he is constantly exposed to corruption and error. Besides all else; to have any promise of success in his quest after the truth, even with the Word of God in his hands, he must see well that his assumptions—his landmarks are true. Assumptions—*presuppositions* as Neander calls them, he will have.† And it is not possible for any one, having been sufficiently instructed in the way of life to lay hold upon it as it is in Jesus Christ, to open his Bible with a mind free from their governing influence. Such a case cannot exist; for whether these have been shaped by parental instruction, or the teachings of his spiritual counsellor; have them in some form, he will; and to divest himself entirely of them, is out of his power. And here precisely is the point to which we would come. Christians approach the study of the Scriptures, with a form of doctrine more or less distinctly formed in their minds. These doctrines constitute their presuppositions and landmarks, and whether they consciously will it or not, the truth will almost inevitably take from them its shape and proportions. Nor is it an easy matter to divest one's self of their power even if he would. To feel this we need but make the attempt to read the Bible aside from our present conceptions of truth. And that man's experience for it, he will find himself involuntarily measuring all by his preconceived standard, and almost invariably will he be able to rejoice in conclusions in perfect harmony with the precise opinion which he vainly, though honestly endeavored to lay aside. This holds good not only of those which are truthful, but as well also of those which are decidedly false—not

*Dr. Dick's *Lec. on Theology*, Vol. 1. p. 7.

†"We cannot entirely free ourselves from presuppositions, which are born with our nature, and which attach to the fixed course of progress in which we ourselves are involved. They control our consciousness, whether we will or no; and the supposed freedom from them is, in fact nothing else but the exchange of one set for another. Some of these prepossessions, springing from a higher necessity, founded in the moral order of the universe, and derived from the eternal laws of the Creator, constitute the very ground and support of our nature. From such we must not free ourselves." [Translation of Neander's "Life of Christ" by McClintock and Blumenthal. p. 1.]

only of the Orthodox christian, but also of the Unitarian or Universalist. They possess no power in themselves to control their conclusions. If we will suppose the case of a biblical student commencing his studies, with a mind perfectly free from all doctrinal preconceptions—all previous judgment as to the contents of Scripture, he would have a task before him, which it cost the Church the labor of eighteen centuries to conduct to its present state of completion. Even still more formidable would be his labor, for the Church enjoyed the instruction of inspiration prior to the writing of the New Testament. And certainly, to say the best of it, we could scarcely expect that his abilities, be they what they may, anything short of inspiration, would enable him to make greater progress. We must, and we most inevitably will, if we be at all qualified for the work before us, avail ourselves of the theological capital bequeathed to us by the Church of all ages past.

Landmarks for faith we must and will have. And where may we furnish ourselves with these, with the guaranty of their truthfulness, so that we may feel safe in following them to their remotest legitimate conclusions? We answer, beyond all reasonable question, in the faith of the Christian Church from the beginning. Where else, we would ask? In the faith of any one believer? In the belief of any one branch of the Church? We know that Christ gave a specific promise to the Church as a whole, and thus pledged to it a substantial apprehension of the faith as it is in Him, in all after ages; but we are not aware of such a promise being vouchsafed to any separate division of his body. If indeed we cannot feel safe in the faith of his Mystical Body, and that in the enjoyment of the promise of his unceasing presence and protection, then verily are we left without rest for the soles of our feet—tossed at the mercy of every wind and wave, without chart, or compass, or guiding star upon the boundless ocean of uncertainty. No, we are not thus hopelessly abandoned. We have a chart—a certain one—which will when implicitly followed, ever lead in the way of truth as revealed in the Word of God. By this we may be certified of the correctness or falsity of our conclusions in exploring the revelation of Divine Truth. And he is wise, who will distrust his own powers of perception, rather than the standard established by a divinely commissioned Church. This standard we have briefly in the articles of the Apostles' Creed. In these we have the fundamental principles of our holy religion. And these whatever besides in its history may be muta-

ble, remain forever fixed and sure. For centuries have they withstood the most trying ordeals of criticism and denunciation; and still do they remain the glorious monument of their divine contents. In searching the Scriptures, here are our fixed principles, our established points, our known quantities; and only as our deductions, not only correspond, but are found to be logically involved in these, are they entitled to any confidence. Where this is not the case, there can be no sure ground for faith. These articles are not to be regarded as something foreign to the Bible. The same living truth finds its embodiment here, and its palpable enunciations for faith, serve as the guide to enquirers in the more extended page of revelation.*

But enough has been said upon this subject for our present purpose. What we would say is this: that in studying the Word of God, all depends upon the position from which we make our observations—all upon the faith which we assume, whether consciously or unconsciously, as underlying the whole superstructure of revelation. If this be the living truth then may we confidently expect, all things being equal, that our conclusions will be founded in the same truth. But if this be in error, we can have no hopeful promise of deliverance from its power, only as we turn back and correct our assumed standard.

This deserves to be steadily remembered, just at this time, when the mind of the Christian world is putting forth its energies with growing interest, for the solution of the theological problem of the age—What is the Church; its nature and attributes! A question of most startling interest; fraught it may be, with the issues of life and death for many a soul. Where is its solution to be found? No where have we, not even in Scripture, a perfect draft of it for the understanding, with its height and depth and proportions duly defined. To the Scriptures nevertheless, must we go as an infallible guide in seeking after truth. Here however, as already seen; all will depend, for us at least, upon our point of observation—

*We are well aware that there are those in our own days who repudiate some of the articles of this venerable symbol. But this argues not a whit against their truth. Such has been the case in all ages. *They* need, it would seem, no such certain guide in this form. They rely upon prayer and the influence of the Holy Spirit. So also, no doubt, do a thousand others who arrive at directly opposite conclusions. Who is right? There is a vast difference for genuine faith, between the teachings of the Spirit, as authenticated by the means of his own appointment, and what, by our erring judgment we *conceive* to be such. And besides, we are not aware that he has dispensed with the use of outward instrumentalities.

our assumed premises. It requires no toilsome reflection to see that our conception of the Church, must and will be conditioned by our apprehension of the nature of Christianity, its spiritual contents. The phenomena, whether in the world of nature or of grace, must always find their limitation in the laws of the power which gives them birth, and in no case may they transcend their bounds. If now our idea of Christianity be erroneous, so too must be that of the Church. For this last is but the embodiment of the first. And if its laws and powers and essential nature be mistaken, how is it possible to avoid a like mistake in the notion we may form of its outward expression? If for example, we suppose a person to undertake the solution of the Church question, with the settled conviction that Christianity is nothing more than a code of doctrines, challenging man's belief and consequent conduct; and that its spiritual power consists in an *influence* simply, even though the influence be divinely wrought; as a matter of necessity for such an one, the whole range of revealed truth, must be included within the metes and bounds of his premised assumption. Any apparent projections beyond these limits, have no power to disturb his settled measure of truth, but are found to square in quite readily, claiming only the dignity of an unmeaning parable. According to this view then, Christianity is for man as an individual—by himself. If he subscribes to the doctrines, and submits himself accordingly, by the power of this inwrought influence, then he is a Christian; and is one who, together with all others who ever have or will be similarly persuaded and influenced, constitute the Christian Church. An aggregation of units running to be sure through all time. Now we would ask, such being the nature of the Church, is it, in itself a divine institution or is it not rather merely human? It is nothing more than a school, or at best a society, founded it may have been by our Saviour, but still only on prudential considerations—it is a means to an end altogether beyond itself. Where, we ask again, is the room for its claim as the *Mystical Body* of Christ; and its challenge as an article of faith, when it is as palpably comprehensible to the finite understanding, as a Temperance society? not to mention a host of claims beside, which forever forbid such a conception.

But as to this theory of the nature of Christianity—Is it, or is it not, the truth? This must first be settled, before sentence can justly be passed upon the conclusion to which it leads. The question is not, does this or that man believe it to be the

truth—but is it such in fact? To satisfy this enquiry we must fall still farther back, until we find at last some sure foundation for faith—some fixed and certain principle. For our conclusions have no power to transcend the limits of the premises from which they are evolved. If they be uncertain, so must our deductions be; and only as we have certainty to start from, and the Spirit to guide us by the light of inspiration, can we find at last a sure haven of rest. But where is this certainty for faith to be found? In the *person*, precisely of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ—in the Incarnation of God's Eternal Son. Here we are sure—here infallibly certain, if indeed we are at all entitled to the Christian name. No man ever was, or ever will be a Christian, in the absence of this faith, aside from which all is Anti-christ. But in this we find ourselves brought back to the faith of the Church of all ages, as set forth in the Apostles' Creed. And it is all perfect vanity to think of exploring successfully the glorious domain of truth in the absence of this chart for faith. From this fixed principle and truth, and in its light must our enquiry proceed.

The fact of the incarnation of the second person of the Adorable Trinity, holds the central place in our holy religion. It is its beating heart, and the whole system lives, only as it is animated by its mighty pulsations. It is the deep key note in the solemn anthem of creation, and is the ground and measure of all its harmonies: all else is in terrible discord with nature and with God. Strike this fact from the book of Christianity, and it becomes a dead letter. Tear it from the throbbing bosom, and it becomes a ghastly corpse—a terrible caricature of its living beauty. On this rock alone can faith rest with infallible certainty, and only as the domain of the Spirit, as mapped out on the page of inspiration, is surveyed from this mount of transfiguration, and in the light of its glories, do its proportions appear in living perspective—its lights and shades reveal the mercy of God to man.

This doctrine may be stated in general terms to be, the union of God and man in the person of Jesus Christ. This statement however is not sufficient for the purposes of faith. This was seen and felt from the earliest ages of the Church; and hence after centuries of spiritual toil, in which nearly all the early Fathers were involved, it was enabled first at the Council of Nice to establish the dogma of Christ's essential divinity; and subsequently, his true humanity, as also the nature of the hypostatical union. And thus did it give to all succeeding

ages, what is now universally acknowledged by the Christian world to be the true form of this doctrine, namely: Christ is the God-man, uniting in one person, the true God, and real human nature, without confusion or admixture. His human nature consisting of a true human soul, and body.*

We must still be careful however that we have a correct apprehension of the precise contents of this doctrine. It is not sufficient that we firmly believe Christ to embody in his one person the unmixed union of the Divine nature and the human; but we must also be clear in what sense he is said to embody this last. To suppose that he stands in no deeper—no more fundamental relation to humanity than any other of the sons of Adam, were to subvert the doctrine entirely. How is it possible to conceive of any *individual* man appropriating to himself the appellation, “the Son of man,” as did our blessed Redeemer? Or if Christ intended to apply it to himself, in the sense in which any man might claim it, why use the definite article, and thus make it distinctive? He claims to be, not simply a son of man, but emphatically, “*the* Son of man;” manifestly implying its applicability to himself as to no one else.† And moreover with what propriety does Scripture call him the Second Adam? This however will be further elucidated as we proceed.

Christ was not a man simply, comprising but one of the innumerable phases of humanity which we find revealed in the individual. No one man embodies in his person the whole idea of human nature. He is but one of the countless host of Adam’s sons, standing in the element of this general life, which taken together reveal the full idea as it holds in the sphere of the natural. For humanity is the power of a life in itself general, which underlies and conditions the very existence of the individual. Only as he stands in this general, can he be said to be human. Nor is the idea of the general reached

* Calvin’s Inst. Presb. Board’s Edition, vol. 1., p. 435.—“For we assert such a connection and union of the Divinity with the humanity, that each nature retains its properties entire, and yet both together constitute one Christ.” Also Trench’s Hul. Lec. p. 152.—“The Son of Mary, the Son of God, in whom the human and divine were not confounded, nor lost one in the other, but united.”

† Schleiermacher as quoted by Neander, Life of Christ. p. 95.—“Christ would not have adopted it (the title ‘Son of Man,’) had he not been conscious of a complete participation in human nature. Its application would have been pointless, however, had he not used it in a sense inapplicable to other men; and it was pregnant with reference to the distinctive differences between him and them.”

by proceeding from the individual in the way of abstract generalization, as though he was the ground, but contrariwise. The general life is the fixed fact, and the individual the development—the partial revelation. Only as we view the subject in this light, is there room for difference among men. If each one embodied the whole idea of humanity, there could be no diversity, all men would necessarily be alike—embodying the same idea and exhibiting the same life with its fixed contents. No, we have not now a thousand million humanities in the world. We have but one humanity, and a thousand million phases of this one life. This humanity in which all human beings who ever have, or ever will exist, must stand and find their significance, was first embodied in the person of Adam. Hence he is called “the First Adam.” He was a *generic* man.

In this same sense do we say that Christ was not *a* man, but *the* man—“the Second Adam;” embodying our nature in its generic form, as the beginning of a new creation.* For how can he be said to be the Redeemer of humanity, and to raise it from the dominion of death, to a new life, unless he did in fact thus apprehend it in its totality and deliver it from its misery? This verily did our Saviour do; and lives now the fountain head of redeemed humanity. And that the individual son of the first Adam may share in his salvation, he must needs be born into the second.

As already said, the Incarnation is the fixed ground and measure of all truth. To start from this position in the study of the Scriptures, and to hold our conclusions subject to its limitations and judgment, is to be in the only safe attitude for the certain apprehension of the truth. Any conclusion, no

* Neander's *Life of Christ*, p. 18. “Whatever has its origin in the *natural* course of humanity must bear the stamp of humanity; must share in the sinfulness which stains it, and take part in the strifes which distract it. It was impossible, therefore, that the second Adam, the Divine progenitor of a new and heavenly race, could derive his origin from the first Adam in the ordinary course of nature, or could represent the type of the species, the people, or the family from which he sprung, as do the common children of men. We must conceive him, not as an individual representative of the type which descended from our first parents, but as the creative origin of a new type.”—See also Olshausen's *Com.* (Clark's Foreign Theo. Library) John 1. 14, in loco.—“Just as little moreover, could it have been said: *εὐγενὲς ἀνθρώπων*, which would represent the Redeemer as one man amongst many, whilst he represented as second Adam, collective human nature in a lofty comprehensive personality.” “The Logos was not *a* man but *the* man, just as Adam was not one man amongst many, but *the* original man who included them all, who potentially carried in himself the whole race. To Adam, as well as to Christ, the expression of Augustine applies, *in illo uno fuimus nos omnes*.”

matter by what means arrived at, which squares not with this, is entitled to no confidence. And all that is fairly comprehended in it, may safely receive our full consent. So in the case before us. To understand Christianity we must know Christ. And having learned him as the incarnate Son of God, we are prepared to understand the nature of his holy religion. We here have the key, and we need but unlock the word of inspiration to come into the possession of the living truth. So true is this, that in the light even of what has already been said, we discover the nature of Christianity projecting itself to our view. And we might justly conclude from the similarity of the relations sustained by the first and second Adam, to humanity, that the second is just as literally the fountain of a real life, as the first. But it may be well to discuss somewhat more at length the relation of Adam, with his sin and corruption, to the human family, that that of Christ, with his righteousness and grace, to his spiritual family, may the more unmistakably appear.

We find two views, (not to mention the Pelagian) obtaining at the present time, as to the precise nature of the relation which Adam sustains to his posterity. Both agree that he was their federal head—their representative. But as to what is the ground of this peculiar relation they are sorely in conflict. The one alleges this to be the sovereign will of God alone, in the way of outward enactment. Adam is taken to be an individual man. As such, the first of an expanding series of similar individuals. In this capacity he is called the *natural* head of his race; only however, because he was the first and all others sprang from him. In the same sense pretty much, we take it, that Abraham may be called the natural head of the Jews. As to his Federal headship, this is something added, as already said, in the way of outward appointment.* He was made to stand the representative of the human family, to endure in its behalf the test to which it must be subjected. In his decision all were included, and of the consequences incurred all must necessarily partake. There was no special provision for this in his constitution. We are told that the whole relation in this respect is legal, and that God adjudges each one

* Dr. Dicks, *Lec. on Theology*, vol. 1. p. 459—In speaking of Adam's representative character, he says, "His being a federal head, is very different from his being a natural head. He was the natural head of the human race, as the first man, from whom all others were to proceed, according to the law of generation; but this relation is not the ground on which his actions were imputable to his posterity."

of the sons of Adam to be a sinner, because he *legally* imputes to him the sin and guilt of his first parent—"places it to his account," as Dr. Dick has it.† Enters the charge one would suppose on the debit side.

The other view finds the ground of Adam's moral relation to his posterity, to hold in the constitution of his person. He was their representative, not because of any outward appointment, but because he was himself the human family. In him was comprehended, in its generic form a general life, which was to develop itself by the course of natural generation, in the individual, onward to the end of time.* As such he was called upon to say in the name of the general life which he embodied, whether or not he would take the Lord to be his God. In his response we have the act of, not only a man, but of *the* man—of humanity as a general conscious life. By his act did it fall under the power of death. Humanity became spiritually dead, and such must necessarily be the condition of all its subsequent expression in the form of the individual. For how can death give birth to life, or anything but death. Here imputation is represented, not as "placing to one's account," but as the actual transmission of corrupt, depraved humanity itself by natural generation.†

The first of the two views just mentioned, is beset with difficulties at once formidable and overpowering, on every hand, and cannot endure the test of examination. By it, we are told that God holds man responsible for the sin of Adam, not because he is *in fact* involved in it, but because he imputes

† Ibid. p. 478.

* Olshausen's Com. 1. Cor. 15: 45—"Adam and Christ, are again indicated as the origin from whence the corruptible and incorruptible body of man proceeds; its influence governs the race, and appoints the most inward nature of the individual. They are not men as the others are, but the point originating the entire course of development, therefore Christ is also styled *ὁ εὐχαριστὸς Ἀδάμ*, as in Rom. 5: 14—*τοῦτο τοῦ μέλλοντος* is applied to Adam."

† Calvin's Inst. vol. 1. p. 226.—"This is that hereditary corruption which the fathers called original sin."—"We have heard that the impurity of the parents is so transmitted to the children, that all, without a single exception, are polluted as soon as they exist. But we shall not find the origin of this pollution, unless we ascend to the first parent of us all, as to the fountain which sends forth all the streams. Thus it is certain that Adam was not only the progenitor, but as it were the root of mankind, and therefore that all the race were necessarily vitiated in his corruption."—See also Olsh. Com. Rom. 5: 12—in loc.—"Although therefore Adam's act was not the act of an isolated individual, but the act of the race, since he is not to be considered as *one* man by the side of and among many others, but as *the* man; yet the continuing progress of sin is not so denied by the sin of his posterity, but most decidedly established with it."

it to him in the way of outward reckoning. Or to use the language of Dr. Dick:—"They (the posterity of Adam) become guilty through his guilt, which is imputed to them, or placed to their account, so that they are treated as if they had personally broken the covenant." He tells us further, that "it is not satisfactory to say, that they are treated as sinners although they are not really such, because the question naturally follows, How can they be justly treated as sinners, if they are not guilty? and the question is unanswerable."* And what else, we would ask, does his mode of imputation involve but this precise difficulty? They are treated he tells us, "*as if they had personally broken the covenant;*" thereby implying that they *did not personally* break it. They are not guilty in fact, but are only so accounted. Now what is this but to say that God does treat the children of men as sinners, while *in fact* they are not guilty of sin. For we cannot conceive of sin aside from the violation of the law, which Dr. Dick means doubtless by the covenant. The difficulty is not remedied by alleging that they are legally guilty. The same author tells us, "that death has come upon us by the sin of Adam, not accidentally or naturally, but by the operation of law.† We must confess this sounds strangely. By the operation of what law? Is it answered in a general way: the sovereign will of God! Is it possible that we are asked to believe that it is the sovereign will of a sin hating God to *account* a man guilty of a violation of his holy law, when such is not in reality the fact? And to treat him as if he had personally violated his holy pleasure, when in truth he did no such thing? If Adam was the representative of his posterity in the sense proposed by this theory—if his relation in this respect was wholly legal, and not necessarily involved in his natural headship, then would it seem to require that they approve, before they could justly be held responsible for his transgression. But this is not a condition in the case, as they are already involved in the consequences, before they obtain the power of choice. How in the world is it possible to vindicate Divine Justice in the face of such a conception. God account man guilty and corrupt, when he is not so in fact! Monstrous imagination.

But to this it is objected, that this legal imputation makes man to be in fact, what it accounts him to be, namely: a sinner. Still it must be remembered that this is not because of his *natural* relation to Adam. For we are distinctly told that

* Dr. Dick's Theol. vol. 1: p. 478-479.

† Ibid. Vol. 1. p. 479.

"this is not the ground on which his actions were imputable to his posterity."* This objection unfortunately only makes the case worse. For this takes us at once the whole length, and makes God the cause of our sinfulness. At what point this legal imputation takes place is a matter of small moment; whether at conception, or at birth, or at some subsequent period. So also the origin of the soul, is alike a matter of indifference so far as this theory is concerned. The fixed fact is this; that at some point in the existence of the individual, prior to the power of choice, he who is not naturally sinful, that is, by virtue of his natural relation to Adam, is by the sovereign will of God, in the way of a legal charge on the debit side of his spiritual account, made and constituted in fact a sinner in his sight. If all this be true, how are we to be saved from the blasphemous conclusion, that God is the author of our being just as we are, corrupt, depraved and inclined to all wickedness. Shift the question as we will, we still have man according to this view, naturally free from corruption and guilt; and yet by legal imputation, by the sovereign act and will of God prostrated beneath their power. If this reasoning be just, are we not authorized to reject the whole conception involving necessarily such unscriptural conclusions, as unsound.

Man is indeed a sinner; corrupt and guilty—fatally involved in Adam's transgression. But not in the way just described. The second view proposed, secures all these fearful truths, while it vindicates the holy attributes and works of God. According to it, as already seen, Adam is not simply a man like any one of his children—he exhibited not merely a single phase of humanity; but he was *the* man, the sum total of all the human race could ever be. In him was comprehended humanity as a generic principle, capable of indefinite outward revelation in the form of individual man. And in the development of this principle of life do we find his posterity. When however Adam was subjected to the test, he must not be regarded as standing *beside* this general life as its outward representative, or that it slumbered in his person as an unconscious power. Humanity was not a mere abstraction, while Adam the individual was conscious. For this were to involve us in the same difficulties which we have seen to grow out of the first view. It found in him a real conscious existence, in the free exercise of all its mighty powers—a living personality reason-

* Dr. Dick's Theol. vol. 1. p. 469

ing and willing for itself. When therefore the fatal response was given to the challenge of God, it was not Adam the individual alone that answered; but humanity as a whole residing in his person, denied its allegiance to its Creator. It was humanity consequently that rebelled, and fell under the power of sin and death. And since as already remarked, the human family is but the natural development of this general life—the races of men, but the streams which have flown forth from this corrupted fountain—the branches which have grown out of this root of bitterness; “who,” we would ask in the language of Job, (14: 4) “can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? Not one.”

It must be manifest from this, that our implication in Adam's guilt is not because of any arbitrary imputation or reckoning—no charging to our account; but because we are involved in it in fact. We are the natural product of this life—its outward expression, and must necessarily be involved in its spiritual fortunes. It must not be supposed that in the historical evolution of humanity, the individual is at first something beyond—a creation *ab extra*, and then transfused with this corrupt life. Each man is the product of the legitimate operation of its laws of generation, and must needs partake of its character. He therefore suffers no violence in being conceived and born in sin. His will is not overpowered, for he receives it just as it is—adverse to all good, as his natural inheritance from the life which gave him a separate existence. And so long as the individual is the natural offspring of Adam's humanity, so long must he be corrupt; for a corrupt fountain cannot send forth other than corrupt streams.

It was this view of Adam's headship of his posterity—this view of his guilt to theirs, that clothed Augustine with his overmastering power in his controversy with Pelagius. Against this could the latter make no effectual resistance. And from that day to this, does it stand the pillar of truth against all Pelagian assumptions. But it was to Scripture that Augustine stood indebted for his weapon. He but borrowed the shaft which had been polished by the Apostle Paul, and with it pierced the enemy of the truth to the heart. If legal imputation be the correct view, with what propriety could the Apostle say, “death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned,” (Rom. 5: 12,) when in reality Adam alone sinned, and all men besides are only *accounted* to have sinned! Certainly his language is very illy adapted to convey the thought which was in

his mind. And how again could he say, "For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, &c," (Rom. 5: 19,) when only Adam was made a sinner by his disobedience, and his posterity by the separate act of God, in placing it to their account? So also in another epistle he says, "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." (1 Cor. 15: 22.) With what justice can it be said that all die in Adam, when they were not included in him? Paul should rather have said, as by *Adam's sin* all were *adjudged* to die, &c. But is this what he designed to say? No verily. He meant precisely what he *did* say, and nothing more or nothing less. When in the first quotation, he tells us "that all have sinned," he declares a most fearful and literal truth. We all were comprehended in Adam in the form of a general conscious life. The *will* of this life perpetrated the rebellion. Our wills root themselves in that, and from it have grown forth in a natural way—they stand in it as their life element, and as a matter of necessity, are identified with it. So that its act was in fact our act. Consequently death has passed upon us for the reason precisely that we have sinned.* So again, Adam's disobedience was our disobedience, and upon us likewise, must the consequences of his act terminate. In the last quotation all this is distinctly affirmed. And it most conclusively shows that the cause of our participation in death, is the fact of our in-being in Adam.

Such we take to be the proper scriptural view of the relation of the first Adam to the human family; understanding the representations of the New Testament literally, and finding no necessity to regard them as strangely figurative. Yet while he summed up the whole of humanity in his person, it was not in its perfect—its ideal form. His was the sphere of the natural, and measured not the glorious idea as it held in the creative mind of God. He exhibited it as the power of a life in the lower sphere of its existence,† and as such it was but the type, the prophecy of its true substantial ideal, in the higher

* Olshausen's Com. Rom. 5: 12—in loc.—"The question how in Adam all who were not yet in existence could sin with him, has difficulty in it only so long as the isolation of individuals is maintained. If this be given up, all takes a simple form, and in Adam every one of his descendants must have sinned with him, just as in the act of one man, all his members and every drop of blood co-operate, and in an army not the general only conquers or is defeated, but every warrior of the host conquers or is conquered with him."

† 1. Cor. 15: 45.—"The first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit."

sphere of the spirit. He was but *καὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπος* (Rom. 5: 14,) but the figure of him who should in due time reveal the living, perfect substance. In the figure, however, we have the lineaments drawn, the parts defined. Hence the Scripture places them parallel to each other, and calls the type, the first Adam; the living fact—the second or last Adam. The first to be Adam—the man at all, must as we have seen he did in fact, embody the sum of mankind; namely humanity as a general life. So the second; if indeed he be parallel, must comprehend no less. The first grasping the whole idea in the sphere of natural life—the second, no less comprehensive in the sphere of the spirit. And again, as the first was in his sphere the fountain of human life—so must the second be in his; this, of humanity raised to its true relation with God—that as under the dominion of sin. For it has abundantly appeared as we have proceeded, that sin is not a mere appendage to our natural life, as though it still maintained its original relation to its Creator, only that it has become encumbered with a terrible debt to him. But rather that it holds in this life itself—in the fact of its wrong relation to God, as having denied its allegiance to him, and entered the service of his enemy.

Now it was to reclaim humanity from its alienation, that Christ became its new fountain head, and in doing this he most wonderfully, yet necessarily grasped it in its generic form—enabled it by its union with the Divine in his blessed person, to atone for its rebellion and rise again, the fruitful source of everlasting life. Now how is the provision to become available for the salvation of man as an individual? Certainly by imputation. But in what form?

Here no doubt the advocates of the legal theory, would be ready to say, by placing it to the believer's account. But enough has already been said concerning this *commercial* scheme. If the parallel which the New Testament affirms between Adam and Christ holds good, then must they necessarily sustain similar relations to the historical evolution of their respective lives. Adam's posterity were comprehended in his person, in the form of collective human nature, and thus did actually sin in him. So the spiritual posterity of Christ were similarly included in his person, and in him did fulfill all righteousness. We may here introduce an admirable passage from Augustine as being expressive of the mind of that master spirit in the early Church, touching this relation. "In Adam the whole natural development of man was included; the whole

race is but the unfolding of that spirit, that one man. Exactly so Christ is a spiritual Head. The whole race of regenerate men were shut up in him, are unfolded out of Him. They are but the one grain of gold beaten out, and extended into an infinite breadth. As the huge oak with its trunk and all its spreading branches are rudimentally wrapped up in the single acorn; so the world, or mankind natural in Adam, and the Church, or mankind spiritual in Christ.* Hence we can fully appreciate Paul's language when he alleges himself to be "crucified with Christ;" and all those passages besides which represent the believer as suffering and dying and rising again in Jesus Christ.† (Rom. 6: 1—11.) These representations are not figurative but literally true. Christ's acts were the acts of the life which dwelt in him—the activity of his divine human personality, and as such, are the acts of that same life whatever form it may put on in the process of outward development.

But as was observed with reference to depravity so here again as respects righteousness. This too is no mere appendage to the substance of our proper human life—an accretion attaching itself outwardly. It is rather the right relation of this to God. Now how is it possible, when once the ties which bound it to God had been severed, to effect a restoration by the force of mere doctrine or influence, even though this influence be exerted by the Holy Spirit himself! Doctrine and influence, taken either separately or together, can impart no new powers to the object upon which they are brought to bear. They serve merely to call into exercise activities already at hand. If then these be competent to restore humanity to its lost relations to God, it must be manifest that the ability requisite is present in this life itself, and needs but be aroused into active exercise to raise it superior to sin and death, by these outward conditions. And in this conclusion we find ourselves high enough upon the shoals of Pelagianism. No merely outward conditions of doctrine and influence could meet the want in the case so long as our nature is totally depraved. The only remedy possible was to restore it as a whole to its true

* As translated by Trench. Sermon on the Mount. p. 228.

† Olshausen's Com. Col. 2: 11.—in loc.—"It seems peculiar in this passage that the vicarious operation of Christ (according to which *et c.* is to be taken quite literally, inasmuch as the faithful are conceived as reposing spiritually in Christ, the spiritual Adam, in the same way as all reposed bodily in Adam, their bodily progenitor,) is referred, not merely to the particular events of the death and the resurrection, as usual, but to circumcision also."

relationship to God, and thus open up a fountain of sanctified humanity. Our nature as a general life, we say, not as individual simply, must needs thus be raised to its ideal. For we are certified by Scripture that Jesus Christ came to "take away the sins of the world"—the human world, not as an aggregation of units, but as a living generality. If now he did not comprehend in his person this living generality, and if the design of his mission is not to fail, then does he take away the sins of the world, as an aggregation of individuals. There is no space left then for a distinction between *the whole*, and *the all* of the world—they become commensurate with each other. *The all*, comprises every individual member of Adam's race. *The whole*, has the propitiation for its sins in Jesus Christ, (1 John 2: 2.) If then *the whole* and *the all* be the exact measure of each other, *the all* having its sins taken away must necessarily be saved. Here we have bald Universalism itself; nor is it possible to make any good defence against it upon these premises. But if Christ did take up the life, and so the substance of the human world—*the whole* humanity generically, into union with Divinity in his person, and restore it thus to its lawful relation to its Creator; then verily are its sins taken away, and it will be—rather it *is* saved. This for all time is henceforth the measure of its true idea; and if the individual fail to be born into this true humanity, he fails at the same time to find his place and life in that world whose sins Christ came to take away. Christ did thus restore our nature to its right relations; brought it to a union with God. This is necessarily involved in the fact of the incarnation, and is the whole substance of its idea. And if we as individuals would stand in the like right relations, we can do so, only by standing in living union with this new humanity—in it, as our life element. No simple reckoning is sufficient in the case. It requires an actual transfer of our whole being—an ingrafting into the stock of living humanity. Thus do we partake of the salvation of Jesus Christ only as we are penetrated with its true idea; with human nature in its true relation to God, that is, in living union with him. Christ therefore himself, gives us the true mode of imputation when he says, "Ye must be born again."

Here we discover a strict parallel indeed between the first Adam and the second. Each, the fountain and source of his respective order of life; the first of corrupt human life, despoiled of its true idea by the overwhelming power of death;

the second, of humanity raised to its highest truth. Each again perpetuating itself by its laws of generation—the one by natural, the other by spiritual. The first we call sinful human nature; the second sanctified human nature, or Christianity.

From all this we feel ourselves fully justified in the conclusion, that Christianity is a life, and as such perpetuates itself in the world by the power of its own inherent law. This power however, is exercised through the agency of the Holy Spirit. By his operation is the sinner made to partake of the divine-human life as it has come to exist in Jesus Christ. He then becomes a “new creature in Christ Jesus”—“Christ is formed in him the hope of glory.” He dwells in the believer as his spiritual offspring.

No difficulty need be felt here in view of that class of Scripture, which represents the Spirit, the third person of the Holy Trinity, as taking up his abode in the person of the believer. It is in the form of the Spirit always that the redemption of Christ is made over to the individual man—the form in which Christ by his life lays hold upon the members of the family of Adam, transfuses their being with his own vital energy, and thus unites them to himself by the divinely human bond of a Mystical Union. There is no difficulty in this view; no violence done to the distinct personalities of the Son and the Holy Ghost; if we but have a correct conception of the doctrine of Trinity. According to this, the three persons in the Godhead are indeed distinct, but not so as to be disunited from each other. This were to make three Gods. And this precisely is the confounding mystery in the case, that while they are distinct persons, they are nevertheless but one God, and cannot be sundered. The Father dwells in the Son, and the Son equally in the Father, and the Spirit is the holy tie which binds them in one conscious whole. Christ comprehends “the fullness of the Godhead bodily.” Thus not a part of the Divine nature merely, was brought into union with our humanity, but the whole undivided essence. The presence, and no less the works of either one of the three, are at the same time the presence and works of the Godhead. Hence is it that while the Bible represents the Father as the Creator of all things, it at the same time in John 1: 3, declares the Son to be the active power in this work; and in the account of it in Genesis, the Spirit is made also to bear an active part. Now when we speak of the Spirit dwelling in man, we undoubtedly

mean the indwelling of the Divine Nature, in the form in which this has come to a union with humanity. And this is none other than as it is in Jesus Christ. The Spirit therefore, is the form in which Christ—that is the conscious union of Divinity and humanity in one real life, dwells in the believer, and makes him a veritable son of God. This is manifestly taught in Rom. 8: 9–10., “But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now, if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his. And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin: but the Spirit is life because of righteousness.” This passage, it may be remarked, is wonderfully clear and decided upon this point. The “Spirit of Christ” refers not simply to his disposition, but is evidently used as synonymous with the “Spirit of God,” just preceeding; and in the tenth verse these are again presented to our view in the similarly interchangeable expressions “Christ” and “Spirit.” As to the confirmatory bearing of this passage upon the point now in hand, such commentators as Calvin, Olshausen and Tholuck are found to agree in their judgment. In the Heidelberg Catechism, in the 53d Quest., we find this same doctrine implicitly taught. “That he (the Holy Spirit) is also given me to make me, by a true faith, a partaker of Christ and all his benefits, &c.”

Christ and the Holy Spirit, we repeat it, although distinct as to their persons, cannot be disjoined in their essence, presence and works. To suppose otherwise were to lay ourselves open to the most embarrassing conclusions; especially if we fall over into the too prevalent view of the mode of the indwelling of the Spirit, and the imputation of righteousness. According to this, the righteousness of Christ is placed to the account of the believer in the way of outward reckoning, and his union with Christ secured in the way of an *inhabitation* of his Spirit. The Spirit however, in this particular relation is not supposed to carry in himself in any way the substance of our human life in union with Divinity, as reached in the incarnation. He is rather the third person of the Trinity, (sundered so far at least as presence is concerned, from the other two,) in his essential Divinity. Now it must be very clear, if the whole scope of Scripture upon this point as well also the fact of the incarnation, are of any weight whatever, that there is an inherent necessity in our nature for a union with the Divine, if it would surmount the ruin of death. Not simply that it might be qualified to endure suffering as the penalty of its transgression,

but also and especially that it might thus be raised to righteousness and life permanently. This was to be secured, only as the image of God came to abide anew in that nature, and this last could be effected only by a union with Divinity itself. If this be true for the general, it must be equally so for the individual. And since the union which took place in Christ was individual, as this theory has it, the Spirit must now effect a like individual union in the case of each believer, or else leave him without any real participation in the Divine Nature, and to the same extent destitute of the image of God. For according to this view he is not allowed, nor can he indeed partake of humanity as perfected and united with God, in Christ Jesus. Now does the Spirit do this in fact? Does he as the third person of the Trinity come to a direct, real union with human life in its individual form? If so, then does each believer come to be a separate incarnation in some sort, for himself. So then we have not one permanent, all concluding incarnation of the Second Person in the Trinity, but an infinite number—just as many besides as there are believers. In their case however, it is the third, instead of the second Person. What are we to think of this conclusion? Is it scriptural?

If however we conceive of the Spirit as coming to no *real* union with the life of the believer, (which by the way is the drift of the theory under consideration) but merely dwelling in his body by the side of his proper life; and his operations to consist in nothing else than influence and promptings; then do we have no *real* union with the Divine at all. Man is left in the sphere of his natural life, from which no amount of mere influence, come from what quarter it may, whether from heaven or earth, can raise him, unless it find within him a holy principle upon which to act and to develope. For he is thus made but a condition; and a condition is ever powerless, unless it finds its proper germ upon which to act. To assent to this, is, as already shown, to stand upon Pelagian ground. Our only escape from such dreadful results is to hold fast to the impossibility of rending asunder the several persons of the Trinity; the permanency of the incarnation of Jesus Christ, as a fact for humanity as a whole; and also that the Spirit is the *modus* in which the incarnation becomes real and effective to the believer.

It is scarcely necessary that the reader be reminded again, that this view of Christianity is contained and actually grows out from the fact of the incarnation. In the whole course of

this discussion this is made to appear. Christ was not a transient phenomenon in the world, long since passed away, leaving it just where he found it, only with the *possibility* of salvation, and the *influence* simply of the Spirit to actualize this possibility. Rather is his incarnation a perpetual world fact. He not only made *provision* for man's redemption and elevation to life, but consummated the fact—actually redeemed the world and gave it life. This life humanity secured by its union with the Logos; "in him was life," and without this must ever have remained dead. We have him then as a fountain from which all must draw. Only as the branch is broken off from the wild, and *grafted* into the good olive tree is it possible for it to partake of its life. And this too not in the way of figure, but literal yet spiritual fact. The other view we have seen to conflict with all just and scriptural conceptions of Trinity, and to make the incarnation a mere theophany; leaving our nature without any true union with the Divine, and at the same time without any possibility of reaching eternal life.

Having now been fairly conducted to the conclusion, namely that Christianity in its essential nature is a real life, spiritual, and therefore the more real, and that too in Paul's sense when he says in Gal. 2: 20., "I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life that *I now live in the flesh* I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me;" we are prepared to turn our attention very briefly to a few of the many features of Scripture which might be adduced in confirmation.

The first point we shall notice is, that Christ himself, is every where presented as the ground and source of salvation, rather than his works. His merits are reached only through his life as their bearer. The primary object of his mission was not to suffer and endure the penalty of the law as it hung over man. We have it rather as expressed in his own words in John 10: 10, "I am come that they might have life." Here we discover the burden of his painful embassy to our miserable world. Painful indeed did it prove. For while he would deliver to man the heavenly gift of life, in the way of this stood the demands of a holy law. These must needs be satisfied, for justice might not be deprived of its due. To remove the obstacles in the way of the fulfillment of his commission, Christ came prepared, and to the task did he betake himself. And it was only after the satisfaction of the claims of divine justice was made, that the way was open for the bestowal of life. This

portion therefore, which Christ came that we might have, grounds itself not in his works or his sufferings; it is something antecedent, and required the presence of these that it might lawfully vivify a world under the power of death. It is not Christ's work that raises us to newness of life; this merely removed the hindrances, it is Christ himself as the bearer of life in his own person, (for "in him was life,") that raises us to this everlasting portion of blessedness.

This fact is most unequivocally taught us in 1 John 5: 11-12, "And this is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life; and this life is *in* his Son. He that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life." It is difficult to conceive how language could be thrown together so as to express this precise fact more definitely. By no just rules can the passage be tortured into the utterance of the fancy that Christ is a mere condition—the occasion rather than the absolute ground of eternal life. What God, according to the record, hath given us, is not an abstraction, but a reality; and this reality is in a tangible form; it is *in* his Son. And that there may be no misapprehension, the next verse certifies us in what sense we are to take the preposition "*in*." According to this, nothing short of the most reckless license can make the description figurative. This life is in the Son in such sense as to make it inseparable from his person, so much so, that he that hath not the *Son himself*, can in no possibility have the life of which he is the bearer. To feel satisfied that we have not misapprehended the mind of the Spirit in this place, we need but turn to the voice of our blessed Saviour himself, as he announces the same truth in language if possible still more unmistakably clear, to the anxious spirit of the enquiring Thomas. "I am the way, and the truth, and the life;" (John 14: 6.) Now here it will be observed he makes no allusion to his works as the rock of our defence—the fruitful cause of salvation. He does not say, neither does his language imply; I am the occasion by my sufferings, of life. He does not say, I reveal the way and afford the outward facilities that you may secure life as something separate from myself. Had he intended this he doubtless would have specified to his disciples the precise means necessary in the case. No not for one moment would he have Thomas suppose that aught pertaining to the full idea of salvation from sin and death, had any existence beyond the limits of his own person. "I" he says with most majestic emphasis, am both the means and the

end, "the way, and the truth, and the life." I myself—in my own person, am all this, and in such sense, that "no man cometh into the Father *but by me*." Not by my works and sufferings; not by faith or trust in them as the ground of hope, "*but by me*." He would have his disciples to know that he revealed the Father in his own person, (John 14: 9-11,) and that no possible way existed for man to be brought into right relation with the Father again, except as he was grafted into the stock of humanity as redeemed and already in union with the Father in Christ. And this is nothing else than to make Christianity a divine-human life.

But this is not an isolated passage, which without proper confirmation in the general tenor of scripture, is made here to teach a strange doctrine. Rather it is but the proper voice of the whole Gospel touching the ground of our salvation, gathered up in one word. This same truth Christ had uttered on previous occasions, and we will discover a beautiful parallel with this by comparing with it, John 10: 9, 6: 48 and 11: 25. In the first passage we hear him declare, "I am the door" of the sheep. He thus presents himself, not his doctrine or works, but *himself* as the means of salvation. "*By me* if any man enter in, he shall be saved, &c." It is well here to note the peculiarity of his language. Not by my doctrine, or my sufferings, nor yet even by the *influence* of the Spirit, as instrumentalities sundered from my proper self; but "*by me*," as the only living "*way*" for man to reach a participation in the divine nature.

In the second passage named, he presents himself as the spiritual food for the hungry soul, the satisfaction of its craving wants, and the means by which the believer is to acquire grace and strength to overcome sin, and raise at last to eternal life. Here would we say with special emphasis, it is not his doctrine, especially in the usual acceptation of the term, a mere abstraction for the understanding, that he presents as the bread of life, but his *own person*, to be apprehended by faith. Parallel with this do we hear him say subsequently, "I am—the truth." Truth is the means of sanctification according to John 17: 17, "Sanctify them through thy truth, thy word is truth." Not the written word simply, but the living word, which "was with God and which was God," for the New Testament was not then written. The written word as the picture of the living, has its value, and is in its place beyond all price, but not as the substance of truth; this is Christ and Christ only.

The truth in this sense, like the bread of life, is the means for the satisfaction of all the aching wants of our nature—its nourishment for growth in grace, by whose quickening power it is to be raised superior to the miseries of the fall.

In like manner also in the last passage, John 11 : 25, where he declares, "I am the resurrection and the life;" he would inform us in what relation his person stands to the full measure of redemption. Here again all is made to centre in Christ's living person. Not as though the resurrection and the life, were the result of his outward activity—the fruit of his creative and omnipotent energy, as is the case with miracles in the world of nature; but as the proper form of his own inner being. The resurrection and the life are in fact synonymous, expressive however of different relations. The first is no more than life in victorious conflict with death, while the latter is life absolute, as superior to this conflict. It was this life which asserted its victorious power over death, and raised the body of Christ from its bondage, just as our natural life asserts its power over sleep and by its own energy throws it off. There is an infinite disparity between his resurrection, and the re-animation of Lazarus for instance. This last was the exercise of God's sovereignty in suspending, not in canceling the claims of death, for Lazarus did at last die. But in the former we discover an ignoring of the power of death. Christ rose not to die again, for death was overwhelmed and had no further power over him; he was its destroyer. This however, not in the way of activity beyond himself, as in the case of Lazarus, but rather by the inherent energy of his own divine-human life, which death had no power to hold in his embrace. By this same power too, will the saints be raised at last, not by the working of a miracle in the ordinary sense, but by Christ in the exercise of the same power with which on the third day he awaked himself from the sleep of death. They "are asleep in Christ," (1 Cor. 15 : 18) and will be awaked not by outward noise or power, they need not this, but by the activity of their Saviour's life which has its abode in them, as Paul teaches when he says, "Christ liveth in me." In a word, at the appointed time, Christ who is the head and fountain of their life, will exert his inward power and arouse every member of his mystical body.*

Oia. Com. John 11 : 25—"As Christ is called the Life, not merely because he makes alive (*ζωοποιεῖ*, John 5 : 21,) but because, as the source of life (i. e. of the true being,) he *is* life; just in like manner he is called the resurrection, not merely because he raises the dead, but because he actually *is* that resurrection."

From this it will be manifest what is the tenor of Christ's teachings, as respects his relation to final redemption. It is something brought about not by his works or doctrine, but finds its substance in his person; and to partake of it, a union so as to secure a transmission of his life, and with it all his merits, over into the believer, is absolutely necessary.

The Apostle Paul too is very clear upon this point. "But of him are ye *in* Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption." ("1 Cor. 1: 30.") Here again have we Christ in his proper person presented as the means and end of redemption. Ols-hausen's remarks upon this verse are very satisfactory. In part he says: "From the Father through the Son, have believers their existence, not only as regards their creation, but especially referring to their being created anew, i. e. their new birth, Christ being the step thereunto. This last idea lies in the *ἐκ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ*, which words imply not only that Christ by his doctrine and example teaches us wisdom, &c., or that it operates in us through his Spirit, but that he is in fact become, (after effectual and suffering obedience,) wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption, and that therefore all these in his followers are only the unfolding of gifts received in him."

But our limits forbid a more extended quotation on this point. The New Testament is full of this thought on every page. We have sought only to bring to view in this place the manifest tenor of scripture, and think that but one or two further references are necessary to accomplish this with sufficient distinctness.

The expression *in Christ*, as expressive of the relation of the believer to him, is of such frequent occurrence, and in such a variety of connections, as to entitle it to special weight. To attempt to resolve it into mere figure, is to expose the whole sacred text to the ravages of rationalism, as this may be asserted with as great propriety of almost any other part of it. To say the least of it however, it is certainly strange that the Spirit of inspiration should describe a mere moral union, if such indeed be the nature of the mystical, by employing so very frequently the preposition *in*. Most certainly is it calculated to lead to a misapprehension. We hear no such expressions as descriptive of the relation of John's disciples to their leader, and here we find a moral union. When now we have the declaration, "if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature," by what rational means shall we get rid,

even if we would, of the force of the expression. Shall we say here that Christ is made to stand for his doctrine, or the influence of his Spirit, and that to be in Christ is no more than to have imputed to the believer his merits and righteousness in the way of outward reckoning? Then with what propriety is this last called a new creature? We have already seen that this view precisely, leaves him in his natural estate, with this addition only, that the Spirit in some strange way operates upon him as an influence. If this be all, then verily is he not a new creature in Christ Jesus, but the same creature that ever he was, only subjected to a new power. But if we allow the saint to come to a participation in the new creation in Jesus Christ—to partake of his divine-human life as really, as by nature he partakes of the corrupt life of Adam, then is it clear what is meant by being *in Christ*—then verily is he a new creature. What more distinct enunciation of this very relation to Christ on the one hand, as also to Adam on the other could we ask, than we find in the words of Paul; “for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.”

Again we are taught, “for as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ” (Gal. 3: 27.). This passage it will be remarked is also quite peculiar. It is by the fact of being baptized *into* Christ, that we become the children of God. Of the more precise import of the nature of this initiation into Christ, we find an explanation in Rom. 6: 3.: “Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized *into* Jesus Christ, were baptized *into* his death?” Not in fancy, or in the way of mere reckoning, but in truth and in deed; and in accordance with which fact the Apostle Paul says: “I am crucified with Christ” (Gal. 2: 20.). The whole subject resolves itself into just this, that if we would not make man’s sinfulness, as well as his subsequent holiness to consist in mere states of the Divine mind, in accordance with which he is accounted wicked or righteous, we are compelled to regard them as holding a real existence in our nature, and as such are derived respectively from Adam, and Christ. When Paul says, “I am crucified with Christ,” did he assert a spiritual fact, or did he assert that which God reckons to be, but which in reality is not? No, when we are baptized into Christ, which can be fully accomplished only as there is faith in the recipient, we are baptized into his death and resurrection, not in imagination, but in very spiritual fact. And to be inducted into these, is at the same time and to the same extent, to be inducted in-

to Christ's person—to a participation in his life, as the bearer and fact of the resurrection.

This view of Christ's person has a marked confirmation in John 6. Whatever diversity of sentiment may obtain, with respect to any reference in that chapter to the sacrament of the Supper, one thing is certain, that Christ there presents himself as the substance of salvation. He tells us not, except a man subscribe to his doctrine, or trust in his works, or is subject to the *influence* of the Spirit, he has no life in him; but most emphatically, "Verily, verily I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." Not indeed, that we partake of him corporally, but spiritually of his flesh and blood, i. e., of the essence of these, his life. Of the "Son of man;" not that we are interested in, and partake of his divinity alone, but of his manhood—his glorified humanity bound with his divinity in the bond of a common life. Here again most distinctly, does the Spirit affirm the person of Christ, and not his works or aught besides to be the ground of our salvation; and this too, as the embodiment of his divine-human life.

In the allegories of the vine and the branches, and the head and members, we have a most conclusive confirmation of the fact that Christianity is a life. The fact that these are confessedly figurative, argues nothing against this confirmation. It is in this indeed, that their weight, in this particular, consists. Their being figures, does not authorize us to thrust them aside as nonsense, or to subject them to any fanciful interpretation we may relish. They have a fixed and determinate meaning, and it is for that we are bound to concern ourselves. As allegories, we look for their explanation in themselves, not from abroad. They are expressive of certain relations, and as these hold in the sign, so must the prefigured relations be found in the thing signified.* When therefore, Christ says, "I am the vine, ye are the branches, &c.," he would teach the relation which subsists, as also the bond of union between himself and his people. We need now but ascertain these as they

* Tranch's Notes on the Parables, p. 14.—"There is in the allegory, an interpenetration of the thing signifying and the thing signified, the qualities and properties of the first being attributed to the last, and the two thus blended together, instead of being kept quite distinct and placed side by side. as in the case of the parable. . . . The allegory needs not, as the parable, an interpretation to be brought to it from without, since it contains its interpretation within itself, and, as the allegory proceeds, the interpretation proceeds hand in hand with it, or at least never falls far behind it."

exist in the sign, viz: the vine and the branches, that we may discover those in the thing illustrated. Now most evidently no other bond of union is here implied than that of life. That as the branch receives its life from the vine, lives in it, and is fructified by it alone, so the believer lives, and is fruitful in good works, only because of a similar oneness of life with the spiritual vine, even Christ. So too, to be sundered from such a living union with Christ, is to be as the branch severed from the vine. It hence must die because it is cut off from the source of its life. Here also we see the meaning of Paul when he employs the figure of grafting in Rom. 11. As the scion must be severed from the parent stem—the wild olive tree, and grafted into the good tree, so must the scion of humanity be taken from the wild stock of Adam, and placed in such a relation to the glorified life of Christ, as to receive it into his person, to be penetrated by it, and made to bring forth much fruit.

In strict keeping with this is that other figure, viz: the head and the members. Christ is the head, the Church is his body, and believers are the members of this body. As it is *one literal life*, which animates the whole, and is the common bond of union, and no other bond exists which does not find its power and reality in this in the case of the sign, even so is it one literal divine-human life which binds together Christ the spiritual head, the Church, the mystical body, and the saints, its members, in one glorious organic whole. Let the attempt but be made to place influence, even though it be that of the Spirit of God, in the place of life, and what is the result? The whole claims of the allegory are thrust aside, and the figure laid open to the charge of great violence, if not indeed sheer nonsense. Who would ever think of attributing the union between the vine and its branches, or the head and the members to a mere influence? So it is gross violence to every rule of interpretation, to make this take the place of life in the other case. As already remarked, the scion must be grafted into the good olive that it may partake of its life; even so must the sinner be inserted into Christ by the *new birth*, so that he may find himself related to Christ spiritually, as he is to Adam naturally. A birth always presupposes the transmission of life. Where this is not the case, it is a failure. When therefore Christ laid down the necessity of regeneration, he but declared the nature of his holy religion to be a life.

Indeed the very form of the sacred record is in itself a most

unanswerable affirmation of this very truth. If Christianity be doctrine, why was it not given us in a distinct logical form, a regular code, and thus forever preclude the manifold misapprehensions and heresies which have prevailed? The reasonableness of this enquiry will appear, when we remember that it required centuries of conflict with error to bring some of the doctrines to the form in which we now have them. How true is this for instance of Justification by faith. If it be mere influence, what in the world are we to do with the allegories, and indeed the whole range of Scripture which has just passed under review? Where is the room for calling the believer a "new creature?" The Gospels which are conceded on all hands to be the root and principle of the revelation, we find in the form of narrative, history; presenting us with no separate code of doctrines, but rather the labors, the works and sufferings of our Saviour. If Christianity be a life, we have the most ample reason for this. The Holy Ghost would give us a revelation of the life, its features and its parts, its motives and its fruits, which is to reanimate our ruined world. Nor is one sketch sufficient in the case. This life must be viewed from four different points, three from without and one within, even its own centre and heart, this last was reserved for that most befitting one, the disciple of love. Thus only might it be presented to the world, full and complete in all its proportions, and enable every believer to see reflected from some point of observation, his own spiritual image.

But we must close. The foregoing passages of Holy Writ may serve as a specimen, sufficient to indicate the tenor of Scripture as respects the nature of Christianity. Every where upon its pages is this assumption discernible, *that it is a life*. And the strongest argument in its favor is, that it is the only key which can unlock its inner sanctuary, and disclose its hidden glories. It brings Christ back from the regions of abstraction, whither he has been exiled by the theory of legal reckoning, and makes him an ever present Saviour in the heart of the believer, and enables his joyful spirit to exclaim, in the full fruition of conscious apprehension, in the language of the enraptured Thomas, "My Lord and my God." It exchanges fancy for reality; opinion for fact; influence for life, and brings a distant Redeemer to a living residence in our new born souls. It presents us with the glorious substance of all that the Gospel proclaims, and requires no violent warping of its representations to fit the narrative to the fact. Let any

one but read the New Testament for the first time from this standpoint, and he will be amazed at the light which it will reflect upon the sacred page, making the obscure plain; much of the mysterious simple; and will discover multitudes of palpable yet hitherto unnoticed beauties to his astonished and delighted spirit. Let no one condemn this view until he has piously subjected it to this test, and see for himself whether his Bible does not reveal to him a present Saviour, the bread of heaven, the way, the truth, the life, bound up and concluded in his once crucified, but now risen and glorified divine-human person.

S. N. C.

ART. V.—CHRISTIAN BAPTISM, AND THE BAPTISTIC QUESTION.*From the German of Dr. Martensen, Prof. of Theol. in the University of Copenhagen.*

(Continued from the previous volume.)

III. PREDESTINATION.

THE doctrine of predestination belongs to the most difficult problems of Christianity and will ever continue to be an inexhaustible subject to human thought, but this doctrine finds its practical expression, in a way so plain, that the whole Church can comprehend it, in infant baptism. In infant baptism the eternal decree has its endless beginning in time. Here lies as well the religious comfort of the doctrine of predestination as also its demand for individual activity and growth in a holy life, which are inseparable from the true doctrine of predestination. The true doctrine of predestination, which, at least to our conception, has its purest exhibition in Lutheranism, regards the divine decree not as a distant unfathomable power, that hovers in enigmatical obscurity over the history of human life, but rather as a gracious merciful will, which rules and reigns in history, which is revealed in Christ, which has embodied itself in his word and sacraments, which sanctifies us in baptism, and which thus does not hold

us in doubt and uncertainty in regard to his design with us. In Calvinism predestination is a finished crystalized conception, concluded from eternity, and the revelation of it in history is only a reappearance, without any self-subsistence. The substantial world-historical life, Christ's manifestation, his word and his sacraments, are only the outward vehicles thro' which the eternal decree, like the thread of the Parcæ, is spun off with inflexible necessity. According to the Lutheran view, however, predestination is not something finished and stationary, but something living, and therefore becoming,—a conception that completes itself in history. The Lutheran view acknowledges the reality of *time*; it acknowledges that not only the race and each individual person, but also that the divine decree itself has a *history*. Hence the appearing of Christ in time, his word and the institution of his sacraments, and the relation of human freedom to these, has a true and real significance, and in its living history, not in its stiff and motionless eternity, is faith to lay hold upon the mysteries of the gracious election. As however the true doctrine of predestination differs from the fatalism of Calvin, it differs no less from the Pelagian doctrine of freedom, according to which the appearing of Christ and his institutions are merely means by which man determines his own destiny, and which regards history only as the history of human decrees. Every theoretical error, in reference to predestination, has its practical expression in the doctrine of baptism. That conception of baptism which is evolved out of Calvinistic predestination is that of *particular baptism*, whereas *universal baptism* is the creature of the Pelagian view of predestination.

It is known that Calvin starts out not only from a finished, but at the same time also from a two-fold predestination, according to which men are created either for eternal life or for eternal death, and are hence by nature either children of light or children of darkness. It is of itself plain that, in this view, baptism must lose all its true significancy. Assurance of election it cannot give, because there are many found among those baptized who in consequence of that unalterable destination which they have by nature, stand sure for unbelief and rejection. The little flock of those actually elected, has no other certainty of grace but that which lies in their own mystical feelings. Just as little can baptism be that which precedes and begins the actual development of freedom. For, is predestination finished from eternity, then freedom is also

finished ; but a finished freedom, the stages of whose development is determined step by step before it, like the track of a planet, is not freedom, but nature. The religious conception of *time*, as that which is given to man, in order that he may make a decision in that which pertains to his highest concerns, falls away ; for with Calvin, there is nothing undecided, and he knows, therefore, in a spiritual sense, no time, but only pure eternity. The different stages of human life, from infancy to old age, have no ethical, but only physical significance, and are not to be regarded as actual epochs, as new sections in the inner self-determination of freedom. The transition from one age of life into another is no moral crisis, but only a natural occurrence. The child which Calvin baptizes, is not a child of freedom, in which still slumbers the two-fold possibility of good and evil, of salvation and damnation, but one already predestinated, one whose salvation or damnation is already unalterably fixed, the person so fated being already pre-formed in the child. The possibility existing in the new-born child, is for Calvin, not the two-fold possibility of good and evil, which the moral conception of the world implies in the child, but the possibility is here as good as the finished actualization. Since infancy is thus a mere semblance, and is nothing else but the hull which encloses unseen either the fruit of life or of death, and since therefore in a moral point of view no infant exists, or which is the same, since the infantile life need pass through no real history, no actual infant baptism can take place in which the divine will as protecting grace, as watchful providence, makes itself the preliminary of the critical future which awaits the infantile life. From this stand-point we cannot at all speak of a critical future. Here no other crisis is acknowledged but the eternal separation of the elect and the damned, and every human individual is in the moment of his natural creation already judged. Since, therefore, nothing *begins* in baptism, it can be of no consequence at what time it is performed, whether it is bestowed upon the regenerate or unregenerate ; for every point in time is in and for itself a matter of indifference, and vanishes in the presence of pure eternity. In order, however, not to profane the holy signs of baptism, in bestowing them upon rejected natures, it appears to be most proper to defer baptism until the marks of eternal life have become distinctly visible in the elect. Thus this doctrine of predestination is, in its deepest root, baptistic, and on account of the particular election this baptism is designated as *partic-*

ular baptism. True, it must be said, that Calvin did not himself run out his doctrine of predestination to the whole of its baptistic consequences. That great Christian and churchly sense, which we in so many respects behold with admiration in him, preserved him on this point from running into the entire practical error which follows from his theory, and by a praiseworthy and Christian inconsequence he retained infant baptism, and defended it against the fanatics. That the sect of the particular baptists grew out of the Church of Calvin was in exact consistency with his doctrine of predestination. This doctrine of predestination, as also the baptistic mode of thinking which is bound up with it, moreover, repeats itself in that physico-philosophical Manicheism which manifests itself also in our day, and which divides the human race into psychical and spiritual natures, the former of which are appointed to actualize the kingdom God and of the idea, while the latter are predestinated to dullness and unbelief, and are by their birth excluded from the kingdom of the idea. We are here reminded of the views of antique paganism, according to which there was an impassable gulf fixed between Barbarians and Greeks, or of the ancient Scandinavian ideas which hold to an eternal separation between the races of the Jettes and the Ases. It is not to be denied, that there is a remarkable difference in spiritual natures, distinguishing races, families and single individuals, impressing upon them an indestructible type, the power of which affects even the relations of men to holiness. Everywhere, when that which is holy enters the sphere of history, an opposition of human nature manifests itself similar to that between the stony and the good ground; everywhere the old saying is verified, that in a large house there must be as well vessels of silver as of earth, as well vessels of honor as of dishonor. Not only has this difference its great significance from "the seed of Abraham," which was to be the seed of the election, but the same is in a manifold way repeated in the history of the world under other forms. If, however, it must be confessed that the redeeming operations of Christianity are limited, by the conditions of nature which it finds existing, this view will still be Manichean and particular baptistic, if instead of regarding the above mentioned opposition and difference in nature as one relative, which in its last ground is taken up in the generality of freedom and grace, it is regarded as absolute. In this it is denied that the impulse or bent towards the kingdom of God, which in its innermost substance does not

differ from freedom, is the general moving power in human nature, which must reach over every particular determination; and on the other hand, it is contended that Christianity in the case of a part of the human race must forever find an absolutely unconquerable barrier, not only to the bestowment of this or that definite measure of spiritual gifts, but also to the implantation of its principle. The divine grace itself is reduced or degraded to a particularity, as human freedom is also regarded as a particular attribute. The same objections that have force against Calvinism also meet us here. Infant baptism is turned into a mere form or pretence, and the Church, in the application of this sacrament, is always exposed to the vanity of bestowing its substance upon those in whom the motion towards the kingdom of God is entirely wanting. Even in the case of the elect, infant baptism will be an empty ceremony without any inward fruits; for the election is once for all complete by the great crisis of nature, by which the separation of the spiritual and psychical natures is effected. No one in this view becomes a believer by means of baptism, but only by means of his natural descent from any "seed of Abraham."

As particular baptism develops itself out of the Manichean view of liberty, the universal baptism does so out of the Pelagian. Pelagianism is the natural enemy of all fatalism, but in its controversy with fatalism it goes so far, that it does not only deny the omnipotence of fate, but also the omnipotence of grace. From this point of view it is quite clear of itself that all are destined to salvation, because freedom is the inalienable attribute of man. That, however, freedom is grounded in *grace* is a conception which can only receive a figurative significance, because it is in truth man who by his own activity is to secure salvation to himself. Since, accordingly, the Manichean predestination must undervalue baptism because freedom is already complete in nature, Pelagianism must undervalue baptism because freedom by nature *can* render itself complete. Surely Pelagianism, which in our day appears in the form of rationalism, must acknowledge that the development of the life of the individual is conditioned by the development of the race, that the freedom of the individual is merged into the necessity of history. And as Pelagianism cannot be pure paganism, but seeks to unite the heathen and Christian view of freedom, it regards it as a gracious arrangement of Providence that the child is born in the midst of the Christian Church, where the light of divine truth shines in its purity, and

where the most effectual means of nurture are afforded to the human spirit. These means of nurture, which according to the language of the Church, he calls means of grace, have only importance or significancy for the work of freedom, for its labor and longing, but are not regarded as means of creative grace, by which freedom itself is established. Grace does not use man as means to its own creative activity, but has only the one-sided significancy, to be itself an outward means for the activity of free man. It is the above considered one-sided conception of cultus,* which here again comes to view. Where, however, predestination starts out, not from grace, but from freedom, where the means of grace are considered only means to advance, to build up, to educate religious and moral activities, there can be no reasonable need of infant baptism. For since the means of grace have only significancy in so far as they can be *used* as means by the individual human personality, it is most proper and consistent to defer baptism to that period when the consciousness of the child is so far ripened, that it can itself determine itself for grace, make its own "vows" and establish its own "covenant." This is the view of *universal baptism*, be it that it remains in the Church, and retains infant baptism as a venerable custom, or when it asks that men shall, in *form*, choose grace for themselves, and thus builds up a sect which does not regard infant baptism as good as any, but declares it invalid. Since, in the latter case, it commonly casts itself upon the doctrine of repentance and conversion, and thus connects faith with inward operations of grace, it differs in this respect from civilized Pelagianism or Rationalism. The more, however, that the inward enthusiastic assurance of the holy, must develop itself in opposition to the reigning Church and the worldly power, the nearer does it again approach to Manicheism. Where Baptismus has become fanatical and has reached the full measure of the extravagances of fanaticism, it will find its strongest nourishment, not in the Pelagian, but in the fatalistic doctrine of predestination, in the representation of the little flock of the elect in the midst of the world predestinated to destruction, in that Chiliastic expectation of the perfection of the divine kingdom, which looks for it to come suddenly from the clouds, for the judgment and destruction of the world, but to the joy and triumph of the saints.

Since now the fatalistic as well as the Pelagian doctrine of predestination are both destructive to infant baptism, the first

* See a previous article.

because man by nature *is* predestinated, the second because man by nature *can* predestinate himself, the sacramental doctrine of predestination regards infant baptism as the beginning of the solution of the antinomy between divine pre-determination and human self-determination, as the starting point of unity of grace and freedom. The general grace of God (*gratia universalis*) is present in baptism, not only as supporting and co-operative, but as pre-determining and pre-forming for salvation. This sacrament is not a declaration of the decree finished once for all; the eternal decree does not hover over baptism in distant eternity, but has taken hold in a living way in the transaction. There has, therefore, been an inward advance in the decree of God itself. In that it has out of eternity penetrated over into time, it has entered upon a new stadium of its life-process, and has attained to a new increase of grace and truth. As in the child Jesus, which was born for our salvation, we possess infinitely more than in the eternal pre-existing Logos (*λογος αναρχος*) so we have also infinitely more in infant baptism than in the eternal decree. For this reason infant baptism is also not merely the prophetic *promise* of the grace of God, but actual gift. Neither is it a bare *calling* to the kingdom of God, the mere offering of grace—for in that case it would still be in substance man that would have to predestinate himself for the grace, using baptism as mere means and vehicle to that end—but rather it is in reality predestinating through this, that Christ places himself, not in an outward and transient, but in an immanent and enduring relation to the individual soul, so that his will enters into a redeeming FUNCTION for the individual human life, in order to make it partake of its own substance and nature. For man does not merely take upon himself the nature of that which he consciously unites and assimilates to himself, but just as well also the nature of that which unites and assimilates him to itself. In baptism the lower nature is assimilated by the higher. It is not a powerless wish, a human blessing, which is expressed in baptism; neither is it only a prophetic command or a prophetic promise; Christ's kingly will is not most immediately a wishing or commanding, but a creative, producing, operative will. In so far the child is, therefore, unconditionally predestinated, and appears in baptism not as subject, but only as "vessel" of grace; it is only the creature material out of which Christ, the heavenly master, will constitute his work. This is the true point from which to view infant baptism—a paradox for the mere understanding—that Christ here uses the human spirit as material, as means

for his unconditional gracious will, just as an opposite paradox forms the real point of view for the Holy Supper, namely that Christ here condescendingly bestows himself, his eternal personality as means, as element, and as nourishment for man. In baptism it is Christ which assimilates the natural man, in order afterwards in the Holy Supper, by means of its reception in faith, to permit himself to be assimilated by man. In saying, however, that in baptism the child appears not as subject but only as vessel, we can nevertheless not stop here; for as vessel, not of the operations of nature but of the operations of grace, the child is the *beginning* of the subject, which *is to* predestinate itself to freedom in Christ. On the one hand, the child is unconditionally predestinated; a higher unchangeable will has imparted to it in baptism a *character indelebilis*, an indissoluble spiritual sign; and that will, which in baptism sanctifies the infantile life in its inmost natural ground, and thus prepares a place for itself there, does not fail to make valid its inalienable rights in that which is revealed and in that which is hidden. This power, however, is not that blind fate which chains man within the limits of a natural necessity, but that living providence which, as the redeeming will of Christ, has raised the fallen nature of man above the law of natural necessity, and transferred him into the source of freedom. Herein lies, however, the fact that predestination is not ended and closed in baptism, but that on the contrary it only *opens* itself, and that, as the unconditional decree, it is at the same time the *conditioned*. If then we say that baptism is not merely a calling, but actual predestination, this actual predestination is not to be apprehended as one finished; for out of the gracious election in baptism comes the gracious call to freedom. And when we say that baptism is not merely promise, but actual gift, we at the same time hold fast the truth, that this gift is not a finished gift, but equally also one which involves the duties belonging to a process of redemption, extending over the whole of life; or to speak with Luther: "All that we live is to be our baptism." The kingly will of Christ includes at the same time his prophetic command, and his promise, and since the new covenant stands in a new relation to creation he does not ignore the law but establish it; for the holiest duties are established through baptism, even though these themselves cannot establish baptism. Thus the election of grace in baptism is unconditional and conditional, positive and hypothetical, at the same time. In this mode of viewing the matter, in which,

moreover, the Lutheran Church has preserved a general harmony with the Catholic Church, which, in the same way, in the doctrine of predestination, occupies not the abstract metaphysical, but the sacramental stand-point, comfortless despair, as well as pagan, worldly security—the necessary consequence of every one-sided predestination dogma—is destroyed. As a whole we have here the only doctrine of predestination which can be appropriated by the militant Church. For on the one hand our election stands sure, and our baptism must stand; but inasmuch as baptism is not only the creative election of grace, but just as much also the calling of grace to freedom, the development of the fruit of baptism is conditioned by spiritual watching and working, in the use of the word and of prayer, and through the communion-life of the Church and the Holy Supper. Since the life of faith is not only a progressive victory over the world, but is itself also partially overcome of the world, the sacrament of the election of grace is at the same time also made the true sacrament of *repentance*. “For to repent aright is nothing else than a return to our baptism from which we have fallen. When we become unfaithful, the Lord still remains faithful, and with outstretched arms he will receive every one who returns to him.”* The sacramental predestination unites thus both the demands made upon the believer, to be joyful and of good cheer not doubting his salvation, and also to work out his soul’s salvation with fear and trembling.

We cannot here overlook the question in what relation the doctrine of infant baptism stands to the dogma of the *Apokatastasis*, or the dogma of the restoration of all moral beings to a blessed life in God. It lies in what has already been said that every apprehension of restoration which rests upon the conception of a finished predestination must be rejected. The abstract restoration does not differ from the Calvinistic predestination, only that it transposes the Calvinistic dualism into the form of unity. The finished predestination dogma, however, is common to both. When a universal restoration appears as a consequence of a natural necessity, freedom is just as much destroyed as where rejection is a natural necessity; here the true development of freedom, here *time* and what is wrought and sought in time, has lost its significance, and in this way baptism also has become only a sign of that which must necessarily appear even without baptism. It is the uni-

* Luther, in his treatise concerning “the Babylonian captivity.”

versal baptism which here again comes to view but under the form of fatalism. It was in this fatalistic form that restoration appeared among a part of the old ana-baptists in the time of the Reformation, which is upon good ground rejected in the 17th article of the Augsburg Confession. As now that restoration which starts with the conception of a predestination finished from eternity must be rejected, so also must that form of restoration be rejected which rests upon a magical representation of baptism, namely upon the conception of a predestination concluded in baptism, through which the unconditional in the decree is not conditioned, and thus time, and the idea of a life of probation, is virtually ignored. But whether infant baptism, which manifestly aims at a general restoration is irreconcilable with every form of restoration, also with that which is supposed to be effected not by means of a natural process but by means of a moral crisis in the human will: whether it is irreconcilable with the idea that the will of Christ must stand and finally conquer if not with compulsory still by irresistible necessity; whether the doctrine of infant baptism carried out, which is one with the calling of all nations, that is, the whole human race, *demand*s the doctrine of a general, not a fatalistic and immediate, but a free dialectic restoration as its eschatological counterpart—this question of course presents itself as worthy of our consideration. For surely the supposition that Christ may eternally lose any of those whom the Father has placed in his hands—a loss which can only base itself upon an eternally unconquerable opposition of human freedom—seems to lead us from fatalism over into the opposite extreme. For now we stand in danger of losing the unconditional of the divine decree in its conditions, and of making a mere hypothetical matter out of salvation, and through it of the actualization of the divine will. As, however, baptism thus ceases to be actual, positive predestination, it becomes only an abstract calling, or a moral covenant, by which we are again cast back upon the Pelagian universal baptism. A mere hypothetical predestination the Church also rejects; but the Church, in rejecting the notion of a mere positive predestination, still holds fast to the stand-point of development, of the militant Church, without finishing its doctrine of predestination, and giving to it its final solution. It is as if the Church had had a feeling of the fact, that this doctrine, from the stand-point of struggling freedom, not only could not be finally resolved, but also that it *must* not be. Even though,

it appears, that a solution can only be found in a restoration developed dialectically, it is certain, on the other hand, that speculation has too often been over hasty in solving this problem ; and in general, it must be acknowledged, that the supposition of a general restoration as proceeding from the omnipotence of divine love extending over the human will, and the counter-supposition of a partial rejection, as proceeding from the free opposition of the created will, has developed itself rather into a great antinomy for the dogmatic sense, than into a knowledge giving a finished result. As we, in this connection, do not enter any further into an examination of the metaphysical side of the matter, but stand fast on the sacramental standpoint, we must here confine ourselves to the following determinations or definitions. As the general election of grace in baptism is at the same time positive and hypothetical, so first, every restoration which is set forth in a naked thesis must be rejected, because it ignores the significancy of time, which is in infant baptism established and retained,—because also it ignores the significancy of the strugglings of the spirit for freedom, towards which baptism plainly points. If salvation has not its hypothetical, the conception of the militant Church loses all its earnestness. An actual conquest is only possible where there is something actually to risk and to lose ; and the hope of salvation would be only weak and spiritless, were it not for the ominous possibility of rejection. Just as truly also must we reject a mere hypothetical restoration, because it ignores the divine thesis which in infant baptism embraces the whole race. If this divine thesis is made feeble and wavering, then infant baptism will have no firm foundation, then we must seek another foundation for our faith and our hope. The same thing is repeated in a satisfactory manner in the doctrine of eternal damnation. A purely positive damnation of some individuals is to be rejected, because it annuls for the individual the reality of baptism, and leads to particular baptism ; positively the devil alone can be damned, who, in whatever way we apprehend him, must in this respect be considered as finished, but no human child which in baptism begins its life of freedom and has a future before it can be so regarded. Do we now consider damnation as hypothetical, then the question arises, whether salvation is also in the same sense a hypothesis. This must be denied, because in that case we would fall back upon the Pelagian-baptistic conception. Notwithstanding this damnation must be considered as a necessary hypothesis, be-

cause otherwise we would fall back into the magical conception, and consider baptismal grace as the finished predestination. It is now the problem to unite these definitions in one conception, to join together the incontrovertible *thesis of the gracious election*, with the equally incontrovertible *hypothesis of damnation*; for in the believing consciousness, which works at its salvation under the advantage which is secured to it by baptism which went before, they are practically united, even as also their separation—thesis without hypothesis, hypothesis without thesis—leads either to a magical or baptistic conception, be it that the latter comes forward under the form of universalism, or under the form of particular baptism.

Have we now in this way reached a definite knowledge of baptism as the sacrament of predestination, we can now proceed to the right conception of baptism as the sacrament of regeneration. This point is, of course, already involved in the preceding exhibition, it must, however, as such be brought out in its proper prominence.

IV. THE NEW BIRTH.

If baptism is not only calling, but also election, then it is also, in its essence, the new birth. For essentially born again is every one in whom the new creation is grounded, who is under the power of the endless beginning of eternal life, and who has passed over from a child of this world into a child of God. A closer definition and limitation of this conception is furnished us in the doctrine of JUSTIFICATION THROUGH CHRIST. A child of God is one to whom is reckoned and appropriated the righteousness of Christ. Although according to his actuality he is sinful, yet essentially he possesses that righteousness which God accepts, because Christ, i. e., the personal divine-human righteousness itself, which is the principle of all human righteousness and holiness, has appropriated him. God, then, does not look upon the individual according to his earthly and sinful nature, but regards him in Christ, who has overcome the world and sin, and has made himself the principle of all holiness and victory over the world, for the individual man. As we have now, on the one hand, developed the doctrine of baptismal grace as the rightly apprehended doctrine of predestination, we must also on the other hand exhibit it as the rightly apprehended doctrine of justification, a point of view which the Church also makes prominent, in that it has always associated the doctrine of baptism with the doctrine of justification.

If now we inquire more narrowly into the connection between baptism and justification, that symbolical view, which has attained its purest expression in the Reformed Church, answers: that the justifying act of Christ is in baptism merely imaged forth in a sensible manner. Baptism is thus set forth as the real witness of God's gracious will, as the sensible pledge, that God for Christ's sake, receives the child into grace. It is the visible sign of grace in Christendom, as the rainbow was in the old world, or as circumcision was to the children of Israel. It thus points out the forgiveness of sins, but is not this forgiveness itself. We do not deny that the apprehension of this sacrament as a pledge contains an essential part of the truth, only we cannot find in this the whole truth. In so far as baptism is not only regarded as an act of the transient historical, but as the present will of Christ: in so far as it is acknowledged that the kingly will of Christ is *with* the visible transaction: so far is the mere symbolical view abandoned and a higher view introduced. For now there is a peculiar relation acknowledged to exist between the visible transaction and the present will of Christ, a relation which is not to be regarded as accidental but as essential. But are we to consider it as essential, this can only mean that the present will of Christ must be regarded as the *principle* of the visible transaction. It is therefore not enough to say that Christ's will is *with* the visible transaction, but we must say it is *in* the transaction,—that it is invisibly active *under* the visible transaction. Thus however, the conception of this sacrament is not exhausted by the idea of a pledge. The pledge must at the same time be regarded as a true gift; for beneath the pledge of the forgiveness of sin is found the sin-forgiving will itself. In the sign of the forgiveness of sin is comprehended the objective forgiveness of sin itself. We must hence say that the child through baptism is placed in a living relation to the justifying will of Christ. But how can we conceive of the justifying *will* of Christ placing itself in a living relation to the sinful individual, without there is introduced at the same time a relation between Christ's *essence* and sinful man, between the glorified *life* and the unnatural life, between the righteous *nature* and the unrighteous human nature? If we represent the justifying transaction of Christ as a mere expression of will, or as a judicial declaration, then his righteousness is still something out of the individual, and the atonement has not truly come in power. The justifying transaction of

Christ must at the same time also be regarded as a true impartation. To put on Christ in baptism, does, therefore, not merely mean the attainment of a righteousness outwardly reckoned to us, a naked *justitia imputativa*, but it means to become partaker of the righteousness of Christ, as the substantial, fructifying principle of a new life in his Church. Only in this way, and in this sense, does baptism contain the true new birth, although we in no way teach by this that it effects a transubstantiation of the human nature, a one-sidedness from which the Catholic Church cannot be pronounced free. For in teaching that the righteousness of Christ is not only reckoned to the individual, but also appropriated to him, the Catholic Church apprehends the matter thus: she regards it as an immediate infusion of the righteousness of Christ (*justitia infusa*) through which the nature of the individual is changed from a sinful into a pure and holy nature, so that original sin is not only broken in upon, but destroyed. In this way a mechanical relation takes the place of an organic one, and instead of establishing an essential communion with Christ, baptism is thought to effect a transubstantiation of the nature of the child. The fault of this magical conception consists in this, that it applies the categories of the sensible actuality where it ought to apply the categories of the essence. It constitutes the direct opposite to the symbolical view, which can only think of abstract essence out of which no actuality can be born. If therefore we say, that in baptism a real immanence of the nature of Christ and of human nature, a mysterious oneness of his holy essence and the sinful essence of man, is brought about, we also on the other hand, hold fast to the idea, that this is not to be regarded as an immanence finished and immediate, but one endlessly *beginning*. In that Christ, as the unseen *Head*, stands in an inward indissoluble relation to the Church, as his mystical body: i. e., that total organization of souls which has its point of personal unity in him, receives the power of life from him through which it renews and animates itself, and the members of which are all his organs—he, by means of baptism, causes this universal organic relation to become effectual in each single new point of life which he appropriates to himself and his kingdom. As he continues his life through the Church as a whole, so he also continues it through this particular mode of individual life, and therefore makes himself the true beginning of life to it. The human nature is thus not changed, but the child, by means of baptism, is constituted

Christ's *organ*. The righteousness of Christ is not infused into the infant's life immediately, but is, in its fruitful fulness, turned over upon the infantile life of the child. The infantile life is made the unconscious *bearer* of the objective righteousness of Christ, the heavenly ideal of human nature, to use an expression of churchly antiquity, becomes a Christophoros, a Christ-bearer.* What is related in the well-known legend of Christophoros, who went out to seek for himself the Lord, and without being aware of it was counted worthy of the heavenly grace of carrying the Child-christ, and thus the Lord and Saviour of the whole world, upon his shoulders through the waters of a stream, has not only transpired in the world of dreams and of fancy, but is an actual event in the Church. This also has not only taken place in the case of the northern barbarians in the migration of nations; who went out to seek "the strong one" whom they would serve, and who in the mission-baptism of the middle ages received Christ without knowing what they were doing, and carried him through subsequent history without knowing him; but it happens yet at this day in the case of children which are taken into the bosom of the Church where they are born. For through baptism every child becomes a Christophoros without itself knowing it. The Child-christ has associated itself with the child of nature unknown to it, and desires to be borne through the world by it, and on the way grows up to be a man, and at last reveals its glory.

Since the child, by means of baptism, is placed in an organic relation to Christ, the germ of *faith* is already given herewith. Faith unfolds itself out of the objective justification, out of the gift the receptivity for still farther gifts is developed. We do not here speak of the general indefinite receptivity, which always in human nature precedes baptism, and in this sense must go before it, but of the special receptivity, which in its own activity is able to lay hold of Christ, after it is itself laid hold of by him. "Justification by faith," this fundamental doctrine of the Evangelical Church, has not—as it is often misunderstood to do—the signification, that justification is the product of faith, but that faith is the receptive organ through which justification is subjectively appropriated. All Pelagianism, all false Mysticism, all Rationalism and Baptismus in regard to this article of faith arises from this, that it has been severed from its living connection with

* In the letters of Ignatius Christians are called *Χριστοφοροι*, *Σωτηρες*.

the sacrament of baptism. Justifying baptismal grace is not a child of faith, but the reverse, it is the mother of faith. As, on the one hand, it is to be regarded as an implantation into Christ; it is, on the other hand, to be looked upon as *impartation of the Holy Ghost*. For the Holy Ghost is the principle of the development, the principle of all susceptibility for Christ; it is his work to mediate the proper use and the right application of the gifts of Christ. But Christ only gives the Spirit, as that Spirit which works and reigns in the Church. That the child receives in baptism the Holy Ghost, is therefore, as viewed from another side, the same as its incorporation into the Church, where the Spirit leads souls to Christ, and establishes them in their baptism.

What we have above intimated in regard to the sacramental relation to the Lord, here repeats itself in relation to the Church and to the Spirit. To be incorporated into the Church of Christ, is not merely to enter into a moral or historical relation to him, but to be placed in an inward essential relation to the mystical body of Christ, the unseen esoteric organization of holy spirits, whose lives are hid with Christ in God. As sure as the child, through baptism is essentially united to Christ, so sure is it also, by this means placed in a solidary connection with the whole organism, in which the Spirit develops the fulness of Christ, and unfolds the whole wealth of his redeeming and sanctifying powers. That the child receives the Holy Ghost means, therefore, most immediately, that it is placed under the influence of the Spirit, under the workings of the kingdom of God. As Christ in baptism imparts himself wholly and undivided to every one, so also he gives to every one the whole Spirit. That Spirit who discharges his functions in the Church, does not live merely in a general way as a whole, like the pantheistic world-spirit, which stands related equally to all persons, but the Spirit of the Church is, on this very account the Holy Spirit, because he is the Spirit which *cultivates the person*, because, as such, he stands related to the individual singly, and because he everywhere officiates in his centrality—*ubique totus*. The general immanence of the Spirit in the Church becomes, by means of baptism, an immanence in the single individual. For, where Christ is, there the Holy Spirit must be also; in every soul in which he, by means of baptism, prepares for himself a new habitation, there is also prepared for the Holy Spirit a new opening, or outlet. In heathenism, where the consciousness of the indi-

vidual has for its principle of evolution merely the national spirit or the general human spirit, the Holy Spirit reveals himself in transient fulgurations and sporadic workings upon single select individuals. But this is the grace of baptism that in it the Spirit of the Church enters into a definite organic function to the single individual, places himself in an immanent relation to him as a reviver of the true sense for Christ, and as guide into all truth. As, in reference to the whole, he officiates for the Church, so he now begins to exercise for ever his function in reference to this individual, and accompanies him as special providence through life. The experience that many baptized ones are not true believers, that as well their life as their mode of thinking bears rather the impress of the world than the impress of the Holy Spirit, proves nothing against the reality of baptismal grace, or against the essential and immanent relation of the Holy Spirit to their souls. With the same propriety we might deny the essential immanence of the Spirit in the entire Church, because there are seasons, when a general decline manifests itself, when unbelief seems to triumph over the ruins of the Church. And yet we know that the Spirit is never absent from the Church. That a falling away can take place, only shows that the relation of the Spirit to the Church is not only an elevated relation in nature, but just as truly also an ethical relation. But that the Church after such falling away should be able again to reform itself; that, after every error both in life and in doctrine, she should be able to gain back her original fundamental consciousness; that such seasons of carelessness and lukewarmness of spirit are ever banished by powerful resuscitations—shows, that the Spirit, which leads to Christ is only repulsed or driven back, but has not died out. The same is true of the relation of the Spirit to single individuals. Does even a single individual fall away from his baptism, he still retains the inward possibility of faith, the possibility of being united again in fellowship with Christ. Just because he is born again through baptism, is he to renew himself again according to the inward man; and that Spirit which began his work with him in baptism, will not forsake his own work. The Spirit does not exercise his functions in the Church only as the Spirit of love and of peace, as the comforting Paraclete; it must be just as well regarded as a fruit of baptismal grace, that he is active as the Spirit of awakening and reproof, as judging Spirit, who exercises his infallible scrutiny not only upon the great whole

of the Church, but also on each individual heart, convincing the world of error and sin, (John 16: 8.) of unbelief and lukewarmness of heart. The law is not abrogated through the Gospel, nor is righteousness abrogated through love, even though, of course, it must be confessed that the scrutinizing revelation of the Spirit, or the revelation of righteousness, are only means for the revelation of redeeming love. But in the case of every baptized one, the Church can reckon on another, and a more fundamental receptivity, as well for the law as for the Gospel, than is found in the case of those who are yet outside of the Church. She can reckon so, not only from the general ground that all baptized ones have experienced more or less the cultivating co-operation of the Church, but on the special ground that the *Lord himself* has already acted in their case. The historical activity of the Church finds its point of commencement in that central relation, which already exists between such souls and the Lord. And so sure as they have not only part in Christ as the universal Logos of humanity (*λογος σαρκος*)—in which sense all men have part in him—but are placed in a special relation to him, through this, that the mystery of his incarnation and resurrection are appropriated to them: so sure also has the general relation that exists between all human souls and the Spirit of God, in this case been fixed, from the beginning, as a particular and specific relation. As these individuals have, in baptism, received a particular divine gift, so also the Spirit, if I may so express myself, has a particular duty in reference to this individual, in that he must not only work and move, through outward applications, but also inwardly in the depths of the soul, that the mystery of the atonement, which is begun in them, may also become complete in them, that it may be known and acknowledged by them.

The conception of the real immanence of the divine grace in the child founded through baptism gains new and fruitful light, when it is viewed from the christological stand-point. There is an inward parallelism between the mystery of regeneration and of the incarnation, between the Christian child, and the Child-christ. As in the consideration of the Child-christ all depends upon holding fast to such an unity of the divine and human nature, that neither of these two sides shall fall short or be left out of view, so also the same is true in regard to the union of grace and of nature, which is established through baptism. And as the Child-christ originally is, what the sinborn child of the world becomes by copy through the

redeeming grace of baptism, the extremes in the doctrine of baptism may be traced back to the Christological extremes. The symbolizing view, which teaches that the child is only figuratively born again in baptism, because the new birth comes only with self-conscious faith, and thus makes not only the personal appropriation of the righteousness of Christ, but the justifying act of Christ itself, dependent upon faith, thus carrying in itself the germ of Pelagianism—we may designate as the EBIONITIC view of baptism. It points back to that view of the Child-christ, which regards his supernatural conception as a myth, and will only see the divine-human in the religious self-consciousness of Christ, in his doctrine and acts. If in this way the divine-human is placed merely in the self-conscious life of Christ, then his unconscious infancy has no absolute value in itself. If, on the contrary, it is acknowledged, that not only the self-consciousness of Christ, but just as much also his divine-human nature is the germ of all Christian doctrine, then an unconditional value must also be attributed to his unconscious infancy. All that is predicated of the exalted Redeemer must be predicated of the babe in the manger. The Christmas joy of the Church, is not merely a joy over the acts of Christ as a man, but a joy also over the child as such, over the unity of the divine and human, which is not only in thought, but in reality, born into the world. It is not merely a joy over the future of the child, over that which it is to become, but over what it already is, which is expressed in Luther's Christmas hymn :

It clothes itself, the highest good,
In our poor human flesh and blood.

In a similar way, we say, is the mystery of the atonement established in the Adamic child in a real way by means of baptism ; it is a child of God although it is not conscious of being such. As we cannot attribute to the new-born Christ an actual divine consciousness and self-consciousness, as he is not actually *knowing*, although he bears with him the fruitful germ of all the treasures of knowledge, the undivided fulness of knowledge, so also we cannot call the newly baptized child an actual *believer*, and yet we say in the strictest sense of the word that it has the *substance* of faith and the *Spirit* of faith. It has the substance of faith ; for Christ, the substance and the germ of faith, is substantially appropriated to it. It has the Spirit of faith ; for as Christ is the objective, so the Holy Spirit is the subjective developing principle of its growing personality.

Here the magical or *docetic* conception of baptism, which changes the human nature of the child into a sham, is at once excluded, because it predicates of the child either objectively a transubstantiation, or attributes to it subjectively a faith, a consciousness which is psychologically impossible. This conception of regeneration in baptism points back to that conception of the Child-christ, which, in order to exalt the divine nature, ascribes to him an empirical use of the divine-human attributes, which could only unfold themselves in the manhood of Christ, and in his exaltation. To attribute to the child in baptism an actual faith, to assume that it does itself secretly make a covenant with God, is parallel with the assumption, that the new-born Child-christ in a secret way, made use of divine-human knowledge, through which his childhood is made an untruth. If young children can actually believe in baptism, then they must also very soon be admitted to the Holy Supper; and yet the idea of an infant communion has never met with a general acknowledgment in the Church, and is rejected by the Evangelical Church.

The question whether infants can believe has, moreover, been variously answered in the Catholic and Evangelical Dogmatic. The Catholic Dogmatic has here, where the question most immediately concerns the subjective side of baptism, escaped from Docetism, of which objectively, in reference to the dogma of original sin, it has made itself guilty. It answers the question, according to Thomas Aquinas, thus: that infants have themselves no faith, but that the Church believes in their stead. In a spiritual respect, accordingly, infants are still in an embryonic condition, they are only in the Church like the child in the womb; since they have not yet separated themselves from the mother, they live not yet their own life, but it is the spiritual life of the mother, which immediately penetrates or infuses itself continuously into their souls. Assuredly this mode of conception has its relative truth. Not merely in the natural, but also in the spiritual, an immediate organic relation between the child and the mother is seen to exist. Our psychical relation to the public mind or national feeling, the historical spirit of the age, to which we belong by our natural birth, is in our early childhood so immediately organic, that it may very truly be represented as an unconscious life in an ideal womb, from which we draw secret sustenance, which manifestly exerts a determining influence upon our whole spiritual habit, even after we have attained to a free indepen-

dent life. Luther, in the first period of his theological career, approved of this answer to the question, but afterwards rejected it, inasmuch as he taught his disciples that the child itself did, in a certain sense, believe, because there existed in the spirit of the child, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, certain mystical movings which are to be regarded as faith. Do we ask, what induced Luther to change his views? it was no doubt effected by what is called the Protestant principle of subjectivity, which is not satisfied with the idea, that individuals born in the Church, in regard to the personal development of their faith, should only be placed in an inward relation to the Church, but asks that each individual soul shall itself also be placed in a direct relation to God the Holy Ghost. It was, therefore, a farther carrying out of his principal opposition to Catholicism, whose motherly Church does only too often place itself not only in the place of the children, but also in the place of the Holy Spirit; and, viewed from this point, the change in the Lutheran view must be regarded as an advance. But if, in the doctrine of the mystical operations of the Spirit, we do not sufficiently distinguish between the *soul* of the child and the *consciousness* of the child, a distinction which is just here of great importance, we frequently merge over into the Docetic. Without entering here into the uncertain investigation of that which may in a secret way transpire in the infantile, unconscious psyche, we take our stand dogmatically, on the sure ground, that the child in baptism receives the substance and the spirit of faith. We hold not, then, to a "pouring into" of the Spirit and of faith, but to an organic FUNCTION, through which the Spirit makes himself the spirit of the soul. We do not hold to an immediate existing immanence, but to the living beginning of an immanent relation.

Is the substance of faith and the spirit of faith bestowed in baptism, then the proposition is also valid, that *baptism is necessary to salvation*. This proposition, however, like every other one, has its truth only in its limitations. Is it maintained outside of this, then we have only the return of a new form of the magical, since in that case the invisible divine transaction is placed in a mechanical dependence upon the visible human transaction. But experience develops here a casuistry, before which the magical conception must vanish and be lost. The sensible transaction is, like every thing else, which comes under the conditions of sense, subject to contingencies. If now through

oversight of the Church a baptism has been neglected without the omission being discovered and the deficiency attended to, is then the salvation of the individual lost, although his inward life, by means of the communion-life of the Church has been developed? And is faith, which has developed itself, amid the manifold co-operations of the Church, in the individual, a mere semblance? Or must we not much rather acknowledge that such an one has received the baptism of the Spirit without the baptism of water? Or, to take a definite historical example, which appears already in the ancient Church:* An individual, who had not received proper baptism, did, upon the supposition that he was baptized, partake of the Lord's Supper. Must we now regard this communion as invalid, because baptism had not taken place? Or shall the Church, when the omission is discovered, bestow baptism after that it has given the communion; shall the Church give the first sacrament after the second? If the Church wishes not to make itself guilty of this disorder—through which she would annul her second sacrament—then she publishes that salvation can also be bestowed without the means of baptism. A similar example, of a larger type, can also be taken from later Church history: In a certain period of the French revolution, the Church in that country appeared to be destroyed, since even baptism was put away. When the Church was afterwards restored and revived again, those who had been born in the republic during the reign of the religion of reason, had necessarily to be baptized. According to the common course of things, however, it must be assumed that many were not baptized who at a later period nevertheless took part in the Lord's Supper, and in other parts of the Christian cultus. Were these now not incorporated into the Christian Church, and brought into a substantial relation to the founder of the Church? These, and similar instances of casuistry, show adequately that the above proposition concerning the necessity of baptism cannot be held as an abstract proposition. It must be acknowledged that it is not in accordance with good order to confer baptism upon any one who has already partaken of the Lord's Supper. It must farther be confessed that the Lord *can* give that which constitutes the proper substance of baptism, without any definite sensible form. The above proposition has also been limited by the rule, ever acknowledged by the Church, that not the innocent deficiency of the sacrament, but only the undervaluing of

* Neander's Church History, vol. 1, Section 2, p. 881.

it, is damning. But when we say that the absolute necessity of baptism is not an abstract necessity, this proposition is not brought in from without, but we exhibit by it only the inward consequence of what has been thus far developed. The sacramental revelation is a free revelation of will, not a necessary process of nature. Christ's royal will *gives itself* a presence in and under the sensible transaction. The sensible transaction, as such, is only the creaturely element, which grace employs as *means* by which to impart itself. Herein lies the reason why the divine will cannot be bound in the outward forms which it arranges for itself; but as it comprehended itself freely in these, so must it also reach *forth beyond* them. If Christ were confined or enslaved in the sacrament, then would the sacrament cease to be *means* of grace, and the sacramental presence would be merely the expression of an immediate natural necessity, as pantheistic sects have regarded their nature—Christ as existing in the whole visible universe. The sacrament is *means* of grace only as the expression of a divine WILL-immanence. The operativeness of the sacrament has, therefore, its inward measure and its inward limits in the divine will, but the divine will is not exhausted and not limited through the sacrament. The divine will has not exhausted its potentialities in any one of its outward actualizing forms; but, as according to its substance it *must* manifest itself, and can only will its kingdom, it must, by virtue of its inward infinity, be inexhaustible in possibilities, in new modes, and new means by which to secure entrance and advancement to its kingdom in the world. Inasmuch as not only single points of actuality, but the actuality entire, can be penetrated by the divine will, it must be said, that God can change every thing into a sacrament, that he can make means of grace out of every thing. It is this truth, that is laid hold of in an one-sided way in speculative mysticism, which has, in various forms, repeated itself in the speculations of our times, when it is taught that all actuality can be sacramental. Men will, hence, hear nothing of confining the human spirit to a few definite forms of the sacramental presence. The divine centre is every where, and can therefore every where come to a presence; every revival may become a baptism, every pure and holy employment can become a Lord's Supper. In so far as reference is had, in this, exclusively to the divine possibility, it has its truth. But mysticism overlooks the fact that the divine will is not a formless, but an *economic* will, a will that is only satisfied in a re-

vealing-economy. It is an all-ordering will, which seeks to imprint its fundamental type in the historic total-organization of redemption. The idea of *dispensing* with the historic instituted means of grace can therefore only have validity in a sense which presupposes the necessity of these means of grace. The idea of the possibility of an infinite number of other means of grace, can only have validity dialectically, within the *actuality* of the regulated revelation-economy. Within these bounds, however, and with these presuppositions, the idea has relative truth. For, then it verifies merely the priority of the unseen fountain, before the actual, the *over-reaching* power of the unseen principle, over each of its visible forms. In all historical organizations the proposition is valid: that it belongs to the established order of things, that something will also come in, which stands outside of the established order.* This proposition contains no apology for the principle of formlessness and empty arbitrariness, it only points out the reality of the all-organizing, truly royal principle, which has no need to exclude from its state that which is arbitrary and accidental, because it has possibilities enough, to conserve these, and lead them back to its own eternal fundamental forms. Free irregularity does not destroy the positive rule, but establishes it. In this sense we say, then, that baptism is both necessary and dispensable to salvation. If we place ourselves on the stand-point of the Church, the *established organization*, we must say that baptism is absolutely necessary: for the Church is bound to the historical institutions of the Lord; she must receive the divine gift as it is given; she is directed to seek the Lord there where he himself will suffer himself to be found. Do we, on the other hand, consider the question from the stand-point of the *organizing will*, under the infinite view of Christ and the Holy Spirit, we must say, that the sensible transaction is relatively dispensable, because that which makes baptism, baptism, can also be given without the sensible element. Should now any one take occasion from this to undervalue baptism by water, this would be only a self-deception. For it is one thing for a person willfully to place himself into an irregular relation to the institutions of the Church, and another to be placed in such irregular relation through the general commotions and crisis, which occur no less in history than in natural life, and temporarily derange the quiet process of evolution in the spiritual organizations. While now mysticism, and with it all one-

* *Ordinatissimum est interdum fieri aliquid minus ordinate.*

sided idealism, looks exclusively on the infinite possibilities of the idea, the crass orthodox realism holds alone to the positive instituted churchly organizations, without looking up to the infinite *fountain* of organization. In this view divine grace is so to say, crystalized in the baptismal water, and we come to the fearful consequence, that every one who does not receive the baptism of the Church is irrecoverably lost. Inasmuch as, according to this view, unbaptized infants cannot be saved, it becomes absolutely necessary in all cases of danger to resort to *Nothtaufe*-baptism in a hurried, and somewhat irregular way, as by Lay-persons, when danger of death is apprehended. The doctrine of the absolute necessity of the *Nothtaufe*, is the direct opposite of that of the free spiritual baptism, which regards all definite outward form as redundant. In so far as these opposites exclude one another, so far are they both equally false. The conception of *Nothtaufe*, has only validity in so far as it at the same time acknowledges the possibility of the free spiritual baptism. Only then does the demand for *Nothtaufe* not arise out of a fatalistic conception of salvation, but out of a conscientious faith, which feels itself bound to the institution and to the command of Christ. But the idea of the mystical spiritual baptism has only validity so far as it is regarded as meeting the deficiency of churchly baptism, as an irregularity in the historical revelation-economy, which can itself be regarded as a kind of *Nothtaufe*, and which therefore points to the baptism of the Church as to its canonical model.

Do we place ourselves on the normal stand-point of infant baptism, and take up our proposition that the child in baptism has received the principle of faith, as well objectively as subjectively, then real faith must be gradually developed from this point. The Church must now be active in her entire maternal and pedagogical character. The problem of Christian nurture appears here in its full significance. The fundamental mission of the Church here, can be none other than to unfold in the child that central grace which is imparted to it in baptism, namely, faith. If all nurture must have in view the development of its abilities, of its peculiar natural gifts, this special mission is taken up into one higher and more general; namely, to evolve the child's abilities of faith, its organ for the kingdom of God, and thus to develop that which is to be the centre-point of all single powers. If the educator is often in uncertainty as to whether the child is possessed of a particular talent, he can always safely assume the talent for the king-

dom of God, not as an indefinite, but as a living possibility. Just here it is seen in a practical way, how much the deeper churchly fundamental consciousness is in our day repulsed. For that infant baptism is not now the starting point and principle of Christian nurture, as it was in the blooming days of the Church, is a matter of fact. Since the more particular development of this asserted principle would lead us into a sphere of ethical discussion which is not here in place, we confine ourselves merely to bringing out the principle religious point. Inasmuch as it is said, that the evolution of the child's faith, must be the evolution of the *justifying faith*, we must here correct a one-sidedness widely spread in the Protestant Church. Not only the error which places faith as the ground of justification, instead of regarding faith as the subjective appropriation of the objective justification, finds its correction in the dogma of infant baptism; but also the one-sided depreciating language which is not seldom heard inside of the Protestant Church in reference to *historical faith*. We have not here more immediately reference to the historical contents of faith, but to the form of appropriating these contents. The Evangelical Church found it necessary in its controversy with Catholicism to contend against the prevailing *fides historica*, the spiritless tradition in which Catholicism was petrified. It considered justifying faith valid as spiritual faith, which unfolds itself amid the conflicts of conscience, through the inward depths of self-consciousness. The complete, the highest conception of faith is here defined; faith is the comforting assurance, the heart-felt apprehension of the atonement, that spiritual hungering and thirsting after righteousness, which finds its satisfaction alone in Christ. Although we hold fast always to the fact that herein the plenary point of faith is designated, although we acknowledge it as proper and well-grounded that our Church will know nothing of the dead historical faith of Catholicism, yet we cannot in every sense discard historical faith. If we acknowledge no other form of faith as justifying, except that which has the complete subjective inwardness, the necessary consequence will be a religious overstraining, the faith of the child must be condemned and cast away, and we fall back again into the baptistic confusion. The first real form in which faith can appear in the infant, can only be historical faith. That which the consciousness is to attain to itself in an inward way, it must first possess in an outward way; freedom must unfold itself out of authority, self-consciousness

must unfold itself out of tradition. Faith also must, to use a well known expression, have its *phenomenology*; but at every stage of its development it must be true faith. Only when the historical faith will not advance to a free inwardness, as in the case in Catholicism, but excludes itself against all advancement, it becomes false and a hindrance to the healthy religious life. In itself, however, historical faith is a necessary moment in all sound development, just as much as infancy, be it in individuals or in nations, is necessary in actual human life, and is not in a Manichean fashion to be condemned, because it is not full, ripe, manly age. The imperfect is not to be rejected because it is "not yet" the perfect. The imperfect is evil only when it remains at a stand in its imperfection. For this reason the presence of justifying faith must not only be recognized where it is completely unfolded, but every stage of development must be regarded as a stage in the development of justifying faith. If the disregard of historical faith not unfrequently springs from a deep, though one-sided Protestant religiousness, it has in our day especially been advanced through Rationalism, from the effects of which we are still suffering. Is religious development only to begin at the same time with reflection, because only then a sort of free appropriation can begin, then a necessary stadium of the life of faith is overleaped, and an uncertain fluctuation in religious representations is the inevitable consequence. Do we consider the way, which revelation in all its economy takes, we see that the evangelical *history* of the outpouring of the Spirit takes the precedence; in the life of single individuals the *fact* of baptism precedes the spiritual consciousness of it; and so also, in the development of the consciousness, the tradition and the historical mode of appropriation precede the reflection and the deeper feeling. In this we do not intend to say, that the churchly creed must be presented to the young, in a mechanical way, as a lifeless history; for the idea of development presupposes, that faith in every stage, must be living; historical faith must contain spiritual faith as in a fruitful germ. But that this fruitful stadium has been wholly overlooked and left behind by the present generation, is seen in the great defect in sound catechetical instruction, which is so general in our day—especially among the more cultivated, whose consciousness moves only too much in indefinite feelings, in accidental reflections, in a mixture of philosophical and religious atomistic thoughts. But that this link has been passed over has resulted from this, that

the development of faith has not been organically connected with baptism, that baptism has not been regarded as the true and proper beginning of faith. That, moreover, this over-leaping of the historical faith has by no means its ground in the substance of Protestantism, is shown by Luther's own example. For he, who possessed the inwardness of faith in a measure which reminds us of a Paul, shows himself, that he, although he had become an old Doctor, still felt the daily necessity to keep a Catechism before him. The personality of the great Reformer stands here as a type of the true development of the Church. The historical faith has, namely, not only validity upon the lowest stage of development, but must also be carried over into the higher. As long as the Church has not yet reached completeness, she must be conscious of the fact, that the measure of her subjective appropriation of Christ, in every given period, is only relative. Although the Church is the wise mother, the teacher expert in Scripture, rich in spiritual experience, rich in faith and knowledge, she does still not cease, in her relation to the word and to the ordinances of the Lord, to regard herself as a catechumen, which must hold fast to that which she has received. She never forgets that she is richer in her objectivity than in her subjectivity, and that she must ever anew fall back upon the objective beginning of Christianity.

V. THE CONFESSION OF FAITH AND CONFIRMATION.

The general confession of faith of the Church is contained in the ancient Apostolical Symbol, which is held in common by all Christian confessions. In this confession the Church attests the word of God in baptism, acknowledges God as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The word and institution of the Lord cannot be without the witnessing Church, and for this reason this testimony, which the child itself is in future to give, must at each baptism, at least in a silent way, be presupposed, and where the Church is properly organized, must also be brought out in form. According to the old custom this confession is made in the way of questions; the Articles of faith are directed to the child in the form of questions, and are answered by the witnesses of the baptism in the name of the child. How can this mode of presenting the Creed in questions, in the conception of baptism, be justified? We bring forward this liturgical point especially, because it has just been a subject of particular consideration in the Danish Church.

The use of the question-form cannot possibly be taken as an intimation that there is present in the child a freedom of choice, so that a yea, or a nay, on the part of a child, can here have place. The idea of such a freedom of choice has no foundation either in reason or authority. Is it from interest in the freedom of choice that it is proposed to hold fast to the question-form, then it would be more consistent, to defer baptism, until that period, when the child may be properly asked, and when a real choice can find place. But since this would be the same as ignoring infant baptism, it is plain, that the question-form cannot be defended from the ground of freedom of choice.

In opposition to the Docetism, which is evidently contained in the representation of an elective subjectivity in the child, it would seem more correct, to direct the questions not to the child, but only to the witnesses of the baptism, or to change the question-form entirely, into the pure declarative form. But to this it may be objected that then the child is regarded as the purely dependent subject of the transaction. But the child is not a negative object, but a personality begun, the germinating possibility to an individual self; and this moment must also be expressed in the form of the transaction.

Do we now, instead of the freedom of choice, which cannot exist in the child, put the *substantial* freedom, the question-form appears to be that form which best accords with the substance of baptism. What the witnesses of the baptism do in the name of the child, in that they desire the baptism of the Church for the child, *that* the child in reality denies itself. For just as the whole race, so has the child, a substantial relation to Christ. It is born into the world that it may confess Christ, and for this reason it desires in its inward nature, to be developed to that faith which the universal Church confesses. Even when the question-form is used in the baptism of adults, it is not really asked whether they already *have* that faith which the Church expresses, but whether they desire to attain to this faith. For should the making of confession of faith on the part of adults before baptism, declare that they have the faith already, this would be manifestly baptistic. Since now, in the baptism of infants, the question is directed to the child immediately, it intimates thus, the presence of substantial freedom, of the germinating personality. It is intimated that the child is not merely the negative subject of the transaction, but that it has substantially a will in the matter.

From this view of the subject it would appear that the question-form is the most perfect. But the liturgical diversity which, in reference to this point, exists in Evangelical Churches, does in no way affect the substance of the sacrament. The sacrament remains the same whether the question-form, or declarative form, be used; yea even when the confession of faith is not formally made. For the substance of baptism rests alone on the word and institution of the Lord; but the confession of faith is, according to its form, a work of the Church. It is only the *testimony* of the Church in reference to the word of God, and must, therefore, as testimony, not be confounded with the thing itself.

To the confession of faith is joined the churchly transaction of Confirmation. Confirmation is an institution of the Church, not of the Lord himself, and is therefore not a sacramental transaction. It is of purely ethical nature. That faith which is established in the sacrament has now attained to that point, when it may begin in a free self-conscious way. Confirmation is, therefore, the personal ratification of the confession of faith, and gives a right to the participation of the Lord's Supper. In Confirmation the catechumens give an account to the congregation of their appropriation of baptism, and the congregation accounts to itself in regard to her religious and ethical productiveness in the nurture of the young. A Confirmation in spirit and in truth is therefore the ideal, which Christian nurture must ever have most directly in view. Confirmation is the first finished result of the efficacy of baptism through the medium of the efficacy of the congregation. As a work of the congregation, it is subject to the same relativeness as the congregation's own life of faith, which at different times may be weaker or stronger. Confirmation has, therefore, at different times, a different value, whereas baptism has always the same value.

If now Confirmation is to have its proper worth, it must not be confounded with baptism, nor be placed in an oblique relation to it. When we, as is commonly done, designate Confirmation as "a renewal of the baptismal covenant," the truth of this is conditioned by the representation we make to ourselves of the "covenant." Do we, in harmony with the baptistic idea of Cultus, think more immediately of a relation of man to God, and not of a relation of God to man, then the transaction of Confirmation must itself become the true baptism. An opinion which in modern times has been considerably

spread, assumes that Confirmation is, it is true, not baptism itself, but yet the supplement of infant baptism; that infant baptism is only then a proper and complete baptism when Confirmation has been added to it. By this it is, in substance, declared that the baptism of adults is the normal baptism. Even Schleiermacher thinks, that infant baptism as dogma is not tenable, and censures the older Church fathers, because they have undertaken to justify it in and for itself, instead of justifying it upon the ground of being a church custom. He makes even the remarkable assertion, that in order to come nearer again to the institution of Christ, it would have been very proper, in the Reformation, to have given up infant baptism, and that we might still do it, without by so doing tearing ourselves loose from the fellowship of that period, in which there was only infant baptism, if we only did not pronounce infant baptism invalid. The validity of infant baptism he then establishes by considering that it receives Confirmation as its completion, and that both these transactions, Infant Baptism and Confirmation, separated in time, are conceived of as joined together in *one* transaction. In accordance with this he thinks, it would be natural to leave it to every evangelical family whether they would offer their children in baptism after the common custom, or not until they make their profession of faith; and that we should revoke the sentence of condemnation pronounced upon the Anabaptists so far as it concerns this point, and that we ought on the other hand also to be prepared to restore church fellowship with those of the present day who have baptistic views, if they will only not declare invalid our infant baptism which is completed in Confirmation; in regard to which, according to his opinion, it ought to be easy to come to an agreement.*

We think, that such a mutual understanding between the Church and Baptismus would be beset with great difficulties, because by it, nothing less is demanded, than that the Church give up its dogma of infant baptism, and declare it as a matter dogmatically of indifference. When Schleiermacher, who in so many respects has wrought for the resuscitation of the churchly consciousness, and who must be considered as the one who has restored to us the idea of a Christian community, contends in this way, such meeting and favouring of the Baptistic theory, is only to be explained upon the ground of his union tendency, and of the Reformed sacramental conception, which he has adopted rather more in harmony of spirit with Calvin

* The Christian Faith, vol. II. page 423.

than with Luther. When it is said, that infant baptism only becomes a complete baptism in Confirmation, this idea rests upon a confounding of the "substance" and the "manner" of the sacrament, and upon a one-sided application of the protestant idea of faith, which manifested itself early in the Reformed Church. The divine act, which constitutes the substance of the sacrament, is through infant baptism executed, and this, whether Confirmation is added or not, is a proper and complete baptism. By this the churchly necessity of Confirmation is by no means denied, but it is only contended that this necessity is of another kind, and in *toto genere* different from the necessity of Infant Baptism. Confirmation is an institution that is necessarily to grow forth in the evangelical communion-life as a fruit of infant baptism, by means of the productiveness of the congregation, and it has, as well for family-life as for church-life, ever carried with it an incalculable blessing. The Pietism of Spener has, by its zeal for catechization, established for itself an enduring memorial. The significance, however, which in an ethical point of view, belongs to Confirmation, rests on the objectivity of the Sacrament. The purer the objectivity of infant baptism is acknowledged, the greater is the significance of Confirmation, as the free, independent appropriation of this objectiveness, and the value of Confirmation is therefore conditioned by its forming a fundamental antithesis to baptism. If farther it has been said, that baptism might appropriately be deferred until Confirmation, it is the same as in other words to say, that the congregational life and the family-life can effect that *without infant baptism*, which, according to the earlier ideas, it could only effect where infant baptism has gone before. In this way, however, the Church is manifestly over-rated, and Christ is under-rated. Indifference in regard to infant baptism, which originally springs from an over-rating the human liberty of the *individual*, comes here to view as an over-rating of the *general*, since the Church regards the infant world as merely an appendage to itself, without admitting the substantial independence of the children. The deeper respect, however, for the substance of personality in the child, for the individual worth of the new-born being, manifests itself in this, that its right is acknowledged and appropriated by Christ in a way equally central as the community itself. The Christian community must acknowledge, that it cannot itself be to the child what it needs; the Church cannot merely desire to make the children partakers of herself, but must know them to be partakers of that

which is more, higher, better than it is itself, of the election of CHRIST in baptism. Hence the whole catechetical instruction with a view to Confirmation assumes a different tone, when it is conducted with baptized catechumens, from what it does with such as are not baptized. For while the unbaptized catechumens are first to be led to Christ, the baptized ones are only to be established in Christ, as they are already appropriated by him. It is, therefore, an error when baptized candidates for Confirmation, are wholly instructed to look forward, without looking also back upon the holy act, which at the beginning of their lives was executed with them—when the central motive to faith, if I may so express myself, the religious *argumentum ad hominem*, which may be developed out of this act, is not adequately used. Does any one reply to this, that the children of the Christian Church are Christ's own, whether the outward act is accomplished or not; then it is only too plain that in the minds of such the Church-constituting act of Christ is under-rated, and the sacrament is regarded as a mere emblem. Is it said by such, that the sacrament is not regarded as emblem by them, but that the gifts of Christ cannot be used by children before they can receive these in faith; then this rests only upon a confounding of baptism and the Lord's Supper; for, of the latter sacrament, to which Confirmation opens the door, it is certainly true, that it presupposes self-conscious faith: but this is not true of baptism.

The same confounding of baptism and Confirmation, which is still pretty general inside of the Church, lies at the foundation of sectarian opposition to the Church, and just on this account is this a false opposition. This opposition to the Church, has undoubtedly a certain kind of right on its side, inasmuch as there exists among a large number of members of the Church, a sharp contradiction between faith and baptism. If now this opposition would confine itself to the assertion that many members of the Church need a new Confirmation, instead of contending that the whole Church needs a new baptism, then the assertion (not literally, but in spirit) would contain a reasonable sense. For then it would express, that the proper appropriation of baptism has with many not taken place; and they would make the demand of the Church, that she should exert a reforming power in order to make good this neglect and deficiency. At all times Judaism and Paganism bestir themselves inside of the Church. That which exists before Christianity is repeated in Christianity itself, and although it can attain to no historical objectivity, it nevertheless repeats itself

psychologically in the thinking of individuals. This is true in an eminent degree in our time. If Paganism consists in this, that the universe is taken for God, that world-powers are resorted to and used in Cultus, it will not seem impossible to a psychological observation, that we should be able to trace in our time the whole cycle of Pagan religious systems, from Fetishism, which cultivates earthly "things" and makes divinities of materials and industrial interests, on to the religion of science and philosophy, in which not the things, but the thoughts, the "ideas" are worshipped. It would be interesting, should any one undertake it, to trace at length the heathenish reflection, this reappearance of all mythology in the new sphere of culture, as well in the life of nations as of individuals. Mythologies are the necessary expression of the religion of the natural man; and, as human nature is ever the same, and no man can exist without some religion, those individuals in Christendom, who do not hold to the religion of revelation, must naturally reproduce some pagan type of religion. What kind of heathen images of divinity will arise in their consciousness, depends upon the original natural diversity of individuals and nations; and here the important difference between the low barbarian, and the more exalted paganism manifests itself. The reappearance of heathenism has, in our time, become so strong, that it is not strange that many Christians think the ancient heathen world is risen again, that entire Christendom is only to be regarded as a heathen mass, in which the old idols are still reigning. Hence also there are not wanting those who, after the example of the Apostles, desire to travel about and preach the Gospel to these heathen, and seek, in the midst of Christendom, to preach missionary sermons, and introduce mission-baptism. But just here it is evident that the sect-spirit suffers itself to be deceived by appearances. It sees not the baptized psyche, through the heathen larva. The fact, that the spirit of infant baptism in its quiet, unseen movements, is more powerful than the stormy spirits of the world, is hidden to the sect-spirit. The sect-spirit manifests itself here as Judaism, repeating itself in the Church, which, in its particularity, cannot discover the pure paganism in that which surrounds it. That Christian observation, which looks at things with the eye of love—and it is only love that has the true keenness and delicacy of perception—does not conceal to itself those heathen phenomena which cannot be explained away; but in the individuals, in which these manifest themselves, it perceives at once the re-

pressed Christian features, the traces of the new creation of Christianity, which can be retained in its development, but from whose influence no one can entirely withdraw. It perceives and acknowledges, that it is here, not baptism, but Confirmation which is at fault. And here the point of view presents itself which the Church has to a great extent lost, but from which the great mass of individuals must be contemplated. The Church dare not give them up, since she would thus make herself guilty of an under-rating of baptism; but she must go on, to regard them as catechumens, as such as either through the fault of the Church, have not been truly enlightened, or as such as have rendered themselves, in reference to the Church, minors; and who are thus, in every case, to be regarded as standing upon UNCONFIRMED ground. The Church must, therefore, in the case of these, continue its catechetical activity, which, however, receives a more universal character. For since these individuals, although they are in a religious respect minors, are nevertheless of age in worldly education and culture, and many have by reflection of science been led away from faith, the catechetical zeal and activity, which we are here contemplating, must, to a great extent, be active by means of Christian science and literature. In this respect our time presents a point of similarity to churchly antiquity, when adults were brought over to Christianity, after the time of inspiration and immediate revivals has passed by. For, as a great number of those who desired to be taken up into the Church, came out of a developed and refined sphere of culture, and many of these catechumens had a philosophical education, yea stood upon the very height of ethnical intelligence, it was necessary that they should also, in the way of *reflection*, be first persuaded of the unsatisfactoriness of the pre-Christian stand-point, and be led, from their heathen knowledge, to that point where they feel themselves to know nothing, a state of mind which must be found with him who would, through baptism, become a member of the Church. Catechization had, therefore, in various respects, to assume the character of scientific apologetic. It is plain of itself, that we dare not overlook the essential difference between unbaptized and baptized catechumens, between the God-forsaken world of culture, which *those* have left, and that world of culture ennobled by the Church to which *these* belong; on which account, also, the Christian Apologetic of the present time, must assume another, and an essentially different character.

H. H.

Lancaster, Pa.

ART. VI.—SHORT NOTICES.

A LACONIC MANUAL AND BRIEF REMARKER, containing over a thousand subjects alphabetically and systematically arranged. By Charles Simmons. pp. 625.

A GOOD book of laconics is certainly a desideratum in the English language. It should embody, in a convenient form, the most important pithy sayings and sentiments, which have been uttered on various subjects, by the most distinguished men of every age and nation. To accomplish this, is certainly no unimportant or easy task. It requires a knowledge of various languages, and an intimate acquaintance with the literature of the past as well as of the present. Great care and an accurate discrimination also must be exercised in the selection and arrangement of the matter, that may present itself from various quarters. If sentiments of a doubtful character should be admitted, it will poison the whole work, and defeat its most important design. Should the remarks themselves be too protracted, it will rob them of the very character they are intended to assume, and not only make the use of the work troublesome, but also, by means of the great amount of space they necessarily occupy, push out much important matter that might otherwise be inserted. What is looked for in such a work, is, that, in all cases, much should be expressed in a very few words.

That the work of Mr. Simmons is such, in all respects, as that just delineated, we are not prepared to say. Its design and arrangement are certainly most happily conceived. It contains also a vast amount of most excellent aphorisms, some of which are very handsomely expressed; and the moral and pious tone by which they are pervaded is undoubtedly a very high commendation. It strikes us, however, that the work is defective in several respects. In the first place, the author, from some cause or other, seems to have been too limited in the range of his selection, to accomplish fully the design of such a work. A comparatively large proportion of the remarks are supplied by the author himself. The rest are selected principally from New England writers, or such works as would be readily within the reach of almost any New England divine. We find but very little draught made upon German sources, which are known to be exceedingly fruitful in this kind of literature, and whose aphorisms are often of the most forcible and striking kind. Then again, the selections, in many instances, are too lengthy to be entitled to the name of laconic sayings. They frequently occupy as much as a half a page, and, in some cases, they fill out even a whole page or more. We also sometimes find selections, which it seems difficult to regard as coming properly within the range of such a work; such, for instance, as brief biographies under the head of biographical sketches.

Notwithstanding these defects, as they strike us, the work has still many excellencies, and must be esteemed valuable as an honest effort in the particular direction in which it looks. The author has a peculiar tact for the preparation of such a work; and if he should be dis-

posed to revise, remodel and improve his present effort, by availing himself of the vast variety of sources of material to which he can, by putting himself to some trouble, gain access, we have no doubt but that he will furnish a work that will fully meet the wants of the age. His Scripture Manual has deservedly gained great popularity and an extensive circulation; and a similar result might reasonably be expected in the case of such an edition of his Laconic Manual as that just suggested. F.

A TREATISE ON BIBLICAL CRITICISM, *exhibiting a Systematic View of that Science.* By Samuel Davidson, D. D., of the University of Halle, and LL. D. Gould & Lincoln, Boston. 2 vols. pp. 446 & 472.

OUR English literature, it must be admitted, has been somewhat meagre in the department of Biblical Criticism. A work of a truly scientific cast, such as is desirable to place into the hands of ministers of the Gospel and students of Theology, was not to be had. German Theologians, it is known, have given special attention to this department of science, and presented results which are truly valuable to the critical student of the Bible. It is gratifying to find in the work before us, evidences that these results have been turned to good account for the English reader. Dr. Davidson is an eminent biblical scholar, and shows himself familiar with the issues in his department from the German press. His work is prepared in a truly scientific manner, and must be regarded as a valuable and seasonable contribution to the department of Biblical Criticism. It is doubtless destined to become a text book in our theological seminaries generally. F.

DAILY BIBLE ILLUSTRATIONS: *Being original Readings for a Year, on Subjects from Sacred History, Biography, Geography, Antiquities, and Theology. Especially designed for the Family Circle.* By John Kitto, D. D., F. S. A., Editor of the "Pictorial Bible," "Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature," &c. &c. Evening Series. *The Life and Death of our Lord.* Carter & Brothers, New York. For sale by Shryock, Reed, & Co., Chambersburg, Pa. pp. 433.

AT the present day, a number of works are extant, especially designed to facilitate the study of the Scriptures, and to place an extended knowledge of their contents within the reach of ordinary scholars. Among the works of this kind, we know of none more truly valuable than those which have proceeded from the pen of Dr. Kitto. His illustrations of the truths and events of the Bible are drawn with a masterly hand. They are exceedingly attractive, whilst, at the same time, they are admirably adapted to impart useful instruction. The present volume is the third of a series, to complete which another volume will be required. It embraces all the important events connected with the life of our Lord from his birth to his resurrection; and forms accordingly a complete work within itself. No student of the Bible should be without the productions of this author. F.

THE
MERCERSBURG QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1853.

ART. I.—THE STRONG CHARACTER.*

THE most casual observation enables us to discover that there is a vast difference between men. Although the primary elements of human nature are undoubtedly the same everywhere, yet these elements are blended in such various proportions and such peculiar combinations, that the individual men who compose the race are as diverse in their personal characteristics as it is possible for us to conceive them to be consistently with an innate and original unity. The human world is thus marked by the same diversity, which distinguishes the natural world; and as the two are indeed intimately connected, the one being the stage or platform on which the other stands,—the human world thus forming the connecting link between the world of matter and an invisible and spiritual world, and as both are the works of the same great author, both are characterized in every sphere of them by the great law of God's creation, *variety in unity, and unity in variety*. The inanimate world of nature is composed of a certain definite number of original elements. Science at the present state of her investigations cannot pronounce positively upon the number of such elements. She has discovered some three-score substances which resist all efforts to decompose them and she has put them in the category of original elements. She pretends not to affirm that all of them are absolutely uncompoundable, but that her crucible can resolve them no farther: and she can affirm with certainty that a limited and definite number of

* The substance of an Address delivered before the Philo and Diognothian Societies of Milnwood Academy, Shade Gap, Huntingdon county, Pa., March 16th, 1853.

such elements do exist,—and the probability is that they do not very much exceed or fall short of the number she has assigned. As new ones are discovered old ones will yield to the torture of her fiery ordeal. Now from this limited and comparatively insignificant number of elements the world of matter is composed. And what a world it is! Its various forms of existence defy all numerical estimate. Its myriad combinations with all their various properties, and accidents, and uses, defy all description. The mind is lost and bewildered in the effort to grasp, and classify the variety and multiplicity of its products. They are so widely diverse as in many cases not to have a single property in common. They range from the rock-built masses of the great world itself, its towering peaks and vast forests, to the smallest tint which the microscope discovers in the eye of an animalcule, or the delicate odour which the opening flower scatters upon the morning breeze. The products of the vegetable world alone, could they pass in procession before us, would out-rival a thousand times in glittering splendor and gorgeous variety, a Roman triumph on the day of Cæsar's proudest entry into the imperial city. All this, you notice, is the result of combinations in different affinities and proportions, among about three-score elements. By the obvious law of mutation by which every integer is made to combine with every other, and with every possible combination of any and each of the others, the variety of results possible with sixty integers is, to all intents and purposes, as far as human comprehension is concerned, infinite.

Let us now pursue the same train of thought with reference to the human world. Strictly speaking, we suppose there is but one primary spiritual element in human nature. We are disposed to think that the truest philosophy which regards the soul as a unit, uncompounded and indivisible, and in all men generically the same. But this simple, spiritual essence is possessed of faculties or attributes, which are simply the different directions or modes in which its activity is manifested. And these faculties, though strictly secondary, may be regarded with perfect propriety as original elements in the formation of human character. These primary elements in human nature, i. e., these directions in which the soul puts forth its activity singly and in straight lines, so to speak,—are doubtless much fewer than the primary elements in the world of matter. And in determining and designating these, philosophy is even more in perplexity than science is in the other

case; and on the subject philosophers themselves have ever been at loggerheads. But withal it is perfectly safe to assume that there are certain faculties, or directions of the soul's activity, and that these are capable of influencing and modifying each other, so as to give rise to endless combinations, and complex mental activities. Instead of the mind always acting in straight lines—to pursue the illustration a little farther, for it is but an illustration—it is thus made to act in curved lines, and lines passing from many divergent points, and crossing and re-crossing each other in every direction, thus marking out every conceivable figure on the chart of mental activity. It thus results that although the original faculties of the soul may be comparatively few, they are capable of such varied combinations, and such complex activities, as to give rise to every conceivable type of individual character. And so true is this in fact, that of the eight hundred millions who inhabit our globe, and of the unnumbered millions who have inhabited it, perhaps not two minds, are, or ever have been, constituted precisely alike. This variety in the human world, like that in the natural, is its peculiar glory. It is the well-spring of its fruitfulness. It has given birth to the mighty and varied products of mind which are strewn along the pathway of history, and which send down their light to present and coming generations, not in one heavy monotonous beam, but in a thousand blended rays, more delicate in their tints and more gorgeous in their beauty, than the rainbow which spans the cloudy heavens. It has given richness and power to civilization, to literature, to philosophy, to arts, inventions and sciences—yea, to Christianity itself. It has multiplied incalculably the leverage of the human mind, in its collective capacity, and enabled it to touch upon the worlds of truth and nature at an infinite number of points. It has made men fit for everything that needs to be done. It brings to every position of activity, of thought and of labor, those fitted to fill them. It makes the tide of civilization and of history broad and deep as it flows on to the goal of the world's destiny.

We have thus verified the ground of the remark with which we started out, that the most casual observation discovers to us “a vast difference between men.” Let us trace the results of such observation as found in actual society, with reference particularly to a type of character which is everywhere to be found, and which answers to that announced as the theme of the present address. In every circle of society, whether in

city, town, village or neighborhood, there are certain men who stand prominently out; upon whose characters the eye fixes easily as it casts a cursory glance around, in the same manner as it fixes upon the bluffs, and jutting points, and broad uplands which give distinctness of outline to a broken landscape. These men are the landmarks by which the view is guided, as the mind passes on from one to another, in taking a survey of the neighborhood in which they live. And in proportion as they are numerous and prominent to view, does the neighborhood possess character and influence. The masses everywhere must have leaders; and they will unconsciously acknowledge those leaders whom nature has fitted to be such. These men move among their neighbors with a native air of nobility. They influence and mould, and not seldom originate the opinions of those around them. They are the authors of the current notions upon most topics which are afloat in the neighborhood. They are frequently quoted in every day talk. They are frequently appealed to to settle matters of dispute, either in opinion, or in business affairs. At public meetings they may not be the most eager and fluent speakers, but they are the men who guide the current and control results. On election days they may not be the most noisy politicians, but they are the tribunals of appeal in all the tactics of party; and when a paltry squabble among the underworkers requires to be settled, their voice must be heard. And it usually can be settled speedily unless there be collision among these native leaders themselves. In all public movements and party interests, if these civic chieftains become pitted against each other, as is too prone to be the case, the seeds of faction are sown. If they work together they always guide the wheels. At such small affairs as vendues and barn raisings, they are the presiding spirits, as far as sentiment and general feeling are concerned. Everywhere in society their presence is felt and acknowledged and their influence either sought or shunned. It has doubtless been perceived that we have been describing "*the strong character.*" These are the men of strong characters, exhibited upon a small scale, as they are known and felt in ordinary life. Higher types of the same distinctive character are found in the higher spheres of public effort and movement. In the various educated professions they exert a controlling influence. In the ranks of the clergy they stand out with great prominence in ecclesiastical assemblies. They are the master spirits; and in the turmoil and birth-throes of

troubled times, "one blast upon their bugle-horn is worth ten thousand men." They are the spiritual Roderic Dhu in the camp of the Lord. When found *upon the right side*, their influence is powerful for good; where however they are not always found, and then their influence is deleterious as in the other case it is salutary. In church affairs, perhaps more than in any other, their power is always felt. This is well illustrated by the remark of a little old north country minister in the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, respecting the Rev Sir Harry Moncrieff. The said little old minister, proud of the Assembly, and his honor as a member of it, and of the Reverend Baronet who was predominant in it, whispered to his neighbor, "Preserve me, sir. Hoo that man Sir Harry does go on! He puts me in mind o' Jupiter among the lesser gods!" In state and national affairs these strong characters are always at the helm. They control popular assemblies and parliaments and senates. They either control or harrass Governors and Presidents and Kings, where these posts are held by weaker characters. They are the men whose names are permanently associated with national affairs. A statesman may be gifted with the dazzling, versatile and powerful genius of a Brougham, and may shine for a while with resplendent lustre, but if true strength of character is wanting, he must fall while it is yet the noonday of his fame. His nature lacks its balance-wheel. The truly strong character if enlisted on the side of human right, is a source of permanent power and permanent fame, whatever obloquy may be heaped upon it in contemporary times. To this class belong such names as Clarendon and Burke and Chatham and Fox and Calhoun and Jackson and Clay and Webster. In the wider spheres of history the great names are the names of strong characters. No man of decidedly weak character, however gifted intellectually, can imprint his name deep upon the scroll of history, though he may hold his place there as a mere phenomenon. To verify the general remark we need but name, Cæsar, and Charlemagne, and Charles V, and Cromwell, and Buonaparte, and Wellington, and George Washington. In the history of Christianity we have strong characters in Paul, and Gregory the Great, and Hildebrand, and Luther, and Zwingle, and Calvin, and Knox, and Edwards, and a "cloud of witnesses." These are the true Power-men, as Thomas Carlyle calls them.

But in discoursing further upon the topic before us, we do not propose to consider the strong character principally in

these higher types, but rather in those more familiar forms in which it appears in common life. We mean to confine ourselves mainly within the range of our own immediate vision, and to gather thence such facts and aims as will have a practical interest for ourselves. Let us ask then, *what constitutes the strong character?* Let us examine and analyze this character, which we have described by its external peculiarities, and see if possible wherein its great strength lies.

1. And, first, let us see whether there is anything peculiar in the *physical man*. Is there any correspondence between the outer man, and the inner character?

Here, we confess, we are required to pick our steps very cautiously. The facts in the case compel us to be careful in giving distinctive marks and lineaments, or rather teach us the impossibility of giving them at all. It requires but little observation, or knowledge of history, to know that a powerful character may be coupled with a very unprepossessing outer man, and that equally *strong* characters are found wearing the most utterly diverse physical accompaniments. We are a firm believer in a general correspondence between the inward character and the outer man. Not more surely does the presence of a powerful chemical or electrical agent make itself felt by external evidences in the body which it pervades, than does the presence of a powerful spirit make its marks upon its fleshly tabernacle. But so very diverse are the peculiar types of strong characters, so many modifying elements enter into them, and so very multifarious are the peculiar arrangements of flesh and blood, of feature and expression, through which these characters may give sign of their presence, that it is utterly impossible to give any definite classification of the external marks of a strong spirit. The shaggy "boar's head" of Mirabeau, the compressed lips, thin visage, and protruding chin of John Calvin, the massive features of Cromwell or Wellington, the repulsive deformity and Satanic leer of Titus Oates, the meek dignity of John Wesley, the flashing eye of Burr, the stolid immobility of Louis Napoleon, may all equally give evidence of the strong character. No doubt the available power of the strong spirit is often greatly augmented by a commanding form and imposing presence. In sudden emergencies their absence is a real disadvantage. Men are awed by appearances; and the majestic mien and firm dignity of feature, are often as valuable auxiliaries of the man's power, in the higher spheres of effort, as the stalwart arm and herculean

frame are to the man of peaceable spirit who feels called upon to quell a country brawl. But after all it is mind that possesses the true fulcrum of power, and when sufficient opportunity is afforded, it will, in the long run, assert its prerogative, despite the physical impediments it may have to contend with. And whatever may be the distinctive conformation of feature, or person, there will always be something, either in the set of a particular feature, or in the unconscious bearing of the person, or in the indescribable language of the expression, which will give outward evidence of the strong character. Such characters have often seemed to be surrounded by a mysterious spell, an invisible and charmed atmosphere in which they at all times moved, and yet no one could tell definitely wherein the spell consisted.

2. Let us pass now to the *mental peculiarities* of the strong character. An indispensable *requisite*, even in the lower types of this character, is, that there be *native vigor and force of intellect*. The mind must be inherently capable of decided and vigorous activity. Stupidity and dulness of intellect can never co-exist with true strength of character. When these are coupled, indeed, as they often are, with great obstinacy and stubborn doggedness, there may be great power of resistance, great negative strength, but there will be no true positive, energizing power. These are your hard-headed, impracticable men, unfit to lead, and yet unwilling to be led. They generally stand apart by themselves in a community, in crabbedness and isolation, and their neighbors soon learn that it is wisest to let them alone. They belong to the order *pachydermata*, or thick-skinned, on whom the pitiless storm pelts in vain, but their sole power lies in the power of resistance. In order to positive strength of character, there must be, as we have just said, inherent vigor of intellect. It is not necessary that the mind be able to act powerfully in all directions, or even in many directions. The universal man, who is equally at home in every sphere of thought, is not always the strongest character. But it is necessary that the mind should be able to act vigorously in one, or in several directions. And facts show that the strongest types of character—the truest power-men in every age, have been those whose mental force lay in a few definite directions. Their intellectual activity, instead of being diffused over a wide surface, and consequently weakened at the particular points, was concentrated upon a few special points, expending there all its force,—and it was irresistible.

That there is an inherent difference in the innate force of minds; that in some the intellectual activity is weaker, and in others stronger, we suppose will be generally conceded. We thus infer that the groundwork of the strong character must be laid by the hand of God himself. It cannot be manufactured by human instrumentalities, except as the material has been provided by the Sovereign disposer of all things. He must impart, in the original constitution of the mind, the native force, to enable it to make its mark in the community in which it is cast. If that force is wanting, it cannot be supplied by any artificial means. There is in the sphere of nature, and of mind, and of human character, as rigid and sovereign a predestination, as the most zealous disciple of Paul claims in the sphere of religion. No man determines for himself his own stature, the color of his hair, or the native bent and force of his own mind; nor does any man determine any of these things for his children. Our free agency is simply left to work with the material which God provides to our hand.

We are led here, naturally, to remark upon the office which *education* may properly discharge in the formation of character. It is not the office of education to create, but simply to draw out, and mould, and strengthen. It cannot bestow the boon of nature where that boon has been withheld. There is an aristocracy of mind, whose titles of nobility bear the signature of the Divine hand itself. The man of strong intellect does not get it in the Academy or the College, in the cloister, or in the schools of art, but it comes from the hand of Him who is the father of all spirits. It is the province of education to develop, to mould and expand this intellect to the extent of its capability; but beyond this capability it cannot go. The material must be there on which to exercise its moulding and transforming agency. The artist may long bend over the rough and crumbling sand-stone—his eye may long look in inspiration upon it, and his chisel touch it with the skill of genius, but no life-like form of beauty and grace will rise to answer the ideal that floats before his mental vision. The smooth and compact marble must be there to return his glance.

The meaning of the term from which our English word "Education" is derived, is "to lead forth," "to draw forth," "to expand," "to nourish." And as faculties are bestowed in variety, some predominating in some persons, others in others, the truest and wisest education is that which draws forth, and expands, and nourishes those predominating faculties,—provi-

ded they be harmless—which have been bestowed by a higher hand. All mental culture should have for its object to lead the mind mainly in the direction in which its true power lies, only giving it breadth and variety enough to preserve its balance. “Every man to his calling,” is one of the plainest dictates of practical wisdom. To neglect it is to commit mistake and incur failure. Education then may conduce to strength of character by developing those mental powers which lie at the basis of the strong character, if God has bestowed them in sufficient measure. And whilst it is doubtless true that the rudiments of all faculties are in all minds, and by assiduous cultivation, any faculty may be improved, yet it is hopeless to think of making any faculty predominant which is strikingly deficient, or to smother any faculty that is strikingly predominant. And though doubtless the weakest character may be in some measure strengthened, by careful culture, yet the really strong, controlling character, such as those mentioned above, is, in the most unqualified sense, the gift of God. It is utterly vain to train the sparrow-hawk to soar like the eagle. Nature will generally have its way. The father of Pascal wishing to make him a linguist, determined he should not learn mathematics, and deprived him of all mathematical books. But the child having learned a definition of geometry, drew lines and figures on the floor with bits of coal, and formed axioms, and proceeded with the discovery of the relations of lines and figures until he arrived at the thirty-second proposition of the first book of Euclid. The father of Handel, designing him for the law, determined he should not study music. But the future author of the Oratorio of the Messiah, stole at night to his father's garret to practice on a small instrument there, and made such progress that at the age of nine, being on a visit to the court of a neighboring prince, he astonished all by his playing, and convinced even his father, where lay the true path of his life.

But to return, we have seen that the *first* grand requisite in the strong character, is *native force of mind*; and observation will readily add the testimony of fact. Those men who stand out prominently as landmarks in a community, who mould its opinions and give it character, are always men of native intellectual vigor. However wanting they may be in literary attainments, however deficient in the acquirements which learning and culture give, however scanty may be the store-houses of their knowledge, they always exhibit the sterling metal of

mind, which impinges sensibly on all with whom they come into contact. What they do know they know well; and they can think without following blindly the leading strings of tradition, and reason without a knowledge of the formulas of logic; and reason powerfully too.

3. Another marked peculiarity of the strong character, is great *strength of will*.

Vigor of intellect alone will not make a strong character: many gifted *minds* have been associated with weak characters. Many a richly freighted bark has foundered and wrecked upon the shoals of life, for want of ballast in the hold, or a firm steersman at the helm. The intellectual activity, however vigorous, may expend itself in such erratic directions that it will be just so much capital thrown away; or it may move with such a halting and unsteady step, or in directions so counter and conflicting as to involve it in such flagrant contradictions and such hopeless inconsistencies, as to beget imbecility and defeat. Perhaps strength and inflexibility of will are, above all others, the distinguishing peculiarities of the strong character. You rarely see the evidences of them wanting in the physiognomies which we described before; and they are usually the marks on such faces, which a practised eye detects most readily. The will is the energizing and controlling power in man. It furnishes the pressure necessary to set in motion the intellectual machine, and it regulates the action of the machine itself. It is the steersman which stands at the helm of the mind, and guides its course in obedience to the dictates of the judgment. A clear and correct judgment is necessary to give the character reliable and abiding power: and where such a judgment does exist, and the mind itself is of a firm and strong texture, the strength of character will be, as a general thing, in proportion to the dominant power of the will. In so complex an organism as the mind, there may be many things which will modify the action even of a strong will or partially frustrate it, but still we think the exceptions are few to the rule that the union of a powerful will and an accurate judgment, gives the strong character. An iron will knows no such word as "fail," and it is rarely made to know defeat. Like the iron flail of Talus, the poet Spenser's iron Man, who accompanied the conquering knight over the world, it makes the most formidable obstacles yield, as if by magic, to its repeated and potent blows.

4. Where there is a strong will, in connection with an accu-

rate judgment, there will be *self-reliance*. Few really strong men are unconscious of their power. One reason why they can overcome apparently insuperable obstacles, is because they feel confident they can do it. The homely proverb, "Where there's a will there's a way," has a profound significance. A cowardly fear paralyzes the sinews of effort. All strong characters have been self-reliant in its true sense,—for it must be distinguished from the vain ostentation and braggart boldness which are so often characteristic of weakness. True self-reliance is staid, silent and even modest, not trumpeting its own glories nor predicting its own success, though confident of it the while. True self-reliance is a form of natural faith, and it is scarcely a figure of speech to say that it removes mountains. It has lain at the bottom of all great deeds. Buonaparte knew he could scale the Alps, and he did it. Columbus knew he could discover a Western continent, and he found it. The Pilgrim fathers, as the Mayflower hovered near the rocky coast, "like a wounded sea-fowl seeking some place to die," with three thousand miles of waves stretching behind them and between them and civilization, had faith in God and in themselves, and they framed laws and a constitution, and built a house for the worship of the God of the pilgrim. As one has beautifully said :—" Their sails streamed in shreds through the winter's blasts, and before them lay an unknown, frowning, snow-clad coast, where the howling of the wild beast, mingled with the wilder war-cry of the savage ; and yet we hear of no regret shaking the higher resolve of a single breast, nor of a tear dimming the lustre of a woman's eye." They were a band of strong characters, reliant on God, and on themselves :—for in the reverent heart these two go together, and their union forms the deepest and firmest basis of confidence in feeling and action. In the irreligious heart confidence in "destiny" takes the place of confidence in God, and the ambitious despot can conquer the world because he believes he is following the star of his destiny. His reliance upon this gives reliance upon self ; and while this strong anchorage avails him, his will bends before no bursting storms of adversity, and his courage shrinks before no threatening dangers.

5. Passing by other minor peculiarities, we cannot but notice that *earnestness*, or *sincerity of belief and purpose*, is an obvious trait of the really strong character.

It is that element in the nature which gives a steady and powerful momentum to all the elements of strength which the

character contains. It keeps them consolidated and centred upon definite aims, and increases their strength by binding them together in harmonious and consistent effort. Fickleness, insincerity, hollowness of purpose, must inevitably render futile, for any enduring results, whatever elements of power the man may possess. The trifler, everywhere, must ultimately become as imbecile, as he is contemptible. It is your sincere man, your earnest man, your man who labors for the attainment of his ends as though he knows and feels their reality, that is able to turn to permanent account his elements of power. And it is this that makes a man powerful whether he be right or wrong. To be successful, it is necessary to be earnest in a bad cause, as in a good one. The men who have done something in the world, either for good or evil, who have left their footprints upon the sands of time, and their imprint upon the tablet of history, were men whose lives were pervaded by a thorough earnestness. Whether as man of letters, as statesman, as warrior, or as christian preacher, the shallow trifler can never become a true hero in history. The gifted trimmer and pliant weather-vane may enjoy for a while a factitious notability, but retribution must come some day. The man of abiding strength is the man of earnestness. Genius never accomplished a great and lasting deed without it. The want of it is the deadly narcotic that paralyzes the arm or brain that otherwise might move the world.

We see the same principle illustrated in the lower types of the strong character, of which we have spoken before. Those men who control the opinions and actions of a neighborhood, who are the umpires of disputed questions, the arbiters of difficulties, the master spirits at elections and popular assemblies, are, and must be, honest and sincere men. It is that which makes them reliable. Men feel that they can trust them, and follow safely in their lead. As soon as it is discovered that they are hollow-hearted and unreliable, however much men may hate and fear them, they will be shorn of their controlling power. Their strength has departed from them. The man who would stand unshaken in his place, in the front ranks of a community, must be a man of honest brow and earnest heart.

The elements of the strong character which we have enumerated, may be equally potent for good or for evil. A mind of native force may expend itself in working wrong and ruin. An iron will may set itself for the attainment of evil ends. The bad man may be self-reliant, as well as the good man.

And he who deals physical or moral devastation around him, may be in earnest as well as he who sheds peace and blessing. The strong character may be a bad character. All elements of power when misdirected or abused, are dangerous—and dangerous just in proportion to their power. A madman in the wild strength of his phrenzy, may spread terror in a whole neighborhood. Finally then, we say that the strong character to be a good character—to exert the legitimate influence of God-given power, must be permeated by the leaven of high moral principle. It must be subject to the supremacy of conscience. It must move under the pressure of truth and duty. It must have an ear for the calls of moral obligation. We would be far from denying that there is such a thing as natural virtue, or that the mere natural virtues have made strong characters, on the whole safe, and prolific of good deeds. But all such high types of moral principle, we hold to be the result of the indirect or reflex influence of the religion of Christ. *It is the great educator of the conscience.* And the very highest type of moral principle, that which will stand the greatest shocks, and may be relied on in the most perilous moral emergencies, can only be found in connection with genuine personal religion. If this is wanting there are always some points which will not bear pressure. And in the christian these points will be strengthened just in proportion as the element of religion is pervading and powerful. The strong character then, to be the safest and best, must be imbued with the sanctifying leaven of the grace of God. Unsanctified, perverted power, has ever been the scourge of the world. The development of the intellect, and especially the development of those faculties which make the strong character, without a corresponding development of the moral nature, can only beget a power to destroy. But glorious and God-like is sanctified power. Where the development of the moral nature keeps pace with that of the intellectual, and the two unfold in beautiful and harmonious adjustment, 'tis there we have the highest style of man. The strong head and the pure heart, make the great man and the good man combined. Force of character, when directed into proper channels, and acting under the impulse of noble motives, gives to history the benefactors of the race, and to every community the men who are its light and its salt.

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II.—THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS.

IN a former number of this Review it was shown that the communion of saints, as it obtained among the early disciples, consisted in their common union with Christ, in their common participation in his benefits, and in their unity of faith. We now say that wherever these constituents are found, there will be *unity of affection*, that is, christian love, or charity in its widest sense. This may be regarded as the fruit or efflorescence of the indwelling life of Christ, its perfection and beauty at the same time. It is that towards which everything divine in man tends, and where it finds its consummation. Thus we are told that the *end* of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned. 1 Tim. 1, 5. Our subject may be still further illustrated by continuing to refer to the experience of the early christians, in whom the highest and most sublime manifestations of the communion of saints took place. Nothing was so prominent in their character as their love for each other. After the outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost it was as if a new order of men had been created. A company of individuals appeared to view, who by their manners, gestures, language and intercourse with one another, differed as much from those around them as if they had just descended from some other sphere on a visit to our world. They were, however, well known; they were mere Galileans, whose rudeness and want of cultivation rendered them a term of reproach to the more polished denizens of Jerusalem. Yet Galileans as they were, unacquainted with the world and unused to the arts of dissimulation, they manifested the purest and most exalted affection for each other. It is generally believed that purity and elevation of feeling are the result of human cultivation. Here, however, where no such cultivation had been enjoyed, a love reigned, pervaded an entire body of persons and bound them together, that excelled every other exhibition of affection, as it regards tenderness, strength and fervor. All human instructions, care and attention have produced at best nothing but a distant approximation to christian charity, a mere imitation of it, which, like that of the diamond, stands condemned at first view.

There were doubtless diversities of temper, disposition, and talents among the disciples, as is the case among men generally; but their original oneness of life united these diversities into a living union, where instead of becoming points of repulsion, they served as so many points of attraction. Peter could be fiery, zealous, and rash, without repelling John, who was remarkable for possessing a temperament directly the reverse. The very courage of the former, more than anything else, attracted the quiet and retiring spirit of the latter, who found in it something to lean upon, now when the bosom of his Master was no longer at hand. Peter on the other hand, could not see in the different disposition of John any cause for censure, because that disposition differed from his own. He doubtless perceived in his colleague the nearest approach to the image of his Master, and hence felt his fears quieted by his presence, when his faith wavered. They were, therefore, joined together in holy fellowship, directing the Church with entire unanimity. What was true of Peter and John was true of all the rest, as it is of Christians generally. Their unity of faith, back of their natural endowments, made room for a certain measure of difference, or diversity, either of natural or acquired gifts; but this diversity only confirmed and completed the general unity. There can be no unity, where there is no diversity of parts; hence it is the special office of Christian love to unite, what seems to be contradictory and conflicting into a harmonious whole. Love in the Christian Church is the power which binds together its different members, causes the most diverse characters and talents to be employed in securing the same general object or end, places each member in his proper relation to his fellow members, and stamps upon each, whatever may be his position or significance, the highest value. God hath set the members every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased him; and the Apostle adds, that there should be no schism in the body. As the head, the hands, the feet are diverse, and yet united, so the body of Christ can admit of diversity of operations, gifts, or talents, but not of schism or dissension.

The early disciples manifested the highest and the purest devotion to each other. It is said that they were all together, and had all things common. They sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need. The price of lands or houses was laid at the apostles' feet, and distribution was made according to the necessities of each in-

dividual. As love manifests itself in the devotion of one person to another, its strength may be calculated by the amount of sacrifice, which it is enabled to make for the object of affection. Property is a sacrifice which it can cheerfully make. The circumstances of the early Church often required this, and we accordingly find that the new converts, burning with ardent devotion to Christ, did not consult with flesh and blood, but poured out their treasures to relieve the wants of their suffering brethren. In their cases, it was not a portion of their income, but their whole estates, that were given to the Church, in literal compliance with the Saviour's command. Their example it is generally believed was not designed to be of universal obligation, but merely to show to the world the nature and strength of true charity. It proves, therefore, that Christian love cannot be in the heart, unless it opens men's hands, and urges them to make any sacrifice of this kind for the sake of the brotherhood. It is of such a diffusive character as to prompt the heart wherever it is felt, to bear not only the loss of property, but of all things, even life itself when the cause of truth requires it. John, the apostle of love says, Hereby we perceive the love of God, because he laid down his life for us; and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren. This indeed is the last test of Christian charity, that Christians should be willing to surrender up life itself for the sake of the Church, if it should be necessary in order to vindicate her divine character. There have been circumstances in all periods of her history, which have called for offerings of this kind, and the inspiration of divine love has enabled many to comply with the full measure of duty in this respect. Christ and his Church are made to appear as of unspeakably more account than individual life, or ought that life may embrace. Father and mother, sister and brother, property and lands, all things, the world as it appears to the individual, are freely laid at the foot of the cross, and deliberately sacrificed for the sake of the cross and its future triumphs in the world. The martyr at the stake or on the block sheds his blood freely for his brethren's sake, that they encouraged and stimulated by his example may at last gain with him the crown of righteousness. It is known that in the early ages of the Church, when the blood of martyrs flowed in streams, it was generally the desire of ministers and bishops, to suffer martyrdom in the midst of their flocks, that they might have the benefit of their example, and witness the

last expression of their never dying affection. Yea, says Paul, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy, and rejoice with you all. The true missionary or pastor in our days must possess this same spirit, and so far as it is exhibited, the field around him begins to bloom and blossom as the rose. It is something remarkable, that no interest connected with the Church prospers, except as it proceeds from, and is carried forward with that love, which shows itself in sacrifices. A Brainerd, and a Martyn, with our Moravian missionaries, have formed epochs in the missionary work, because their love for the heathen manifested itself in the greatest acts of self-denial. The ability to surrender life for the sake of the Church, of course, implies a willingness to yield up all considerations of a lower character, as compared with the love which christians should exercise towards each other. Thus health, wealth, honors, and pleasures, are laid cheerfully upon the altar of Christian charity, and made subservient to the up-building of the kingdom of Christ in the world. Such a charity as this is the proper production of Christianity. It was constantly exemplified in the life of its divine author, which was ever one of disinterested benevolence and love. Selfishness has never been attributed to him, not even by his foes and infidels generally, who doubtless would have done so, if it had been possible, as it would have afforded them the best opportunity of silencing his claims upon their allegiance. He grants his followers grace to walk in his footsteps, and to breathe the same pure and elevated spirit. They become like him, and reflect from earthen vessels his heavenly spirit. Hence they become partakers of his love and his sufferings; the blood of martyrs flows in streams to serve as the seed of future harvests in the world; sacrifices and gifts accumulate upon the altar; and the Church becomes the grand almoner of the spiritual and temporal bounties of a kind and merciful Father in heaven.

From what has now been said of the communion of saints as it obtained on the day of Pentecost, its true character for all ages may be readily understood. The first outpouring of the Spirit, was a type, an earnest or pledge, of what might be expected during the dispensation of the Spirit through all time. The living, actual communion between the members of Christ, commenced at that time, was to be extended and expanded until it should embrace the whole race of man within the precincts, as it were, of a single family. All communion, there-

fore, of believers now-a-days, to be genuine, must be like that of the first disciples, when they were all together of one accord. It must spring from a living communion with Christ and his benefits, and consist in unity of faith, which unites the understandings of men, and unity of affection, which unites their hearts.

It now remains for us to discuss the *extent* and the *form* of this communion generally, points which are intimately connected, but, at the same time, distinct enough to require a separate consideration.

It is a nice point of casuistry to decide how far, as it respects the merely nominal Christian world, our charity should extend. It is a plain case, that it is our duty to love those who stand in regular connection with the Christian Church, and to treat them as brethren, without inquiring how far they are livingly united to Jesus Christ; for this must be left to their own consciences, and to Him, who alone sees and knows all things, and not to our capricious judgments. Here the precept, Judge not that ye be not judged, is specially pertinent. Here too, there is a wide field for the exercise of charity. There are manifestly many in the pale of the Church, who have neither part nor lot in the kingdom of God, and to exercise charity for their Churches, as such, and to treat their members as brethren, require of us to comply with the apostolic precept, to cover a multitude of sins. This is a legitimate office of love. But the question arises, What denominations are we to regard as embraced in the Christian Church, and what not? Who will draw for us the line of demarkation, that separates between the Church and the world? The question is involved in almost insuperable difficulty, and can be answered in our present state of enlightenment only in some partial manner. Love between christians is doubtless a duty, and any lack of it towards those who have a right to it, is a grievous sin; but heresy and schism are not to be overlooked, rather resisted with as much fervor of zeal, as we are required to have fervor of love. Indeed the strength of our opposition to error is a co-ordinate of our love to Christ, and springs from it, though all kinds of zeal must not be supposed to be a necessary attendant of Christian love. Accordingly, we find that, in those ages of the Church when love burns brightest, heresy is most detested. No one of the apostles opposed heretics with such burning zeal as the apostle John, who at the same time was distinguished for his love to the brethren.

In the platitude of our love it is possible for us to embrace all sorts of sects, and thus unwittingly encourage all kinds of dangerous and pestilential heresies. This leads to *latitudinarianism*, which has no power to distinguish between different forms of faith, and consequently no capacity to resist error or to defend the truth. If everything that calls itself Christian, must be admitted within the pale of the Church, and be entitled to our affection and regard, then the barriers which Christianity has erected in her own defence, fall to the ground; the world flows in at once as a mighty flood, and prostrates every claim which the Church has ever put forth to prove her superiority to that which is earthly and temporal. The latitudinarian consequently has no horror of schism or heresy; he does not even understand the meaning of these words in the sense in which they are used in the Bible and the early Church. There are passages in Scripture, which he has no capacity of obeying, as where we are commanded to have no communications with one, who brings in another doctrine, not so much as to eat with him, or to bid him God-speed.

Others answer the question proposed in a much more summary manner. They regard their own denomination, or little sect, as the only true Church, beyond which there is no salvation, except by uncovenanted mercies. This constitutes *bigotry*, which reckons many more adherents than the latitudinarian scheme. It is seen everywhere, but nowhere with its symmetry of parts so fully developed, as where it has the slenderest historical basis to rest upon, and where the obscurity or insignificance of its advocates, makes it an object of no special alarm. It has its spring in human nature, which is ever gratified when it sees itself ornamented with a celestial livery. It were doubtless a very comfortable position for a person to occupy, if he could be actually brought to believe that his own creed or confession embodies the entire sum and substance of Christianity, and that his own fellow religionists constitute the only true salt of the earth, the only reliable results that Christianity has produced for the space of the last eighteen hundred years. Bigotry like this, has emptied itself of the Christian spirit, or if it retain any Christian element in its constitution at all, it must find it very difficult to maintain itself at such an airy height. Roman Catholics may do so with less difficulty than any other class of Christians; for there is so much that is imposing in the unity, extent and grandeur of their Church, that its own members, at least, have some palliation for their

exorbitant claims to be the only true Church, especially in Italy or Spain, where Protestantism is so little known, or made synonymous with protestation against the divine truth itself; though in England and America, where they are surrounded by so many evidences of the Christian character of Protestantism, it must be a work of more difficulty, and a rather painful one among those who are truly pious. But if the ultra claims of Rome are scriptural, if she be the true Church to the exclusion of all other portions of Christendom, then the kingdom of Christ on earth must present a gloomy prospect indeed. The argument for the divine origin of Christianity drawn from its success, would be very much diminished in force, at least in its application to the present time. For grant that the Roman Church, as Neander incontestably shows, constituted the Christian Church during the middle ages, diffused the leaven of the gospel among the nations of Europe during the ages preceding the Reformation, and raised them from barbarism to a Christian civilization, grant this, as good historical Protestants we can, and we may ask, where is the same life and vigor in the Roman Church at the present day, and where is her once world-wide influence? Her Anselms, her Bernards, and Thomas Aquinas, have passed away, and the Jesuits, in whom the life of the old Catholic Church seems to have been revived and concentrated subsequent to the Reformation, have descended from the lofty pinnacle of their influence, and are now, if accounts be true, the mere shadow of what they once were. As a whole, the Church of Rome resembles an aged oak, that continues to vegetate at its extremities, and at times to send forth vigorous shoots, giving evidence of its vitality, but growing only in its extremities, and not in its trunk, or its leading branches. It is true as it regards tendency as well as space, the farther off from Rome the Catholic organization extends, the more respectable does Catholicism become. In England and America Catholics manifest much more moral purity than in Italy or Rome itself, where, so far as the masses are concerned, little else can be discerned but spiritual stagnation and death. In France, where, owing to the influence of Gallicanism, Catholicism has been more free, nearer to Protestantism and farther from Rome in tendency, than elsewhere, it has, to the present day, as MacCaulay has acutely observed, presented the highest form of Catholic piety. With nothing more than the Romish hierarchy in the world to confirm the promise of the Saviour, that he would be with his people al-

ways, the argument, we say, for the divine character of Christianity, drawn from its success, must be considerably curtailed. But, in addition to this, a more formidable difficulty to Romish exclusiveness arises in the existence of the Protestant Church, which has a history, a theology, a science, and a long line of good works and charities, that it would be difficult to ignore or set aside. As Protestants, we cannot for a moment entertain such sweeping, demolishing claims.

The communion of saints, therefore, wherever it exists, cannot be confined to the Romish Church, though, from our premises, we may believe that it exists there, and hence whatever errors may be supposed to have their origin in her midst, feel ourselves justified in exercising charity towards Catholics generally.

But if the Romish Church cannot substantiate her claims to be the only true Church, it becomes much more difficult for any single Protestant denomination in itself considered to make the same attempt. The difficulty increases, and the claims become more puerile and anile also, in proportion as we descend from the State Churches of Europe down to the sects and sub-sects in this country, that sprang but yesterday from the ignorance of the people, and are now housing themselves safely in the elements from which they derived their origin. Whatever claims any single denomination of Protestantism may have to be called the only true Church, they are shared by at least some of their neighbors, and cannot therefore be regarded as more valid in one case than in the other. They are of force only in favor of pure Protestantism as a whole, and not exclusively in favor of any single branch of it.

It is doubtless the part of wisdom not to attempt to draw too closely the boundary lines of the Church. There is indeed no necessity that this should be done; for if we know where the Church does really and actually exist, we can have no desire to linger on its borders, or to occupy a position with respect to her, which is at best doubtful or suspicious. It is only madmen or inexperienced children, who can sport on the brink of a precipice, or on the banks of a raging stream. It is necessary to attend to various considerations in deciding, whether any religious denomination is properly a part of the Church of Christ, and therefore entitled to our love and fellowship. The various marks of a true Church, such as a regular ministry in the apostolic succession in some sense at least, the Sacraments, the Word of God, and the consequent presence

of the Spirit, must be the basis of the judgment which we form in the case; but then, inasmuch as Satan often appears as an angel of light, there may be congregations, that seem to present all these marks, and yet after all are nothing more than synagogues of Satan. Here the principle of *historical development* comes to our assistance. Time is the test of what is genuine, and of what is spurious. It is the fiery furnace that consumes the wood, hay and stubble, whilst it purifies the pure metal. A principle may be plausible at its inception, but manifestly false and utterly abhorrent to good men generally, when it has gone into operation, and clothed itself with flesh and blood. Historical Churches, therefore, have an unspeakable advantage over the new fangled systems that are ever and anon springing up around us. Denominations that can point back over long centuries of devotion to the cause of Christ, have far better claims to a place in his fold, than those which commence their history by saying they took their rise in the year of our Lord, say 1829, mainly under the influence of such and such a distinguished preacher. On this account, it becomes a hazardous experiment to attempt to exclude the Romish Church, as a whole, from the kingdom of God. She has maintained her position too long, to be purely a work of evil. Grant that error and corruption have intruded themselves within her pale, yet there must be vitality somewhere connecting her with Christ, else she must have been long ago rent into numberless fragments, and, like the secular powers of antiquity, be now known only on the page of history. The various national Churches of Europe, that sprung more immediately from the Reformation, together with their offspring in this land, have already won for themselves an imperishable name and rank in the kingdom of God. It cannot be maintained, that their points of difference are indications of their schismatical character; for it is well known that the original branches of Protestantism assumed their peculiar forms and costumes from the circumstances in which they were placed, and the various nationalities which they were called to represent. Thus, it was by no means a schismatical feeling towards other parts of Protestantism, which induced the Church of England to preserve the episcopal form of Church government. Even Calvin himself, the founder of Presbyterianism, could so well appreciate the circumstances in which the English Church was placed, as to approve of episcopacy in England, a fact which the rigid Presbyterian in our day, in his ultra opposition to prelacy,

might do well to ponder. The origin of the Churches just referred to remains as yet unassailed, and their united claims to be regarded as the Church of the present, have not yet been successfully laid aside. Providence from the beginning smiled upon the Reformation, and so signally protected and preserved the various branches of Christianity, that sprung from it as their immediate origin, and raised them to a world-wide influence, that we, in our day, may as yet confidently believe, that Protestantism has by a divine judgment been exalted to serve as his Church in these latter days. There is, however, as has been often said in the pages of this Review, a true and a false Protestantism, one that has a legitimate historical origin at the Reformation, and a subsequent historical development, and another that has no origin of this kind, and no such a subsequent development, but is schismatical, sectarian and heretical in its tendency. This being so, our charity or our communion should hold with the Church of our fathers, and as it regards the sects, that have sprung up at a more recent date, and that now so strenuously strive to supplant that Church, we can exercise for them at best only that charity, which is due to erring brethren. The opinion so rampant among the masses in this country, that whatever in religion happens to be new, original, and independent of history is the best coin, is wrong and radical. It is quite the reverse. New ecclesiastical organizations are *toto coelo* the least reliable, whilst the old, containing the old wine, are the best, and the most likely to retain the grace committed to the Church in the beginning by her great Head.

The communion of saints, however, does not only extend in space; it not only overflows the barriers, which national life, spirit, custom, language and literature have set up to "make enemies of nations," and binds together distant nations, people, and tongues into one family of love; it extends itself also as it regards *time*. The communion of the christian is not satisfied with the noisy present, however refreshing and invigorating the living, acting Christianity around him may be. There is a *Christian past*, that is equally as refreshing to the devout spirit, and hence it seeks communion and fellowship with it.

The kingdom of heaven was deposited in the soil of humanity, not as something full grown, but as the grain of mustard seed, which by its inherent power becomes a tree, and the fowls of the air lodge in the branches thereof. It has there-

fore a history commencing with the incarnation of Christ, and reaching down to the present, during all of which time it has continued to unfold itself out of its original life-form, and to present itself to the gaze of the world as something that was always the same in substance, and yet ever varying in form. Its various manifestations from age to age, stand as intimately related to each other as the successive branches of a plant, where each one grows out of another and forms its proper completion. Every age of the Church is dependent upon that which precedes it, and through it upon the entire previous developments of Christianity. The divine life flowing from Christ, is thus percolated from century to century, until it reaches the period in which any individual may be supposed to stand. No one, therefore, has a right to break communion with the Church of the past, just as it is his duty to maintain communion with the Church of the present. He who does so is schismatical, as much so as the person who isolates himself from the visible Church in which he was born and bred. It is indeed the worst form of radicalism; it tears up the living root of all growth and advancement, and seeks to rear an abundant harvest where no precious seed has been sown, and where there is no more soil than may be found on the bare mountain rock. It reminds us of the radicals of the French Revolution, who, not content with the destruction of existing institutions, sacrilegiously disturbed the ashes of the dead.

As Christianity is something historical, it can be fully understood only in the light of its history. Persons may live and breathe in it, yet there is no clear conception of it, until it is studied in its past history, just as it is necessary for us to know the civil and political history of a nation, before we can understand its spirit or genius. Christian love, therefore, prompts us to love the past. If our love be pure, freed from the prejudices, and the self-sufficiency of the age in which we live, we must feel ourselves drawn towards the saints of the past by an influence, which we cannot resist. As we enter into the spirit in which they loved and served Christ, and observe how they made sacrifices for his kingdom, we gradually lose the vain conceit of our times, and feel that our instructors and models are to be formed mainly in the past and not in the present. The early ages of Christianity, that is the first four or five centuries of the history of the Church, have always been regarded as especially entitled to the love and confidence of succeeding ages. During this period the mass of believers

were called to endure sufferings of the most painful character, and to make the most costly sacrifices, that men could be called upon to make. They faltered not, but brought to the altar of Christ property, possessions, pleasures, honors, and life itself, for the sake of the truth. The blood of martyrs flowed in streams in every direction, whilst they themselves became a spectacle, upon which the civilized world looked with mute wonder and amazement. Whilst the common people thus reflected a brilliant light upon the world of darkness and sin, distinguished leaders arose, and shone as stars of the first magnitude. The early church fathers, became, like the prophets under the old dispensation, the pillars of their age and of succeeding times. The progress of the kingdom of heaven, in every direction, has not been equalled since. Whilst nation after nation, and city after city, became trophies of victorious grace, the work of internal consolidation kept pace with the outward spread of the gospel. A certain writer has remarked, that the definite and final settlement of the doctrines of the Trinity, the Person of Christ, and others which are fixed and fundamental in the Christian scheme, required as much labor and time, as the conversion of the wild hordes of Europe, to the gospel, in after times. From ages like these, resplendent with the light of the gospel and of good works, the Christian of the nineteenth century dare not withhold his love or communion, if he desires that his love may be commensurate with the love of his Redeemer. He must here love those whom his Saviour once loved. But the ages immediately succeeding the first age of Christianity, continued to give similar evidences of the divine life in the Church. This is true of the darkest period of the middle ages, when it is supposed by some that the Church was a mere corpse, given over to the prince of darkness. Anselm in England, and Bernard of Clairvaux in France, arose and presented the highest exemplifications of piety in the spirit of their times. Missionaries traversed Europe, and by their sufferings and self-denial, won nation after nation and tribe after tribe, to the fold of Christ. During this period the soil of European society was prepared for the Reformation, and the fruits which it has conferred upon modern times. The Church of the middle ages is thus made to stand related to us through the Reformation in a vital manner, and hence, it is impossible for us to regard it as a synagogue of Satan, without doing violence to the Christian spirit, and that communion of love which binds together the children of God, of all ages, by imperishable ties.

It is then our duty to love the Christian past as much as the present, and in some respects to regard it even more highly. To the Church at any period, it stands always in a paternal relation, and it should therefore be honored as we honor father and mother. As our natural parents by divine appointment are placed over us, that they, by their superior wisdom, experience and age, may be our teachers and protectors, so the Church of the past, enriched with the accumulated treasures of wisdom and truth, is designed to be our constant instructor and guide. The generality of believers of course could not be expected to seek by learned investigations for those treasures, but they may find them in their midst, in their catechisms and confessions, which serve as so many channels by which the life of the Church is conveyed from age to age. Leaders, however, in Israel, who are to mould the Christianity around them, and prevent it from overflowing its banks, are without excuse, if they fail, as far as in them lies, to keep up a living communication with the past by living themselves in the past and the present, and thus acting as mediators between them. Where may the Church, struggling with new difficulties every day and fearfully tossed by the wild waves of human passion, interest, or caprice, find such grave, earnest, and venerable counsel as sounds in her ears from the grave of departed centuries? Time, in its onward flight, throws the dust of ages over that which is false and sinful, whilst the truths, which it has elaborated from the word of God, continue to shine as stars in the heavens, with their brightness untarnished. An affectionate remembrance, therefore, of the services of the saints of past ages, a sense of obligation to them for their labor and work of love in maintaining the truth, a sincere desire to follow them as they followed Christ, and, above all, communion with them in that spirit which animated them during their life time, are duties, which propriety as well as a proper regard for Christ, the Head of the Church, plainly dictate.

Such a communion with the Church of the fathers in all past ages, may be maintained without exposing any one to the charge of superstition, or necessarily requiring him to embrace the errors, which every child knows abound in the past. So far from plunging him into the superstitions of by gone days, the state of mind, which we have been advocating, may be expected to produce in his experience the richest fruits of wisdom and instruction. It is nothing more than another form

of the duty inculcated in the command, Honor thy father, and thy mother, and in this application of it, as well as in every other, it may be reasonably expected, that a blessing will follow the discharge of duty, as is implied in the words, That thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee. The old objection, that a love for antiquity prepares us to adopt the exploded errors of the past, is sufficiently inane and scarcely deserves a serious refutation. It might as well be urged, that love for our natural parents is something dangerous, and may lead us to adopt their errors, and to imitate their infirmities. The precept, Children obey your parents *in the Lord*, is a sufficient guaranty against the Charybdis, which frightens many an honest voyager from launching his vessel out upon the broad ocean of the past in pursuit of its imperishable truth.

The saints of past ages, moreover, stand in a still more interesting relation to us, than merely as persons who once lived in our world, and fought under a common banner with us in achieving the victories of Christ. They have not ceased to exist or to be employed in the service of their Master. They still live, are members of the same family with us, and draw their strength and comfort from the same living Head. Our communion, therefore, must also hold with the *dead*, as still living and active persons in the kingdom of God.

To the skeptical Sadducees, who attempted to throw difficulties in the way of the doctrine of a future state, the Saviour replied in a popular yet convincing manner. God, he said, is not the God of the dead, but of the living. As however he called himself the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, these, as well as other saints, must still live. To suppose that they had ceased to exist, would have implied that God could have had communion with the dead. But this were an absurdity; for as life and death exclude each other, so God, who is the source of all life, cannot be supposed to have any connection or sympathy with death under any form. Being himself the living God, he can consistently have only living persons as his subjects and worshippers. So soon, therefore, as any one comes to know him, and to regard him as God, he commences to live. A communication is opened between the soul and heaven, and streams of living water are poured out upon the barren soil of the heart. Christ comes and dwells with his people, and thus makes them proof against the ravages of sin and death. Their passage through the grave effects a change

of residence, but not a change in the nature of their life. Every one occupying this position with reference to God is par excellence a living person. He has eternal life abiding in him already. He stands in the midst of the wide plain of human existence, radiant with light and life, like some tall mountain, around whose top the morning rays are playing whilst the valley beneath is shrouded in darkness. But it is much more true that believers, who have departed from the shores of time, still live. They are with Christ, and God is their God in a more emphatic sense than whilst they were still in the world. Their connection with God through Christ the living vine, gives us an impregnable ground for belief, that they are forever with the Lord. Arguments drawn from human reason, and devised by human ingenuity, have never thrown more light upon this point, than to show that it is possible and probable that it is so; whilst faith in Christ gives us as much certainty respecting the continued beatific existence of the righteous after death, as there is in the truth that God himself exists. The reality of their existence becomes identical with that of Christ himself, and the question, whether they still live, reduces itself to a simpler one: Does Christ himself live? Thus Paul makes the resurrection of the saints to rest upon the resurrection of Christ, and shows plainly, that the two facts resolve themselves ultimately into one great central fact, that of redemption, accomplished first in the person of Christ, and then extending itself to the utmost limits of the human race. Christianity is indeed so full of this idea, that the pious are now living and acting in another world, that human language has been modified so as to accommodate itself to the new order of ideas. Thus we say of the pious when they die, that they fall asleep, or depart and go to Christ.

But if the saints in heaven still live, they cannot be separated from those that still sojourn on earth. The visible and invisible worlds are brought together in God, and made to stand side by side in inseparable unity. The wall of separation, which is for the most part reared between the Church on earth and the Church in heaven, is a fictitious and imaginary one. It is owing to our blindness and want of faith, that our Father's house appears to us to be situated far away, somewhere beyond the most distant star. Owing to this delusion we think little of it, and fail to feel its balmy atmosphere inspiring us with health and vigor. We live consequently amidst the elements of time, and forget that we have *already* come, as the apostle

says, to Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and Church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God, the Judge of all and to the spirits of just men made perfect. Hebrews 12th chapter. This union of the Church in heaven and of the Church on earth leads to active communion and sympathy between the two worlds. How can the one be an indifferent spectator of what is transacting in the other? There ought to be, at least, and there may be as much active sympathy between them, as there is between different sections of the Church on earth. Without any doubt, the saints in glory excel in active interest in the condition of the suffering saints on earth. It were contrary to reason, to all true Christian feeling, as well as the word of God, to think that they, who now enjoy the bliss of Paradise, are indifferent and unconcerned spectators of the trials or victories of the Church on earth. A supposition like this would make heaven, of all other places, the most selfish. It would be nothing more than the view of the Epicureans, who believed that heaven was too happy a place to permit the gods to be concerned about the affairs of mortals on earth. The saints in heaven having the same God and Father as the saints on earth, must feel that they are their brethren, and candidates for the same immortality, that they now enjoy to full fruition. They are our brethren and we are theirs. Their thoughts and sympathies flow on in uninterrupted harmony with the thoughts and sympathies of their Saviour; but we know that Christ, being touched with a feeling of our infirmities, sympathizes with his suffering saints on earth, that it is his peculiar office now in heaven to intercede for them, to rule over them, and to defend them against the assaults of their enemies. How then can the active sympathies of Christ, fail to enlist the sympathies of the saints, who stand round his throne and behold him face to face? How can they fail to feel as Christ feels for his Church still in the wilderness? They have not as yet forgotten the conflicts, through which they passed on their way to the heavenly city. They are still in the high-tide of their triumph, and the tears have just been wiped from their eyes. They know the nature of the good fight of faith, what it is to buckle on the armor of the gospel, and to contend against sin and Satan on his own ground, and they are, therefore, of all other beings, best calculated to sympathize with those who are still on the field of

battle. The ties, that bind them to suffering saints, we may suppose, are stronger than those which connect them with such as are already glorified. Thus, it is said, there is more joy in heaven over one sinner that repents than over ninety and nine just persons that need no repentance. Love and affection are never called forth to the same extent, as when the object of affection is in danger of perishing. Thus parents are never so conscious of affection for their children as when disease invades their frames and the approach of death is perceived on their countenances. Then eyes weep that are not accustomed to weep, and affection that was not perceptible at other times breaks through all bounds, and overflows the soul with sorrow. On the same principle, we may infer that our very crosses, temptations and sufferings call forth an amount of sympathy among the saints on high, that is in proportion to their intensity. Even if we were to suppose, that all natural affection becomes extinct at the hour of death, an idea, however, which cannot be entertained or maintained, still the saints in heaven must continue to cherish an active interest in the work which engaged their lives and energies in this world. They labored for the upbuilding and the spread of the kingdom of God on earth, but they were taken from the field before their work was done or their prayers answered; the missionary died just as the fields began to whiten, and the minister was called to his reward when the time had apparently arrived for him to throw in his sickle and reap the fruit; parents too were called away when the prospect for the conversion of their children was brightest. Under these circumstances, we cannot suppose that either the missionary, the minister or the parent, can forget the work of their lives, or the subjects of so many earnest prayers. Their happiness would seem to be connected with some distinct knowledge of the triumphs of Christ on earth.

But there is something more than mere sympathy in heaven for the Church on earth. There is indeed no true sympathy, which does not end in external activity. It makes no difference, whether we know what specific office they discharge for us or not, but as to the general fact, that they are actively engaged in our behalf, we need not entertain any doubts. We have here something more certain than mere opinion, or an unsubstantial hypothesis. It is said of the angels that they are ministering spirits, sent forth to minister to them who shall be heirs of salvation. Angels, however, are not alone distinguished in this respect; the just

made perfect are as the angels, and of course discharge common functions with them. They rise to the same rank with them, enjoy the same bliss, and therefore enter upon the same work and labor of love. Thus Moses and Elias after they had rested with God for centuries, are found returning to the earth, and on the mount of transfiguration conversing with Christ in regard to his approaching decease.

It being then true, that on the side of the saints beyond the grave, there is a living, active sympathy with the Church on earth, it follows that Christians on the other side should sympathize with them, if the communion between the visible worlds is to be complete. The feeling which inclines us to commune with the pious dead, does not spring from any calculations of the understanding, nor from mere nature, which abhors death, and the grave; it is rather the genuine product of the Christian life, assisted by nature, so far as nature still retains upward and heavenly aspirations. The spread of Christianity in the early ages, immediately made men conscious of their relations to such as had died in Christ. It was as if they were introduced into a new world, where they walked and lived with the spirits of just men made perfect. Hence the extraordinary, and, in their age, strange care, which they manifested for the dead, and their remains. The old heathen custom of burning dead bodies was at once rejected by the Church, and generally abolished throughout the Roman Empire, that it might give place to the decencies of a Christian funeral. The graves of such as had been distinguished for piety became sacred ground, over which a church was erected, and around which a town or city in the course of time sprung up. Cemeteries became places of resort, either for pious meditation, or for the celebration of divine worship. Relics too of departed saints were cherished with religious care, because they served as means to assist the living in maintaining communion with the departed. This general attention to the dead in the early Church, showing itself in various ways, sprung from a deep root in the Christian consciousness, a clear conviction, that the pious after death continue to live on, and in the same fellowship and communion with their brethren as when they were on earth. The Church has never lost this, one of her early impressions, unless it be so in our days, when the world has become the engrossing object of men's thoughts and desires, and eternity has been reduced to a mere fiction, to a land of shadows and dreams, respecting which we can no longer exercise

anything like heart-felt faith. Whatever we may think of the means employed by the Church of Rome to keep her membership in communion with the dead, such as her peculiar view of the mass as a sacrifice for the dead, the invocation of saints, relic-worship, and so on, it must be admitted, that in that Church, communion with the departed has ever been maintained, and that her whole economy is in many respects admirably adapted to secure the unity of the Church on a scale, that includes the saints above as well as those below. The means referred to are offensive to an evangelical consciousness, and so they have been pronounced by a large portion of the intelligence and Christianity of the last three hundred years, yet it would be disingenuous in us not to acknowledge, that the Roman Catholic Church keeps up an active communion at least with her own departed saints. This has been regarded by some as a serious objection to her. She has been ridiculed for the intense interest she takes in the *dead*. But on the other hand, this has also been her charm, especially to poets and artists, some of whom without any particular religious bias, have felt themselves drawn towards her communion, because they have admired the facility with which her members are brought to look away from the visible to the invisible world. In the Protestant world there is a tendency to shut out of view, as far as possible, the world of the dead. *Because* we believe that the state of the dead is fixed either in heaven or in hell, we are prone to dismiss the memory of the pious, as if communion with them could not be maintained, without faith in the efficacy of their prayers, or in our intercessions for them. Our prosperity in material interests, and the disposition to look only at things that may be seen, felt, or clearly understood, engendered by such prosperity, taken in connection with our antagonism to Rome, very often carried to an unreasonable extreme, have served to separate us more and more from the world of saints beyond our sight. The whole tendency, however, is wrong and antichristian, and is opposed especially to faith in a Holy Catholic Church, and the Communion of Saints. The idea of the Church, as well as that charity, which binds the children of God everywhere, in heaven and earth, into one family, requires of us, to maintain daily communion with the departed. It is, moreover, a privilege of which the pious heart will not suffer itself to be deprived. When friends, in whose hearts and lives the flame of piety ever glowed, are taken from us, the mind involuntarily inquires, Where, O

where do they tend? When faith answers that they have gone to our father's house in the skies, the grief of separation is assuaged. We feel that they are still one with us, engaged in the same work, and laboring for the same Master. Walking with God, we continue to walk with them. While they are safe in the harbor of eternal rest, we feel encouraged to venture out also, upon the perilous course over which they passed without harm. Faith does not forbid us to believe that they visit us as invisible spirits, to minister to our wants, and unite with us in the worship of God in the sanctuary. The word of God indeed assures us that they surround us, as a great crowd of witnesses, an illustrious crowd of spectators, gazing upon us, as we struggle in the arena of life, for the crown, that fadeth not away. Our piety leaves our prejudices behind, and often in prayer or praise, we give a heart-felt utterance to the sentiment of the hymn:

"The saints on earth, and all the dead,
But one communion make;
All join in Christ, their living head,
And of his grace partake."

The second point which we proposed for discussion, is the *form*, which the Christian communion assumes in its outward development. This, of itself, would afford matter for a separate article. Our space will allow us, however, to make only a few remarks under this head.

In a word, the form, which the communion of saints assumes in this world, is the Holy Catholic Church. The one is the objective manifestation of the other. They differ from each other, yet both flow from a common principle in Christ, the Head of the Church. There can be no Church, where there is no communion, just as there can be no communion apart from the Church. These two articles in the creed, referring to the Church and the communion of believers, do not mean the same thing, though they are so connected that the one could not be there without the other.

The connection, here pointed out, may be illustrated by referring to a law, which everywhere regulates the manifestations of life. Form is always the product of life, and life cannot exist without form or embodiment of some kind. A human body, without life, is a mere corpse, whilst life, without body, is a mere phantom or ghost, which is a mere nonentity, notwithstanding the fears of the superstitious. Life may be of different kinds, and as a consequence, produce forms, or organs

izations, that differ very widely from each other ; yet, everywhere throughout the universe, we observe the principle of life seeking to externalize itself in a form commensurate with its nature, or inward principle. This is what is meant by the distinguished English theologian, when he says, that "corporeity is the end of God's ways." This tendency towards organization, is greater in proportion, as the activity of the vital principle is the more intense. Plants, and the lower animals, manifest it in a much lower degree, than the higher animals, and especially man, whose body in the adaptation of its various-organs, we cannot contemplate, without feeling that it is fearfully and wonderfully made.

Keeping in view this law of life, we cannot suppose that the communion of saints, can exist without some outward expression or embodiment. To say, that the mere communion of the saints, is the Church, involves a palpable confusion of two ideas, that should be kept separate and distinct ; it is, indeed, a manifest attempt to render void and useless, that article of the Creed, which requires of us to believe in a Holy Catholic Church ; for, if they are synonymous, there was no need of two articles meaning the same thing, and the Church of all ages has been using a "vain repetition," in its profession of faith. This substitution of the inward life of believers for the Church, destroys the idea of the Church, and renders it a mere phantom, a mere idea, and that only of an abstract character. It also leaves no room for communion among believers ; for this can exist only as it has a body to inhabit, and organs through which it shall live and act.

The idea of the Church, therefore, implies organization, at least, of some kind or other. The form, which it bears from age to age, may vary, and at times, be very inadequate to express the Divine Life proceeding from the Saviour. It may be wounded and bruised in the conflicts through which it passes ; it may, sometimes, scarcely be recognized as something divine, just as the body of the Saviour was more marred than that of any other man, so that its heavenly beauty could not be recognized or admired : yet, as body and soul, in our earthly relations, go together, so must the communion of saints have its body or organization. It may be difficult to say, how much of the visibility or organization of the Church may be destroyed by a one-sided spiritualism, before it loses its identity, or before it ceases to be a Church. It is clear, however, that the Church ceases to exist apart from the *ministry*, which, together with

the sacraments and the word, have always been regarded as essential attributes of the Church; though, in our days some seem to imagine, that this might be dispensed with, and the Church would continue to live on. Instead of inquiring with how little of outward organization, the communion of believers may subsist without destruction, and thus manifesting a singular disposition to economize what God has designed to be used, the question should rather be, How much of it do the wants of Christianity demand? How far does the communion of saints ask for an embodiment? What kind of an organization will best subserve the interests of piety, and promote the realization of the Saviour's prayer, that his people might be one, as He and the Father are one? The solution of questions like these, will tell us what the Church *ought to be*, though it may give us a different idea of it, from what it now *is*, in its desolate, distracted, and imperfect state.

Whilst the communion of saints, as it is of the character of life, implies organization, it further implies that this organization should be harmonious and consistent throughout: that is, it demands that the Church of Christ should be visibly one, as it is invisibly one with its Head. It is not said, that there cannot be communion among saints, when the Church is outwardly divided; for it cannot be maintained that there is no communion among believers in our day, when the Christian community is confessedly divided. There may be communion between good men, though circumstances may be such as to require them to pursue different courses, and to have no special intercourse with each other. Love existed between Abraham and Lot, though the unfortunate strife among their herdsmen, made it necessary for the one to go to the right and the other to the left. But who would contend, that such a visible isolation of good men from each other's society, is the normal or the best relation for them to sustain to each other? So, because errors or bigotry, or other causes, which we do not fully comprehend, unite in keeping Christians apart from each other, how can any one, penetrated with the spirit of Christ, justify this state of things in the Church, as the best which we have a right to expect? How can any one, who believes in the mystical union of believers with Christ and one another, as an actual fact, believe that the system of sectism, so prevalent in our day, realizes the idea of the Church, as the body of Christ, the fulness of Him, that filleth all in all? Who that has Christian sympathies, believing as his fathers before him did, in a Holy Catholic

Church, and the Communion of Saints, can rest satisfied with the divided state of Christendom, and regard this state as in the main right? The various branches of the Church stand, to a great extent, separated from each other, in dreary loneliness, rendering it difficult, if not impossible, for them to exercise that charity, which is represented as the peculiar ornament of the Christian dispensation. Respecting this jarring, divided condition of the Church, the complaint of the poet, when he viewed the selfish, isolated state of the kingdoms of this world, has at least some force:

"Lands intersected by a narrow frith
Abhor each other. Mountains interpos'd
Make enemies of nations, who had else
Like kindred drops been mingled into one."

The fact, however, that the Church of Christ has not ceased to exist, amidst the numberless divisions into which it has been rent, can never be urged as a plea to justify them. He who is satisfied with them, or can extenuate them as anything more than evils sent upon the Church to be overruled for good, resembles the man who has become so habituated to the inconveniences of a prison-house, as to fall at length into love with them. Sectism and faith in the Church, are opposites, and exclude each other. The common consciousness of Christians everywhere, is opposed to sect or schism; the love which is spread abroad in their hearts, is Catholic and free, and disdains to be pent up within the walls of a narrow sect. Of like faith, of like hopes, of like aims and ends, the whole tendency of their inward life is towards visible as well as invisible unity. As yet, it cannot be maintained, that the inward life of Christianity has found its proper form and embodiment in the world. It nowhere appears properly as a body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part. It does not fully present itself to the world as a bride, without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, as much united in itself as a single person is physically, and infinitely more so. The different branches of the Church, in many cases, occupy the position either of direct antagonism, or of cold indifference towards each other. The very idea of such a unity is frequently regarded as dangerous heresy. The tendency to organization in the Church, going forward, as it ever must, towards unity, is dreaded as fraught with danger to private and individual rights. It

is, indeed, not uncommon for modern reformers to affirm, that organizations are the shelter and defence of antiquated errors; that they are evils, and obstacles in the way of the progress of the age; and that they are increasingly dangerous in proportion to their antiquity. Hence, their hatred for old institutions, and their Vandal-like assaults to undermine them. The Churches of the Reformation, for instance, are too antiquated, and must, therefore, give way for new and better ones. They never dream, that, if ancient institutions, in passing from age to age, bring with them the dust of centuries, they have nevertheless been the bulwarks of the truth, and still contain in their time-worn halls the treasures of a former and better age. They resemble the traveler in Greece, who sees nothing but ruins in her ancient monuments, and has neither taste nor discernment, to perceive the beauty, that still lingers there. In their precipitous haste in the work of destruction, they do not give themselves time to reflect, that the fundamental truths of the gospel, such as the Trinity, the incarnation, and the articles of the creed, generally, are so firmly inscribed on the walls of the older ecclesiastical organizations, that nothing now can forever erase them; that if they had been written on adamant, they could not have been so secure from "time's effacing fingers," whilst on structures of the modern fashion, they are either not seen, or are written in such faint characters, that we have no security, that they will be legible to the generation which is to follow.

This radical opposition to ecclesiastical organization, overlooks the formative law of life, to which we have already referred. They are, therefore, violators of the laws of human progress, as well as of those of the Christian life. They flourish most in this country, where population is comparatively sparse, and society is as yet chaotic; when, however, this land from east to west, is filled with teeming millions, not only will society, but the Church also, become so fully organized, and so closely reticulated, that their individual, subjective views will be made to vanish before the onward progress of omnipotent Law, and be remembered only as the fanciful vagaries of a nation's infancy. The communion, which binds believers together into one, must become more external, and visible, or else lose its internal power or life. The Scripture teaches us to regard the progress of the Church, and so of her unity, as a gradual and progressive work. Thus the apostle says: "*Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of*

the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ: That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness of men, whereby they lie in wait to deceive." Eph. 4: 13, 14. Hence, when any branch of the Church presents her form, as something normal and fixed, for all ages of the world, as the Roman Catholics do, we may well grow suspicious and skeptical, in regard to such pretensions and claims. We may approve of the object had in view, the union of believers into one family and brotherhood of love, but we cannot adopt their means. Their catholicity is not a true catholicity, and we say to them, "Lengthen thy cords and strengthen thy stakes, if thy house is to be a habitation for all the children of God."

When it is affirmed that the Church must be outwardly, as well as inwardly one, in order to be true to her nature, we assert a general principle, and here we close. It does not necessarily bring us to the question, what the particular form of the Church ought to be, whether Papal, Episcopal, or Presbyterian. This, we believe, to be one of secondary importance; for the communion of saints, when it comes to be fully realized in the world, will embody itself in a form, irrespective of our wishes, fancies, or speculations. As the divine life expands, and heaven-like penetrates the mass of humanity, it will take to itself a body, without consulting philosophers or theologians. Life universally is mysterious, and this is especially true of the kingdom of heaven. Here the wisdom of the wise is ever set at naught, and their speculations and prophecies respecting the future, become as frail as the spider's web, and are soon swept away by the renovating hand of time. For aught we know, either of the forms of ecclesiastical polity referred to might be selected by Infinite Wisdom, to serve as the earthly form of the Lamb's Bride; though it seems most reasonable to suppose, that in some way we do not now understand, the peculiar excellencies of each may be combined into a system, that shall excel any one of them, as much as the last development of the kingdom of heaven, shall exceed that through which we are now passing. What is most important, however, alike to theologians, and practical Christians generally, is, the feeling that the Church should be one, harmonious, and symmetrical throughout, and not as she now is, distracted, divided, and bearing in her bosom festering schisms and heresies. We need the right kind of feeling, with reference to the unity of

the Church, fully as much as we do the right kind of views. High respect for subjective, or personal piety, however proper in its place, will not suffice, as this is only one side of Christianity. There is another, which is equally, if not more important. Love for the Church, and a deep interest in her objective development, in her bridal beauty, which shall make her more and more a praise in all the earth, constitute the deepest want of our age.

To build up this side of the broken down walls of Zion, the elements of reconstruction are at hand. We have before us, for our imitation and encouragement, the Church of the holy apostles, when the brethren were all of one mind and of one spirit. In the Church at Jerusalem, when the Spirit was poured out, we have, what has often taken place in secular history, an anticipation of what is to be brought about more fully in the future. We have also the Apostle's Creed, which has not, as yet, vanished from the memory of the Church, certainly not from historical Churches. In that symbol of our most holy faith, the articles, I believe in a Holy Catholic Church, in the Communion of Saints, still remain, despite the havoc of the foe and the unbeliever, in the courts of the Lord's house. When these articles are intoned with the hearty amen of the sacramental hosts of the elect throughout the world, we may raise our eyes hopefully upwards, for the kingdom of heaven is nigh at hand.

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ART. III.—PARACELSUS, AND HIS INFLUENCE ON CHEMISTRY AND MEDICINE.

TO PARACELSUS,—a native of Switzerland—Chemistry is more indebted for a proper attention to its nature and design, by way of directing the public mind to its importance, than probably any one of those mighty minds that have travelled the path he pointed out and honestly grappled with such difficulties as might by found obstructing their progress. A course of investigation commenced with him, which had for its object, the

application of chemical remedies to the removal of disease, and tended, in a great measure, to dispel the miserable chimeras that were conjured up by the men of his time, as the close guardians of all knowledge. For *this* alone, though no actual contributions had been made by him to the stock of human knowledge, it would be right that his exertions should be properly understood at the present day; and a *proper* understanding of this, will induce us to overlook that otherwise intolerable presumption and egotism which seem to have pervaded his whole life.

Prior to his time, the profession of Medicine was mostly prosecuted as a mysterious art and surrounded with all the paraphernalia of empirical pretension, while Chemistry, at best, was only a search for the supposed method of transmuting baser metals into those of more value to mankind on account of their rarity and comparative indestructibility when exposed to the action of fire or the atmosphere. Its devotees enshrouded themselves and it, with all the mystery they could command through the wonderful effects of their re-agents, and the credulity of mankind. This last they lost, since long before Chemistry was freed from the trammels of mystery, mankind had forgotten how to be credulous. Credulity was completely driven away by the scorn and ridicule the arrogant students of Alchemy excited on all sides. Indeed Alchemy was based originally on mystery,—its very name (*al* the, *kemia* mysterious) indicating the view its own followers took of its end and design. Its origin likewise, probably in Egypt—the land of mystery,—associates it at once with the dark and the hidden. Its objects were neither to benefit man by teaching him those actions which take place in the vital laboratory, nor to afford him means of meeting an impaired organism, but only to procure those substances which minister alone to the baser passions of our nature.

Alchemy has generally been considered the invention of Hermes Trismegistus,—an Egyptian,—who is said by legendary history to have been the son of Ham. Of the personal history of this Hermes, nothing is now known save some contradictory statements, bearing on their face, evidence of modern origin; but a table, which is alleged to have been removed from his place of interment, with the inscription *Verba Secretorum Hermetis Trismegisti*, clearly shows that quite as much account was made of mystery by the father of this art as by his followers in after ages. He had an indistinct notion

that all nature was resolvable into one element and, in accordance with this idea, he says in the table ;—*Sicut omnes res fuerant ab uno meditatione unius ; sic omnes res natæ fuerunt ab hac una re adaptatione. Causa omnis perfectionis rerum ea est per universum hoc.* Hence he labored to procure the noble from the baser metals, considering it only necessary to cause a change of state in this *one* element to produce gold or silver at the will of the experimenter.

Aristotle, after Hermes, advanced the doctrine, that instead of one, there were four elements, from which all material substances were formed, and that these elements were earth, air, fire and water. Modern science has long since satisfied us, that three of these are compound bodies, and the fourth—fire, is the result of “intense attraction between two or more substances.” The doctrine of Aristotle, however, was held for centuries, until exploded by the Arabian Alchemists, under their great chief—Geber. The latter taught that all metals were composed of but two substances—mercury and sulphur, which, with salt, constituted the elements of all matter. The doctrine of the four elements had been forced to give way to another doctrine, equally as erroneous, but still worthy of note, as an indication of the progressive tendency of human investigation.

The Arabian division soon gave way before the discoveries that were almost daily stumbled on by the disciples of Geber, in Arabia, and others on the continent of Europe. The state of Alchemy at this time exhibited ever and anon a glimmer of that true light, which should afterwards contribute so much to man's wants, comforts, and luxuries. It was not the dawn of day, but the gradual disappearance of the thick darkness of midnight, which this period in the history of science truly displays. Phenomena were accumulating on the hands of its devotees, it is true, little understood and accounted for by occult causes, yet, it was necessary for such an accumulation, before truth could be deduced for the benefit of the race. Geber produced the first book ever written on this subject, and we learn, notwithstanding the mystic nature of his experiments,* “in general, it is written with so much plainness, that we can understand the nature of the substances which he employed, the processes he followed, and the greater number of the products which he obtained.” It would be a matter of much interest to examine the accumulated results of his obser-

* Thomson's History of Chemistry, vol. 1, page 117.

vations, but it would lead us too far away from our subject. We are only able to glance at this veteran Alchemist of Arabia, who, in despite of that indisposition to severe mental labor or diligent investigation of any subject, which marked his nature, evoked some little order out of the chaos which surrounded his favorite pursuit, and cleared the way for other and surer guides in the department of science.

Paracelsus was born in the year 1493, at Einsiedeln, in Switzerland, and probably had his attention turned to the profession of medicine quite early in life, as his father was a physician, and practised his profession in the place of his son's nativity. An education of a limited character at home, with a natural bent for experimenting on the nature and constitution of things around him, served to direct his attention in after years, when he roamed through different lands, picking up fragments of knowledge from all sides, to those chemical investigations which were to be of so much importance to the world. He visited France, Spain, Italy, and Germany, and seems to have paid some attention to Chemistry, and kindred branches, as taught at the most distinguished Universities of those countries. With a looseness and lack of dignity, unknown to his profession at that time, he communicated freely, with all classes of people, on the subjects of disease and its remedies,—was boon-companion of all classes, whether professional or unprofessional, learned or unlearned, from men of the position of Erasmus and Oecolampadius, down to any garrulous old crone who would talk with eagerness on domestic remedies. By this mingling with all classes in society, and being looked up to with respect by most of them, he acquired a collected series of facts, which availed him much in his treatment of disease, and, at the same time, so inflated his vanity that he publicly consigned to the flames, in the presence of a large assembly, the works of Galen and Avicenna, declaring his shoe-strings were wiser than these two eminent writers. His family name, Bombast de Hohenheim, with the prefix, Paracelsus, was not sufficiently high sounding, and he called himself Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Paracelsus Bombastus de Hohenheim.

In 1527, he entered upon the duties of Professor of Medicine, at the University of Basle, being elected to that position by the magistrates of the town, at the instance of Oecolampadius. Here, in his vernacular, and occasionally in barbarous Latin, he lectured to large and enthusiastic audiences for

some time—attracting some really anxious to know those remedies he was introducing, so effectually, into medical practice, and others actuated by a desire to hear those denunciations he poured out *pleno rivo* on the heads of his rivals. His vanity and inflated style of speaking, largely increased by such flattering audiences, at last excited disgust and contempt with his class, and it dwindled down to a very meagre number.

But his faults were not confined to those of egotism and vanity,—they included drunkenness and licentiousness. In a state of intoxication, he generally entered his class-room;—visited his patients, and dictated his lectures, in a like condition. Doubtless, to this pernicious habit, must be attributed much of that pompous egotism, which proclaims so authoritatively: * “Me you shall follow, you Galen, you Rhazes, you Montagnana, you Mesue. I shall not follow you, but you shall follow me. I shall be monarch, the monarchy shall be mine.

* * What will you think when you see the sect of Theophrastus leading on a solemn triumph, if I make you pass under the yoke of my philosophy? Your Pliny will you call Caco Pliny, and your Aristotle, Caco Aristotle?”

He only retained his position, as Professor, for one year, having given up his chair in consequence of a quarrel with the magistrates of the town, with reference to a suit brought by him, against a rich ecclesiastic, which suit was decided against him. After this termination of his professional duties, he led a life of irregularity and drunkenness, roaming from place to place, accompanied by a number of followers, who adhered to him through good and evil fortune. His occasional cures of diseases, given up by the rest of the profession, served to retain for him a large share of his former reputation.

Ungoverned by religion, he denied the authority of the Pope, and denounced Luther,—the one for asserting that which Paracelsus did not believe, and the other for not condemning the Pope as heartily as he did. He looked upon the Scriptures as containing the sum of all knowledge, and also, as actually treating of all things. Medicine, he insisted upon it, must be given by a Theosophist; for such an one could see, by faith, more clearly into the hidden causes of disease, than any other man, on account of his inner illumination.

He boasted the possession of the philosopher's stone, and the Elixir Longæ Vitæ, and notwithstanding such a powerful adjuvant to life, as the last should have been, he died in the

* Thomson's History of Chemistry, vol. 1, page 146.

Hospital of St. Sebastian, at Salzburg, 1541, in the 48th year of his age.

From this short sketch of his life and character, it is an easy matter to conclude that he was virtually an impostor,—without moral character, without any religious creed,—whose endurance, by the world, is only attributable to the startling and extraordinary success, which at times, attended his practice. We look at him with no desire to extenuate, or cover over, one of those stains which stand out so boldly in his character ;—yet, with all their hideousness, we say the man did more for the cause of Chemistry, than any man of his day.

The world, prior to his time, recognized very little use in the study of Alchemy, or its child, *then* in swaddling clothes—Chemistry. He insisted upon its being absolutely indispensable to the physician, in the treatment of disease, and showed that many substances could be so altered by fire and Chemistry, that their properties might be changed from those of an injurious tendency, to such as would be advantageous to the living economy.

From this fact alone, which was setting old notions and modes of practice adrift down the stream of oblivion, an impetus was given to medicine, now telling with force, throughout the whole civilized world. Man was never created to follow any routine blindly ; and though for centuries he may be induced to do so from habit, a deliverer will come who will teach him to throw off the galling yoke, and with the quizzing *cui bono*, induce him to investigate the reasons that forced him ever to bear it. Though such an one fall a victim to his own evil passions, and thus come short of the brilliant position he might have otherwise occupied, his body will serve as a bridge from dull, hide-bound servility to antiquated notions over to full, free, investigation into the nature of things. It is but fair to see what has been attained in this age, by those who have passed from the position of slavish obedience to the dicta of a master, to that *status* of science where they proudly boast themselves *nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri* ; and though their passage over may have been by a bridge, with no attractive exterior,—nothing to please the eye or gratify the taste,—still it demands all the credit for the facilities it has afforded.

From the time of Paracelsus and his disciples, down to the present day, medicine has yearly drawn heavy draughts on Chemistry, to elucidate the mysterious operations of the human

system. The operations of digestion,—consisting in the conversion of heterogeneous articles of food into a homogeneous mass,—has been explained by the action of chemical re-agents. Respiration merely performs for the blood the part of separating one gas and substituting another. Secretion is also based upon chemical laws. Thus many of the complex series of phenomena, which united are considered as life, are purely chemical in their character, and though they *cannot* be imitated out of the body without the presence of living, organized matter, yet, their character is thereby not affected in the least. It is true, the operations of the vital laboratory cannot be considered synonymous with those carried on in our laboratories with lifeless material, yet the former may be explained by the latter, both directly and by analogy.

The operations of a laboratory will go on, so long as the requisite materials are present in proper quantities, due regard being had to the necessary presence of heat, light, electricity and moisture. Affinity will show her mysterious changes, colors will lose their brilliancy, and the form of substances be changed from solid to liquid,—from liquid to gas,—or the opposite, as the abstraction or absorption of heat may take place. Now these effects will be produced, without being held in abeyance by any power, save those just mentioned—heat, light, electricity and moisture. With the operations of the living laboratory it is quite different. They are kept within certain bounds so long as life, or even health lasts, and only act in strict accordance with their legitimate chemical properties, when the vital spark has been extinguished. The changes after death, thus produced by the action of decomposition, in accordance with chemical principles, is noticed by Baron Cuvier, as follows: “* This separation of the elemental constituents of the body is the natural effect of the action of the air, humidity and heat; in a word, of external matter upon the dead body; and it has its cause in the elective attraction of those different agents for the elements of which the body is composed. That body, however, was equally surrounded by those agents while living, their affinities with its molecules were the same, and the latter would have yielded in the same manner during life, had not their cohesion been preserved by a power superior to that of those affinities, and which never ceased to act till the moment of death.”

Now Paracelsus first directed attention to this chemical ex-

* Lectures on Comparative Anatomy.

planation of many functions of the human system, and very rightly endeavored to govern them, when acting abnormally, by means of chemical agents. The actual importance of the vital principle in restraining these chemical operations within proper bounds was not *fully* understood by him, but the necessity of having some principle of this kind was perceived, and accordingly he attempted to meet this want by the supposition that there existed a demon in the stomach, who presided over all its chemical operations.

The archæus, who is allowed almost the same attributes we give to the vital force, was supposed to exercise the power of abstracting such substances from the ingesta as might contribute to the nutrition of the body, and to reject such as would be detrimental. The whole process of converting the food into healthy, nutritious chyle, was superintended by him, as well as the subsequent conversion of this chyle into blood. Hence, Paracelsus taught, that when the body was diseased, this archæus must be conciliated, and his power over the chemical operations of the stomach, brought into full action. Here we see foreshadowed the necessity of giving tonicity to the system, by attending to the functions of digestion. He attributed also the curing of all diseases to this archæus—the *vis medicatrix naturæ*. Prior to his time, remedies were brought to bear upon disease through some supposed mysterious power they *inherently* possessed, which caused the disease to flee, as a weaker party would before a stronger on the battle field. Medicines were understood to *cure disease*, and they were administered with reference to this effect alone. The fact that nature supplies each living being with a power of recuperation, which sometimes needs assistance to *enable it* to throw off morbid matter, was not at all understood. Indeed not only does nature possess such recuperative power, but most often what we consider disease, is merely an indication of nature's activity in removing morbid matter from the system. Medicine is, therefore, given with reference to assisting nature in this operation,—the ejection of intruding enemies from her walls;—it is an auxiliary to the vital force, and not the force itself, by which the disease is removed. This is most fitly shown in inflammation and fever, now considered as curative processes of nature,—and not its deadly enemies;—they are the means adopted by the system to remove poison from its inmost recesses. Often the invalid is not able to withstand the violence of this curative process,—the vital powers succumb and death

follows. The administration of medicines, with the view of suppressing these processes of nature, would be death itself; consequently medicines are given sometimes intelligently, and sometimes ignorantly, which act by *moderating* the violence of this conflict,—fitting the system to sustain the shock and thus to attain its original vigor and health. The power of medicines is not to eradicate disease, but to enable nature to drive it forth from its hiding-places,—or to strengthen the foundations of life which disease is endeavoring to undermine and overthrow. This idea certainly was present to Paracelsus' mind, and he repeatedly declares that medicines do not cure the disease, but the archæus who presides over the vital functions,—“that he has a head and hands, and is nothing else than the *spirit of life*, the sideric body of man, and that no other spirit besides, exists in the body.

Another subject, with reference to which, we owe much to the views of Paracelsus, is that of the proper preparation of medicines. Prior to his time, they were concocted of incongruous materials,—some opposing diametrically the action of others,—some completely inert, and many of a disgusting character. The famed Mithridate, composed of drastics, astringents, terebinthines, expectorants, antispasmodics, stimulants, carminatives, aromatics and tonics, along with dried vipers, constituted a compound, which had been considered specific for many diseases. This was, however, simple and unobjectionable, compared with many others in which mummies, and various other disgusting substances were exposed to decoction, and the resulting draught—little inferior in character, to the compound of the witches' cauldron in Macbeth,—was crammed down the throats of invalids. Paracelsus endeavored to obtain the active principles of medicinal agents, by means of extracts and tinctures. The quintessence of a thing, he insists upon it, should always be given to the sick, so that by its most powerful form it may induce the archæus to correct the diseased system.

The limited knowledge of the real properties of medicines, peculiar to the age, caused the propagator of this idea to fall short of carrying it out, or even of understanding it, in its full force. Extracts and essences as proposed by him, were, in many instances, mere figments of his brain. The liquor of the *moon* was supposed to have a particular tendency to the brain; and various solutions of gold and silver, were proposed for different diseases, which, considering the nature of the sub-

stances employed, must have possessed not an infinitesimal quantity of active material. The announcement of an idea, novel and revolutionary in its character, is not always accompanied by its most successful adaptation to practical purposes. The lengthy and contradictory prescriptions of the days of Paracelsus were continued down to a comparatively recent period, and were only completely removed from the practice of physicians, when fuller and more just understanding of the views advanced by him were attained and the chemical properties of medicines with their incompatibles were better understood. Indeed in the time of Van Helmont, physicians had become so reckless in their combinations that recovery was considered as "not the consequence of their prescriptions but in spite of them."

The love of Astrology and Alchemy—both implanted early in the mind of Paracelsus by his father,—was not easily removed, and hence we find that with all the justness of his views, as to the use of Chemistry in the art of Pharmacy,—he neglected its assistance in procuring remedial agents from the *vegetable* kingdom, and relied here on the doctrine of *Signatures*. From some peculiar form or color, vegetables were considered as adapted to the disease under consideration and were applied with confidence as to success. Signatures were considered by Paracelsus as of immense importance, and hence he calls for a study of the *chiromancy* of a plant, denominating the leaves its *hands*, in order to ascertain correctly its medicinal properties. A similar idea, in the following century, may have existed in Sir Thomas Browne's mind, when he states in his *Religio Medici*; " * I hold, moreover, that there is a phytognomy or Physiognomy, not only of man, but of plants and vegetables; and in every one of them some outward figures which hang as *signs* or bushes of their inward forms." The believers in this doctrine endeavored to enforce its truth by the argument that these forms and peculiarities were given to plants by the Deity, who enforced upon them such mystic, external signs in order to exhibit their internal qualities and relations to disease. With this kind of sophistry, they shut up all inquiry into the reason of the doctrine of signatures, and the minds of men, on account of reverence, feared to doubt what came from such high authority.

Chemistry entered its highest sphere of duty, when it was openly declared by Paracelsus that "its use was to prepare

* *Religio Medici*, 114.

medicines and not to make Gold." It had just begun to free itself from the dross and impurities of Magic and Alchemy, when attention was directed to it by him as a science of much importance, both for the proper preparation of such remedies as were already known and for the investigation of such new agents as might be presented to it for an examination of their qualities. In this way, Chemistry showed its good services to man, which have since been recognized by the civilized world. The medical profession universally acknowledge the utility of its study as an important subject in a medical education. It forms one of the branches taught in all their schools, whether regular or irregular, Allopathic, Homeopathic, Hydropathic or Eclectic. "Tantus enim ille *non* est physicus, qui Chemicus non est," was said by *Ten Rhyne* in the seventeenth century,—writing somewhat more moderately on the subject than *Libavius*—one of *Paracelsus*' own students,—who says "Medicus ille nequit esse magnus, cui Chymia non est magna." It is now fully understood that no man can practice the profession of Medicine with that intelligent satisfaction, one should always possess, unless a certain amount of knowledge of Chemistry be included among his mental qualifications.

By the aid of Chemistry we have driven out of use the unseemly preparations, which years ago constituted the only mode of treating disease, and have substituted those composed of a few articles selected for their peculiar adaptation to the case under consideration, and so prepared that the component parts are compatible with each other and suited to the wants of the system. This was a mighty revolution in the treatment of disease and does great honor to his name, to whom we are indebted for the suggestion. The complicated prescriptions of olden times resulted from a desire to modify or mitigate the action of some of their ingredients by adding others in themselves harmless and unsuited to the wants of the patient. As the imagination had forsooth to be worked upon, substances were added which should exercise some effect on it. The number of articles, which were then subjected to protracted decoction had their activity either entirely destroyed by combination with some chemical incompatible or volatilized by the continued heat. The decoction was then filtered from this rudis indigestaque moles and forced upon the patient who recoiled from the nauseous compound. The best diagnosis under such treatment could be of no avail. And every attempt to cure this state of things seemed to make it worse, as the inef-

ficiency or positively injurious character of such compounds did not induce them to throw them away, but only suggested to their minds one mode of cure, and that was by still adding additional articles to make them more suited to the case.

The reform introduced by Paracelsus, has progressed slowly down to the present time, when the principle, that the simpler the compound, the more useful in disease, appears to be universally acknowledged. The way has been more thoroughly opened for the employment of the essential qualities of medicines by the discovery of the alkaloids which constitute the essence of their activity, and hence there is little or no reason at present for the administration of copious draughts of any decoction, when the efficiency of these draughts may be found in a portion of a grain of the substance itself. The discoveries of Cavantow, Setüvner and Pelletier only cleared the way for the attainment of Paracelsus' idea, that all medicines should be given in "their quintessences."

The substances which were introduced to the world by Paracelsus, as possessed of medicinal properties, are neither few nor unimportant in their character. Prominent among them, were the different preparations of Mercury, called at that time *argentum vivum* or quicksilver. Certain diseases, which were beyond the control of any other agent, yielded directly to the application of these mercurials. But the herculean doses, in which they were occasionally exhibited, proved too powerful for the system and many cases of death are recorded as succeeding this treatment. These were necessarily overshadowed by the few extraordinary cures occasionally effected, and which prevented the new treatment of Paracelsus from becoming odious to the people. Dr. Paris states that Paracelsus was undoubtedly the first man who dared to use mercury internally as a medicinal agent, "and that though Avicenna had asserted it was not so injurious as the ancients had imagined, yet he did not attribute to it many virtues; he merely says, *Argentum quidem vivum, plurimi qui bibunt, non laeduntur eo.*" To Paracelsus must therefore be attributed the first use of the preparations of this important agent medicinally. For centuries misunderstood,—blindly given at one period for all diseases coming under the eye of the practitioner, and as blindly rejected at another, as unsuited to any form of disease,—the action of Mercury, has become more and more thoroughly understood by the profession, and in consequence *properly* appreciated. It required the lapse of years, after its introduction,

before sufficient evidence could be collected for the formation of correct opinions, as to its proper therapeutical qualities. These were eventually attained, and the value of this agent, in *certain* forms of disease, is now recognized by the members of the medical profession all over the world.

Antimony, which had been largely used in his practical, and occasionally fatal experiments, on his monastic brethren by Basil Valentine, was first properly introduced to the world by Paracelsus, who was an ardent admirer of the old Benedictine monk. We are also indebted to him for the introduction of *Opium*.

These three important agents in the *Materia Medica*,—Mercury, Antimony and Opium,—were thus first introduced to professional notice by Paracelsus. There is no room for astonishment at the success of the man, though surrounded with those repelling qualities which spring from vaulting ambition, accompanied by egotism of the boldest kind, and the vilest species of immorality. The treatment of the reigning Galenical school, composed of incongruous articles, jumbled together in complicated prescriptions, and administered with all the solemnity that empirical pretension exhibits in contact with ignorant credulity, fell short of the effect it was designed to accomplish. Not even the magical incantations, which accompanied the preparation of some of their remedies, seemed to be of avail, when acute disease racked the emaciated frame, nor did the sideric influences compel the surrender of the offending cause. Hence, cases of this character, and those where chronic disease had slowly and insidiously attacked the inmost vitality of man, and by gradual approach, was reducing it to a lower and still lower *status*, were unsuccessfully treated by the Galenists. The boldness of Paracelsus induced him to exhibit the powerful remedies, which had come into his possession, and occasional cures of men, given up by other modes of treatment, sent his name far and wide over the country, and really constituted the reason for his being tolerated, when he exclaimed, that "the very down of his bald pate had more knowledge than all other writers, the buckles of his shoes more learning than Galen or Avicenna, and his beard more experience than all their Universities."

His success at this time, and under such circumstances, necessarily made him many enemies, whose rage died not as long as he lived. His boast, that he had cured eighteen princes, after the disciples of the Galenical school had utterly failed to

produce any impression on their diseases, only fanned the fires of opposition, so that his conduct was closely watched by those who wished to destroy an opponent,—now doubly formidable to them, on account of his occasional wonderful success, and the crowds of partizan-admirers who continually surrounded him. Such a system of espionage might have destroyed a much better man than Paracelsus, whose drunkenness and licentiousness had almost become a proverb. His vanity had led him also to proclaim, boastingly, that he could cure *all* diseases, and could prolong human life, indefinitely. The means of effecting the latter, consisted in an Elixir, of his invention, the absolute futility of which, was very satisfactorily proved, in accordance with the account of his biographer, by its being along side of him, or in his pocket, when he died at Salzburg.

The system of dispensary practice,—or medical attendance to that class in society, which is unable to afford pecuniary compensation, is said to have originated with Paracelsus. This is a bright redeeming trait in his character. To afford relief to suffering humanity, whether able to compensate, for services rendered, in gold or not, is certainly sufficient to entitle one to the thanks of his race,—to justify his claims to be called a benefactor of mankind,—in the highest degree, a philanthropist. There are, however, two motives which prompt men to such deeds,—one entitling them to the respect and esteem of their fellow men,—the other merely exhibiting the livery of heaven to worship mammon in,—being kind and attentive to the poor, because it is felt that all this must reflect credit on them among the rich,—that it is an expenditure of labor which must eventually bring in a handsome per centage. The first motive, renders the possessor, worthy of that title by which Luke is called, in the New Testament, “the beloved physician ;” the second, entitles the practitioner to the name of a mere tactician—a man of policy.

Now it is doubtful, whether such a man as Paracelsus, was ever actuated by disinterested motives, in establishing a custom, that has done so much good for suffering humanity. It is more probable, that, perceiving his abuse of the profession would prevent him from receiving that encouragement from the wealthier classes that he expected, he was induced to offer his services, gratuitously, to the poor. In this way, he would not only have an opportunity of exhibiting such professional skill as he possessed, but would, at the same time, gather around him a crowd of warm partizans, whose support would

give countenance to his conduct. The exhibition of his skill would eventually attract some in the higher ranks of society, while the partizans, previously gained, would be of use in forcing the community to tolerate the invective he so lavishly poured on the heads of the physicians of his day. Such, doubtless, were the motives of Paracelsus, in establishing this species of gratuitous practice among the poor. Sown by the craft of policy, it attained for its projector, reputation and wealth,—both lost through his own unworthiness. Since that day, it has been watered by the dews of fraternal kindness, and nursed by heavenly charity, until it now stands forth one of the noblest results of man's sympathy for his fellow-man. The philanthropic spirit, which induces such attention to the sufferings of man, without reference to subsequent recompense, is like that mercy which

“droppeth, as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath; it is twice bless'd;
It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes.”

The character of Paracelsus affords a striking contrast with the benefits he has conferred on mankind,—so striking indeed, that we can hardly conceive the former to have proceeded from such a polluted source. His boasted pretensions mark him an impostor and the very archetype of quackery. But we are indebted to him for the association of Chemistry with Medicine, and for the bold announcement, that the highest use of the former was to aid and assist the latter; for measurably diverting the public mind from fruitless searches after the philosopher's stone, and directing it to more rational and useful investigation in the domain of Chemistry proper; for establishing the system of gratuitous dispensation of medicines to the poor, and thus preventing a man's misfortunes from depriving him of scientific advice and remedies suited to his disease; and lastly, for that boldness with which he cut loose the cord that had formerly bound men's opinions fast to the dogmas and dicta of Galen and Avicenna, and set his profession a proper example of thinking for themselves,—debating in their own minds the justice of their predecessor's conclusions before adopting them as their own.

The disciples of the Galenical schools used all efforts in their power, to put down this bold attack on their birth-right. Since their *practice* evidently could not justify them in the eyes of the world, they were obliged to resort to force—that certain

sign of a bad cause—to arrest the progress of their opponents. This they endeavored *first* to obtain through public opinion, by boldly declaring that the powerful remedies suggested by Paracelsus, and used by him and his disciples, in their practice, were poisonous. But the astonishing cures already produced by this school with such remedies, had prejudiced the public in their favor. The Galenists *then* called on the Faculty of Paris, and these gentlemen, according to Thomson, formally “prohibited their fellows and licentiates from using any chemical medicines, whatever.” Not satisfied with such a general prohibition, by a decree, promulgated Dec. 5, 1603, they called upon all Parisian physicians to abstain from consulting with Turquet—a follower of Paracelsus,—because he had used antimonial preparations in his practice. The decree states: “*Ipsium Turquetum indignum judicat, qui usquam medicinam faciat, propter temeritatem, impudentiam et veræ medicinæ ignorantiam.*” Such was the character of one of the highest authorities, representing the followers of Galen, in the sixteenth, and at the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. To brave authority so bigoted, so opinionated as this, was no small work; to stand forth and receive a thousand lances from an opposing enemy, may be considered a rash thing, and yet such an act may so deprive them of weapons that a thousand can then rush upon the enemy and take the field. Peril of this kind, encountered with pure motives, entitles a man to the name of patriot; if with selfish views, he is less entitled to the meed of praise. In either case, the good done for humanity, is the *same*, though the motives for doing it be very different.

The charm of *authority* once destroyed,—the reverence paid to hoary antiquity, merely because it *was* antiquity, without considering its *claims* to our respect or reverence, once lost,—medical men once taught to think for *themselves*, and in that thinking, to discover the race was made for advancement in knowledge, and not for stagnation; these effected by Paracelsus were the low, murmuring sounds of a revolution, which gained strength day by day, until the overturn of the threadbare doctrines of Galen, and the establishment of more enlightened views of Pathology and Therapeutics,—resulting from the application of Chemistry to the study of the human system—announced a new era in Medicine.

The history of every man contains something that may be of use to his fellow-man, if its *morale* be read aright. In this of Paracelsus, we can see the danger that attends prosperity,

as well as the odium and contempt which will ever be excited by vanity and self-sufficiency ; we can also see the incalculable benefits that may arise from boldness and independence in attacking old errors. Though the giant of old had fresh vigor given him every time he was thrown to the ground ; yet the strength of his conqueror was able to hold him up from his mother earth and dispatch him. Error, on its own ground, may flourish,—dragged on other soil, or lifted up into the purer atmosphere of truth, it is readily dispatched.

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ART. IV.—THE ISLAND OF ÆGINA.

A Piræeo in Æginam complures Græci Romanique homines eadem in navi transmittébamus. Nox fuit, et clemens mare, et anni æstas, cælumque liquide serenum. Sedebamus ergo in puppi simul universi et lucentia sidera considerabamus.

Aulus Gellius 11. 21.

WITH what enthusiasm does the Western traveller describe the pleasing emotions which the immense prairies excite in his mind—those extensive rolling plains covered with luxuriant verdure and millions of flowers, those deep and picturesque ravines of the Colorado River, and the forest-clad banks of the Gila, with their gigantic trees and tropical vegetation. From the snowy tops of the Rocky Mountains he contemplates, with delight, the immense horizon of other ridges and table lands, with lakes and rivers and beautiful valleys, without a trace of the habitations of man, without a history, nay, without a name ! He himself is the discoverer of unknown regions, which, in the short period of his own lifetime, may become the seat of civilization and industry, of flourishing cities and a happy and independent people. Even the dangers and hardships he undergoes in his perilous enterprize have their charms, in the stillly hour when storms are gone, and their reward in the new resources for human activity, which he lays open to the world.

How different are our feelings while travelling in the East, on the sunny shores of the Mediterranean, where *all* is tradition and history, where every hill and dale presents traces of an ancient civilization, that has perished during the storms of centuries and the barbarity of man, where even Nature herself seems exhausted with her efforts and we more admire the wild barren grandeur of a classical scenery,

Where each old poetic mountain
Inspiration breath'd around,

than the present fertility of regions so long abandoned to desolation and solitude.

It was particularly, during my lonely wanderings over the hills of Ægina, that I would recall to my mind the glorious ages of the ancient Æginetans and contrast the high cultivation of this celebrated island, its beautiful cities, its splendid monuments of art, its warlike and industrious inhabitants, its commerce, riches and political importance in antiquity—with the barrenness of its mountains, the scanty produce of its rocky soil, and the poverty and ignorance of the few mariners and rustics that at the present day live dispersed over its valleys and coasts.

Every island has quite a particular charm for the human mind. It forms a world by itself, where we soon feel at home. The sea keeps us aloof from the warring interests of life, and in the seclusion of the small space around us, we enjoy a tranquility of mind, a taste and ardor for study and mental pleasures which so often are distracted and lost in the continual vicissitudes and revolutions of the Continent. If this charm of an insular retreat was felt so strongly by the Scandinavians, even in the gloomy and hoary North, among the precipices and glaciers of rugged Iceland, and gave birth to their exalted poetry and the glowing pictures of their early history, how much more must it be felt on the fairy isles of the South,

Where summer skies and summer women smile,

on those isles of the blessed, where Homer placed his Circe and Calypso; and where Odysseus was feasted by the hospitable Phæaceans. These were my feelings during the two years, the happiest of my life, which I passed in the island of Ælaks. Afterwards, when the College of the Euelpides, to which I was attached at that time, was removed to the Peiræus, I would often leave the busy and turbulent port, and for a few

days hurry across the Saronic gulf to the low, terraced cottage of my hospitable friend, Barba-Dimitri, situated on the western promontory, whence I always, with renewed delight, enjoyed the splendid prospect of the sea and distant mountains of the Peloponnesos.

It is the serenity of the sky, the wonderful transparency of the atmosphere and its gorgeous hues, the almost constant calm on the dark-blue sea, and the bold, precipitous outlines of coasts and mountains, which give such a particular charm to Ægina and the islands of the Egean. A western traveller, on entering the Archipelago for the first time, would rest astonished, and disappointed, perhaps, at the appearance of those groups of violet-tinged, bleak and barren rocks, rising from out the sea. The continual action of the waves has washed off the sandy fore-lands of the Cycladian islands; all along the projecting capes deep vaulted caverns open upon the sea, wherein the breakers foaming and chafing, wage an eternal war with the rocks. Nothing can be more exciting than a passage along their iron-bound coast, in a light caique, with its broad lateen sail swelled by a brisk northern breeze, that makes it bound over the deep blue surge. And yet what a wild scenery! Not a field, not a tree or shrub to gladden the eye; nay, we may for days sail along the rugged coasts of Andros, Tinos, Naxos and Samos, without discovering a village or a human dwelling. The American traveller must *accustom* himself to the classical scenery of Italy and Greece, which differs so much from that of the rich fields and wood-clad hills of Virginia and of the verdant and highly cultivated coasts of the West India islands. But let him land on Ægina or Naxos and penetrate into the interior valleys, hid from the sea by the projecting promontories, and he will fancy himself all at once transported into one of the Hesperian Islands of the blessed. Beautiful corn fields, vineyards, orange and olive groves, cover the flanks of the narrow valleys, where along the banks of small streams, descending from the lofty mountains in the centre of the island, thickets of myrtle, laurel, agnus castus and purple oleander, fill the air with their fragrance. The villages and convents, generally in strong positions on the mountains, lie far off from the coast, in order the better to secure them from the sudden landing of the pirates. It often seemed to me as if the monks, from a real sense and appreciation of the beauty of the landscape around, had chosen the most romantic and picturesque sites for their sanctuaries.

Ægina is less productive than several others of these islands, but it is the most celebrated with regard to its early traditions, its arts, its commercial importance, and victorious fleets. Even to the present day, we admire the astonishing monuments of architecture and sculpture, of that ingenious people, who, in so small an island, was able strenuously to oppose the haughty kings of Sparta, the ambitious republic of Athens and by their brilliant valor against the Persians to gain the palm of pre-eminence by the universal voice of all Hellas.

Thus then it is both nature and art, the history both of ancient and modern times, which render Ægina well worthy to be visited by every western pilgrim whose heart and imagination is susceptible of vivid and delicate emotions.

Old Pindar has promised us a hospitable reception in Ægina, "the island of the warlike Dorians." Let us take him on his word;—let us await the rising moon and the land breeze in the Peiræus and then with all our sails spread, like Aulus Gellius and his Greek sophists of old, plough the phosphoric deep of the Saronic gulf and land in the kingdom of Æakos. There we shall review the ancient harbors, the temples, with their statuary, the sepulchres, artificially excavated in the bosom of the rocks, the elegant vases, with their ingenious decorations—and that truly classical scenery which our imagination may repeople with the spirited race, who has left us all those immortal testimonies of their history.

The island of Ægina is situated in the beautiful Saronic Gulf, at the distance of twenty miles S. S. W. from the Peiræus, thirty miles S. E. from Corinth, and only six miles east of the nearest point of the Morea, the high and conspicuous promontory of Methana. It has the form of an irregular triangle, the base of which runs east and west, nearly parallel with the distant coast of Megara, while its apex turns south, facing the island of Poros, the ancient Calauria. Its circuit, according to Strabon, is one hundred and eighty stadia, or twenty-four miles.

The southern and eastern coast is steep and inaccessible; on the north and west, on the contrary, the hills slope off more smoothly toward the sea, and a small, fertile plain extends south of the city, toward the *perivoli*, or the orange-garden of Pertica. Yet though the coast appears open and of easy access, many lurking shoals and detached rocks, rising almost to the surface of the water, made the navigation of the shores and environs of Ægina be considered so dangerous in antiquity,

that the natives, in their pride, used to exclaim: that these bulwarks of their free and happy island had been placed along their shores on the request of their mighty ruler, Æakos, by father Jove himself, to protect them from the incursions of the Carian corsairs, scouring the seas in those remote times, and that those rocks principally contributed to the security and prosperous industry of their small republic in the midst of envious and hostile neighbors.

The highest mountain of the island lies on the south and rises to an elevation of nearly two thousand feet above the level of the sea. Its conical form terminating in a peak, its huge masses, descending in sloping terraces or wild precipices, its rich, poetical traditions—all combined, makes it the most prominent object in the both grand and pleasing scenery of Ægina. A monstrous crime had been committed in Hellas, and for this the gods had smitten all the country with famine and barrenness. The oracles affirmed, that nothing would relieve Greece from that intolerable misery, except the prayers of the ruler of Ægina, Æakos, the most pious of mankind. Accordingly envoys from all parts of Greece flocked to Ægina to prevail upon the hero to offer up prayers for them. They all followed him to the summit of the mountain, where the sacred rites were performed. On his supplication the gods relented, and the sufferings immediately ceased. The grateful Greeks established on the mountain the temple and worship of Zeus Panhellenios, which remained as one of the lasting traditional monuments and institutions of the island. On the vertex of the mount stands a chapel, the foundations of which are constructed with immense blocks of limestone of ancient workmanship, being no doubt remains of the Panhellenion of Æakos. The Christian church is dedicated to the prophet Elias, who in every part of Greece has succeeded to the Olympian in the consecration of the loftiest mountain-tops at a time, "when the stream of Paganism glided into a Christian channel with a soft and easy current," as a learned clergyman says, "when Pagan temples became Christian churches, and deities and heroes were transformed into saints and martyrs."

There is something grand and poetical in the idea of the Greeks placing their statues and altars on the highest mountains, and ascending in solemn procession to offer yearly sacrifices and thanksgivings to their gods. On Mount Parnes and Hymettos in Attica, the altars of Jove have not yet been discovered, but on Mount Lykaïos in Arkadia, we still to this day

see the rough hewn altars and sacred enclosures, strown over with the petrified horns and bones of the victims.

"When a cloud settles on the Panhellenion, then Father Zeus will send us his showers," was an old saying, which is often repeated by the present Æginetans, with the difference, however, that they now ascribe the benefit to their protecting Saint. The Mount of St. Elias or "*to Oros*" (the mountain,) as the moderns call it *par excellence*, is indeed as unfailing a metereological beacon as Mount Hymettos, and whenever I saw the clouds gathering round its head, I was sure that the lightnings soon would flash, the thunders roll, and heavy showers, suddenly deluging the valleys, would transform the scanty rivulets into foaming torrents and carry them headlong down to the distant coast.*

The panoramic view from the ruins of the Panhellenian sanctuary, far away over land and sea, is grand beyond description, and particularly beautiful in spring and autumn, before the setting in of the heat of summer, when no cloud, no breath of air, disturbs the wonderful serenity of the surrounding atmosphere. I have seen in Greece, many admirable views on the coasts of the Peloponnesos, on the Islands of the Ægean and on the snow-capped tops of the Arcadian highlands, where immense ridges are rising one above another, in many diverging lines, or receding in the clearest and most distinct perspective, as far as my eyes could reach, but no view in Greece can equal this here from the Panhellenion, in rich magnificence or in attractive beauty.

We stand there sufficiently elevated to command the whole island of Ægina, with its capes and bays, swimming on the broad bosom of the dark blue gulf. On the east we have volcanic precipices, the temple ruins far below on the plain, the sea, and the entire coast of Attica; on the south, the rocky island of Belbina, the Cycladian Archipelago, visible as far as Syra, Naxos and Paros; on the west, the small picturesque islands of Monni and Angistri immediately before us, and beyond Hydra, Poros, the promontory of Methana and the high ridges of Argolis, and on the north, the bold outline of the Skironian rocks, the plain and city of Megara, bounded by the woody heights of the distant Cythæron.

Other mountain-views are sometimes taken from too ele-

* In October, 1836, a sudden thunder shower, coming down during my lectures at College, swept away several houses, and forming a deep gully through the vineyards, cut off our communication with the town for several hours.

vated a position; we there lose the exquisite beauty of the details in the dim chaos floating at our feet. Such was my impression on Mount Taygetos in Laconia, and Mount Parnassos in Phocis—but here on the Agios Elias, we enjoy the full and rich variety of the most classical scenery in the world.

We now descend to the lower ridge of the Oros, which running northward forms, as it were, the back-bone of the island. There, in the crater of an extinct volcano, stands a monastery of St. Elias, strongly fortified with high battlemented walls and towers, and surrounded by groves of chesnut trees and sombre cypresses. Several Kalogers or Greek monks of the order of Saint Basile with high caps and long beards live in the convent, and offer a hospitable reception to the traveller. The church is gloomy but neatly kept; the library contains only a few dusty missals and prayer books, but the hall of the *musaphirides* (guests) is comfortable, and the supper and wine excellent. The friars daily perform divine service; they guard their flocks, and cultivate their fields, vineyards and olive groves, uniting in the same person both the priest and the husbandman. On the ascension-day the Æginetans with their wives and children, on foot and on mules' back, make a pilgrimage to the church of their saint, where a public dinner is served in the convent garden, and the multitude then spend the day pleasantly with dancing and music on the lovely hills around.

On the north of the island, and divided from the Agios Elias by a deep dell, is situated another conical mountain, by the natives called "*to schismeno vouno*," or the split mount, which likewise shows a hollow, circular crater of blackened hues, and the devastating effects of volcanic agency by immense heaps of a brown pumice, ashes and a gray-colored lava, the latter of which is used by the Æginetans as mill-stones.

We have no historical account of volcanic eruptions in the island of Ægina; the activity of its volcano may possibly have occurred in times preceding our written memorials. In a later period we find a highly interesting account in the geography of Strabon, describing the sudden and tremendous explosion of another volcano on the promontory of Methana, lying immediately opposite to Ægina. There an immense pile of flames blazed forth all over the gulf and hurled stones and entire rocks far away into the sea, which, at a distance of five stadia, continued hissing and boiling from the influence of the

subterranean fire. The crater of that mountain has a height of three thousand feet; the ascent to it is as difficult and fatiguing as that to Mount Vesuvius in Italy, and the view from its summit is as interesting. At its base are situated some hot springs, containing sulphurate and hydrochlorate of soda and magnesia; they are mentioned by Pausanias, and were frequented as early as the third century before our era.

The neighboring islands of Hydra and Calauria are both volcanic and earthquakes are frequent and violent in this region. Some thirty years ago, a violent shock precipitated one of the columns of the temple of Aphrodite, near the city of Ægina. I witnessed an earthquake there on the 20th of March, 1837. It was a very sultry day and a perfect calm. At 10 o'clock in the morning, while I was standing before the open window, doors, shutters and furniture instantly began to rattle and to shake and an unearthly, howling or whining sound passed rapidly through the air. I thought that a sudden hurricane had broke loose, and perceiving clouds of dust arise in the street, and cries and lamentations to re-echo from the neighboring houses, I hurried out through the portico where my servant Georgi was lying on his knees, crossing himself and praying fervently. In one minute and a half the shock was over. Georgi arose and said gravely: "Affendi! 'Tis awful! The Lord now looks down upon the earth, poor sinners that we are!" Several buildings had been damaged, and the military college became so ruinous that the whole corps of cadets were removed to the Peiræus a few months later. It is a remarkable fact, which by the Greeks was looked upon as a sign of the direct interference of Providence, that on the very day, when the last detachment of the cadets with their professors and officers had embarked in the port of Ægina and were going to set sail for the Peiræus, the building suddenly broke down and would certainly have buried us beneath its ruins, if we had staid a few hours longer. In the island of Hydra and Poros the destruction was still greater; hardly a house was without some damage, and several persons perished beneath the ruins of the clock tower of the cathedral falling down on the square below.

The soil of Ægina is stony on the surface, dry and of a light reddish color; but beneath this rocky crust is found a fertile mold, productive of barley, wine, figs, almonds, olives, cotton and all other southern fruits. The fig is one of the sweetest and most delicious in the East. This soil was exca-

vated with great industry by the ancient Æginetans, who forming artificial terraces, cultivated the barren and rocky hills all over the island. Everywhere in my wanderings through the interior I met with these ancient terraces, in *regular steps*, encircling the stony hills to their summit. The earth, which they formerly had supported and with which they had been covered, has in the long course of centuries been washed away; weeds and fragrant shrubs now overgrow the inclosures of the old Myrmidons, the aboriginal inhabitants, whose assiduous activity gave rise to the fable of Zeus having, at the request of his son Æakos, transformed ants—*myrmikes*—into men, and thus quickly peopled the desert rock of Ægina.

Its mild and healthy climate is proverbial, and the winter so pleasant that stoves are unknown, and the windows without panes, only closed with shutters at night. The air is dry and elastic and the atmosphere so beautifully transparent that space appears to diminish, and objects which are really many miles off, seem close at hand. From the Panhellenian mountain we are able to distinguish the columns of the Parthenon on the Acropolis in Athens, at a distance of twenty five miles! The temperature on an average ranges between 60° and 90° Fahrenheit; during the bright winter days, however, the cold is sometimes intense for a few days, when the fierce Boreas or north wind, descending from the snowy peaks of Mount Parnassos, stirs up the gulf. The scene then suddenly changes. The sea blackens, the shores whiten, and the heaving waves break thundering against the head-lands. I then often hastened to the northern promontory, and looking out for some sheltered nook, I there, enveloped in my capote, enjoyed that tremendous strife of the elements,—while the Æginetans, in their dismay, disappeared from the bazars and shutting themselves up in their dwellings, cowered down around their *manghali* (fire-pot), and groaned over the terrible winter. The waves, pent up among the many rocky islands and lashed by the tempest, rise to an incredible height; during these swells, by the Greeks called *phouskothalassia*, all communication with the main land is cut off, and travellers have sometimes been our unwilling guests for six or eight days. Nay, on a morning in January, 1836, I found all the shipping in the port sitting high on the quays with their bowaprits driven through the walls and windows of the adjoining houses!

Spring commences in March, when the almond trees stand in full bloom all over the hills. In June the heat often rises

to 100°, but the air is most pleasantly refreshed by the sea-breeze, called *embatis*, which generally sets in about nine o'clock in the morning and blows gently all day till sunset, when it dies away. An hour or two later the land-wind—*evghasia*—springs up and continues till day-break; therefore the ships leave the island during night, and enter the Pieræus with the sea breeze the next morning.

The Greeks explain this regularity of the winds by supposing that the atmosphere on the land, becoming rarified by the heat of the sun during the day, the cooler air of the sea rushes in to fill up the vacuum so caused—whereas at sunset, the equilibrium of the temperature being restored by the removal of the cause of heat, the prevailing winds find no further obstruction and resume at night their usual course, according to the laws prescribed by nature.

The bathing season in Ægina corresponds in some manner to that of the Virginia Springs in this country. The great heat continues till the end of August, at which period a sudden thunder storm, frequently accompanied by slight earthquakes, cools the air and announces the enchanting season of autumn. The heavy showers of October generally fall during night; in November the parched fields become clothed with a rich verdure, and the ploughing and sowing begins. This is the real Indian summer; by the Greeks called *kalokairaki*, which lasts till Christmas. January is bright and chilly; the only rainy and unsettled month is February, though winter sometimes passes without *a single drop of rain*. This remarkable phenomenon took place in 1837. The superstitious Æginetans attributed the unusual dearth to the wrath of Providence on account of a terrible crime, which a few months before had been committed in the island. Two brothers, young Hydriote Captains, returning with a sum of money from Athens, had been murdered in the port of Ægina and their ship sunk. The criminals, two pirates from the late Turkish war, who had settled in the island, were convicted, condemned and shot and their corpses interred in one of the ancient sepulchres, situated on the hill near the city. The cunning Greek priests in the mean time perceiving that a change in the atmosphere was at hand, called the people together and requested them to conciliate the saints by throwing the corpses of the two murderers into the sea, and by thus purifying the soil, they said, rain would be granted by the *Panaghia*—the Holy Virgin. The bigotted multitude, led by the elergy, with crosses and images,

and chanting psalms and hymns all along the way, then marched off to the rock-tombs, where they, to their amazement, found the dead bodies still unconsumed and in perfect preservation, on account of the dry and rocky soil of the island. The prayers and ceremonies then began anew and it was not until late at night that the whole procession passed my windows, dragging the bodies, by ropes, along with them. They finally ascended the promontory and precipitated the lacerated corpses into the sea below—a horrible spectacle! At midnight clouds had begun to gather on the summit of the Panhellenian mountain, and when in the morning the rain suddenly commenced to pour down in torrents, the satisfaction of Æginetans and their veneration of the Blessed Virgin, knew no bounds.

Snow is almost unknown in Ægina, but when, on a stormy winter day, in the year 1836, some flakes of snow fell on the hills, during the visit of king Lewis of Bavaria, the Æginetans again exclaimed: that it was His *Barbarian Majesty* who had brought his own German winter along with him.

The times are now no more—when thousands of daring and wealthy Æginetans on their fleet vessels traded on all the shores of the Mediterranean—when their thousands of slaves were tilling their fields and terracing their vineyards and olive groves—when the Æginetan works of art of a Smilis, a Kallon and an Onatas were praised and imitated as the master-pieces of Grecian genius, when their numerous galleys submerged the Athenian fleets and the strong walls and towers of their city and harbors so bravely withstood all the exertions of their powerful antagonists. Roman despotism and Byzantine persecutions have swept away the Dorian race and their monuments. Yet modern Ægina, with its peaceful and assiduous, though poor and ignorant, six thousand inhabitants, is still to this day, one of the most beautiful and most happy spots on earth! Nor have the ravages of the late war of independence reached its secluded valleys; quite on the contrary, it became for a long period the central seat of the Government of Count Capo d'Istrias, and the refuge of thousands of islanders from the Egean, who fled from the sword of the Turks, and were here nourished and supported by the generous and truly Christian exertions of their sympathizing brethren of the United States of America.

The prospect of the island is prettily diversified with hills and dales. The northern slopes of the principal ridge are well cultivated, and the extensive plain running along the coast on

the west, is covered with beautiful wheat and barley fields and vineyards, interspersed with fruit trees. The uncultivated parts of the island on the east, and the rugged southern coast are feathered with pines, cypresses, juniper, lentiscus and other southern shrubs, which generally grow on the mountains of Greece. The modern town of Ægina is situated on the north-western coast, on the ruins of the ancient capitol and its extensive harbors. There are no villages in the interior; but many isolated farms and cottages, with flat roofs and low enclosures, are scattered about all the more fertile parts of the island. The Æginetan farmer is the owner of his estate; he is frugal and laborious, good humored and hospitable, and differs in character from the quarrelsome, selfish and proud citizens in the town, many of whom are Hydriotes and Greeks from the main land. During my wanderings over the hills, the farmer would always call out to me from afar, not to pass his house, and to take my supper with him. His frugal fare consists in goat's cheese, olives, dried figs, a piece of barley bread and a strong and excellent wine, to which, however, the foreigner must accustom himself, as it is inspissated with the juice of the pine, and therefore has taken a somewhat bitter taste. Mixed with water it resembles strong and good beer, and is very refreshing during summer. The Æginetan laborers seldom eat any meat, except on their festal days, when they slaughter a fat kid or goat, the taste of which is rank and unpleasant. The fish caught on the coast are delicious and very cheap, while poultry, eggs, and vegetables, are as dear as at Athens, because the Æginetans send all their provisions to the capitol and the foreign naval stations of the Peiræus.

The ancient city of Ægina was pleasantly situated on the western coast, opposite to Epidaurus in the Peloponnesos. It was surrounded by strong walls and towers on the land side, until the year 457 B. C., when the fortifications, after many a hard fought battle, were demolished by the victorious Athenians, at a time when they in the pride of their rising power, began the gigantic undertaking of their own long walls between Athens and the Peiræus. The ports of Ægina were artificial, lying between two small bays; one on the north and the other on the south. Immense moles and dikes extended into the sea, and formed, with their flanking towers and chains, *two locked harbors*. Beneath the promontory of the northern bay, on which still are seen a lonely column and a few substructions of the temple of Aphrodite, was an open roadstead, protected

from the violent Skiron or north-west wind, by a strong break-water, which, at the same time, formed the prolongation of the city walls, while on the south, the fortifications likewise abutted upon the still more gigantic mole of the great central harbor. All these works were admirable, and there does not in all Hellas exist a more remarkable monument of the immense labor and expense which the ancient Greeks bestowed upon the fortifications of their galley-ports. Like the Peiræus with the Zea and Munychia, Rhodes with its double ports, Cnidos and Mytilene, the ports of Ægina were land locked harbors, being encompassed by the walls of the city, and their mouths closed by strong towers and chains drawn across the entrance.

These enormous moles still form the basin of the harbor of Ægina, into which only small caiques can enter at the present day. The larger vessels, however, find an anchorage with a rocky ground on the outer roadstead, where they are exposed to the violent north-west wind. Nearly all these extensive works are now under water. On the northern mole stands at present the chapel of St. Nicholas, who has succeeded the sea-god Neptune, as the patron of the Greek mariners, and on the southern, a high battlemented tower, built by the Venetian General Morosini, in the year 1693, according to a Latin inscription still seen on the wall. Though the water now covers the greater part of the moles, and the tower appears to be rising from out of the depth of the sea, yet the submarine foundations are still solid, and the fishermen, wading along to their waist in the water, reach the tower, on which they use to dry their nets.

A large temple of Venus or Aphrodite, mentioned by Pausanias, stood on the northern promontory.

It is well known that ports and promontories in antiquity were generally considered sacred either to Neptune or to Venus, and we therefore often find *her* temples erected on the beetling heights over the foaming element from which she sprang. Such was the sight of her most celebrated temples at Cytheræ, Cypros, Cnidos, on Mount Eryx, in the Peiræus and Ægina. At the beginning of the present century two beautiful columns with their architrave, were still standing, a welcome land-mark for the mariner, far out at sea. They were twenty-five feet in height, of the Doric order, and composed of a soft calcareous lime-stone of a bright yellow color. Their proportions were elegant, and they were regarded as the *best specimen* of the later Doric construction. But most unhappi-

ly, a violent earthquake has, a few years ago, blown down one of the columns, a fragment of which, is still lying beneath the cape, together with the architrave, and only a single broken shaft is now remaining, of a building which in elegance, could vie even with the Parthenon itself. Nor were the platform and immense foundations of this interesting ruin suffered to remain as a memorial of the Doric times;—they were nearly all carried off during the late war of independence.

Dr. Howe of Boston, who, in the year 1830, was sent with provisions from the United States to the starving population of Greece, thought proper to employ the indolent fugitives in rebuilding the ancient quays of the harbor. But these ignorant people, not being sufficiently skilful and enterprising to open new quarries in the neighboring mountains, found it more *convenient* to make use of the large and beautiful blocks of the temple of Aphrodite on the promontory. Thus the work of destruction began; a neat macadamized quay with a projecting landing place now adorns the small town of Ægina, and offers a delightful walk at sun-set along the shore—but alas! the temple has disappeared!

During the excavations necessary to remove the blocks of the foundation, a very interesting discovery was made. Several blocks were found inscribed with letters of *red chalk*, having the distinctly legible names Euphanides and Prothymios. From the position of these blocks the names inscribed upon them must certainly be regarded as *coeval* with the construction of the temple itself, and these being written in characters which were comparatively modern and not used in Hellas before the archonship of Eukleides, in the year 403 B. C., at the time of the restoration of the democracy by Thrasybulos, furnish us with the evidence that this elegant temple must have been built at a *later date* than the Peloponnesian war. It was no doubt erected during the period of the return of the exiled Æginetans, who, after the surrender of Athens to the Spartan general Lysander, were reinstated in their native island. This period, more than half a century after the erection of the Parthenon on the Acropolis of Athens, seems thus to have been the time of the highest perfection in the Doric style of architecture.

The ancient city of Ægina had a number of splendid buildings mentioned by Pausanias, such as the large theatre, the stadium, the temples of Apollo, Diana, Hecate and Æsculapius and the sacred edifice of Æakos, the Æakeion, adorned

with beautiful statues. All these monuments of *Æginetic* art have vanished, yet the walls and gates of the town may still be traced here and there. A mosaic pavement, from a later period, has recently been discovered.—South of the city thousands of sepulchres were opened when the foundations were laid to the Military College of the *Euelpides* during the residence of the President of Greece in *Ægina* in 1881. A learned *Corfiote*, *Cavaliere Mustoxidis*, conducted these works. The sepulchres are generally placed in rows, but covered with a layer of earth, with weeds and bushes. They are cut out in the rock and closed with a lid or *trapeza* which we soon acquired facility in removing. The interior of the rock-tombs is filled with a fine, loose mold, in which the human bones are found. Near the head are placed the celebrated painted *Æginetic* vases; on the sides and at the feet, sacrificial cups or *patera*, bronze ornaments, terra-cotta idols, small flasks of glass commonly called *lagrimatories*, beautiful phials of alabaster for fragrant ointments and even gilt or colored glass beads. Brass weapons and armor, such as swords, spear-points and belts are more rare. A large collection of vases with rich paintings in black and yellow colors in the ancient *Æginetic* style, sepulchral sculptures and inscriptions from different parts of Greece were deposited in a hall of our College and thus formed the first germ of a museum in the independent state of modern *Hellas*.

In many of the sepulchral chambers, cut out in the rock, we still see traces of their having been covered with plaster and painted decorations. From the low entrance a descent by stairs leads into the vaulted chamber, where the tombs for the corpses are excavated side by side similar to those of the *Prophets* on Mount Olivet, near Jerusalem.

These dismal dwellings of the dead, which extend eastward along the rocky height at some distance from the city, were some years ago inhabited by the wretched fugitives from *Chios*, *Ipsara* and *Crete*, during the war of independence.

A distinguished American traveller describes the horror he felt on entering the sepulchres, when through the darkness, he all at once discovered a number of spectral forms, sitting in silence at the farther extremity of the grotto. They proved to be an *Ipsariote* family, a widow with her children, who, after the fall of her husband in the massacre at *Ipsara* in June, 1828, had fled to *Ægina*. There, abandoned by the natives, who were unable to support the thousands that flocked to the

island, she with her children was undergoing all the terrors of a living death—when the benevolent Dr. Howe appeared, like a rescuing angel, sent by Providence, to recall them to life and to provide for their immediate wants, until a more regular support afterwards was granted by the Greek Government.

The most interesting monument of Aegina is the temple of Minerva, which has obtained a celebrity in Europe by the discovery of a number of precious statues in the ancient Aeginetic style. It is situated on a high hill, at a short distance from the north-eastern coast of the island, at two hours' ride from the city, and commands a magnificent view of the Saronic gulf, the mountains of Attica, and the scattered pine and olive groves on the hills in the interior, which are bounded by the volcanic peaks of Methana. Here and there a lonely cottage is seen through the thick foliage of carobs and fig trees; fortunately the great distance from the city has hindered the Venetians and the natives from destroying the temple by employing the blocks to modern purposes. A visit to the ruins is one of the most delightful excursions in Greece. Ascending from the city eastward over hills, in beautiful variety planted with almond and olive trees, we soon arrive at the pass between the "split mountain" and the Panhellenion, where, at some distance in front, a town presents itself on the slope of a rocky hill crowned by the ruins of a Venetian fortress. The beauty of the scenery increases as we approach—but we are astonished at its total want of life and animation—no sound is heard, no human being is to be seen—and we at last discover, that the pretty, picturesque town, with its castle and churches, is entirely ruined and abandoned. The *Palaiochora* or old town of Aegina, the ancient Oia, lies in a strong position, sixty stadia from the coast. During the Byzantine period the Aeginetans fled thither for protection from the Saracen corsairs and it afterwards became the seat of the Venetian *provveditori*, who built the fortress in the year 1654. But toward the beginning of the present century, when the Mediterranean became more secure, the islanders again removed to the western coast, on the site of the ancient capitol, and their mountain village was altogether abandoned. It was with a melancholy feeling that I often, in perfect solitude wandered through the desolate streets; it reminded me of a similar scene in Sicily, where, after a fatiguing ride on the southern coast on a stormy evening, I arrived at Monte-Allegro, a large

city, looking fair at the distance, but ill answering to its name, having likewise been abandoned by its inhabitants, and presenting nothing but dismal ruins on a nearer approach. At the foot of the hill we find a plentiful source, where a beautiful palm tree rears its crown and golden dates to the sky, and immense vines, forming cool and shady bowers around the tank, invite us to repose during the extreme heat of noon. But the sea-breeze is soon springing up, and we then continue our route through a straggling forest of pines and wild olives, and all at once the ancient temple is seen rising above the trees on its lonely hill. It is a hexastyle temple of the solid, old Doric construction, built of a yellow and somewhat porous limestone; only the cornice, roof and statuary were of white marble. The cell or body of the temple was surrounded by a colonnade, having six columns in each front and twelve in the peristyle on each of the flanks, in all thirty-six. From the eastern portico, the principal entrance, we pass through the ante-room or *pronaos* with two columns flanked by pilasters *in antis*, into the temple-hall or *naos*, forty-five feet in length by twenty-two in breadth, in the centre of which, stood the statue of the goddess. Two rows of slender columns, five in each, supported the roof and divided the hall in the middle nave and two lateral aisles, where all the votive offerings, the precious vases and the spoils and trophies of war were deposited. On the west, behind the statue, opens a back room, or *opisthodomos*, upon the western portico (*posticum*) similar to the main entrance on the east.

The large platform, on which the temple stands, has a flight of four stairs running all around and is supported by terraced walls of regular construction, which again rest upon others of immense polygonal blocks, that seem to be of a much older date than their superstructure. All the columns of the eastern front, the *pronaos* and peristyle with their capitals and architraves, forming together a very beautiful group of sixteen columns, are in excellent preservation at the present day. The western front, on the contrary, has suffered more, and we find there only four columns of the *posticum* and the neighboring five columns of the flanks with part of the architrave still standing. The height of the elegantly fluted columns is eighteen feet; their diameter three feet. The length of the entire temple is ninety-four feet, by a breadth of forty-five. The soft limestone, of which the whole building was composed, was easily worked, and would no doubt have suffered from the in-

fluence of the atmosphere, if it had not been coated with a thin stucco, which is still well preserved in many places.

For centuries the interior of the roofless ruins of the temple was filled up with huge masses of stone and overgrown with wild olives and shrubbery, which, while it intermingled the trees with the architecture, added to the picturesque effect of the whole view. But the discovery of a curious bas-relief, representing a dog, having accidentally been made by the British traveller Dodwell, a party of antiquaries and artists, Germans, Danes and English, among whom were Chevalier de Brœnsted, Baron de Haller, Cockerelle and John Forster, assembled on the island in the year 1811, in order to undertake other excavations on a more enlarged scale. The trees were now cut down and the heaps of stones removed, when, to the delight of those enthusiastic admirers of antiquity, the greater part of the statues from the two pediments of the temple were excavated from the rubbish, which had accumulated around the building. It appears highly probable that the statues were thrown down from their place in the gable-ends by some earthquake, during an unknown period of the middle ages, when that part of the island remained a solitude.

These precious remains of the celebrated Aeginetic school of sculpture, consist of seventeen full, round, figures rather smaller than life, with the exception of Minerva, who, standing in the centre of the pediment, is of more colossal dimensions than the mortal heroes around her. No discovery of later years has in importance surpassed that of these Aeginetan groups, because they remain the only known specimens from that remote period of art. The statues, more or less broken, were offered for sale to the British Museum, but difficulties having arisen about the money demanded, Lewis, the Prince Royal of Bavaria, succeeded in purchasing, for ten thousand Venetian ducats, the whole collection, worth at least five times that sum. The torsoes and fragments were then sent to Rome, where the Danish artist, Albert Thorwaldsen, the greatest sculptor of modern times, restored them in the most admirable style, and ingeniously replaced their decorations, such as shields, helmets, swords and lances, made of bronze. They are now placed in the magnificent hall of the Aeginetans in the Museum (*Glyptotheca*) at Munich in Bavaria. They are made of the purest Parian marble and belong to that brilliant period of Aeginetic art, which began to flourish about the fifty-seventh Olympiad, or the year 550, B. C., with the great sculp-

tor Kallon, and declining a century later, terminated with Onatas, the contemporary of Pheidias and the last celebrated master of that old school. We may therefore say, that they form the medium between the stiff archaic manner—and—the highest perfection of sculpture in the age of Pheidias, just as we consider the quaint old paintings of a Massaccio and Perugino as the immediate fore-runners of the master-pieces of Raphael.

The composition of the groups is admirable; both represent the Aeginetan heroes, the Aeacids, at the head of the Myrmidons, contending with the Trojans for the body of Patroclus and Achilles. Minerva in full armor stirs up the battle which is raging around her. All the combatants, with circular shields and high crested helmets, are placed in the most beautiful and varied attitudes. A few are naked, but the greater part are covered with the tight and elegant armor of the heroic age—nay, we even distinguish the light Trojan bow-men from the heavy-armed Greek hoplitæ. Still more astonishing is the simple and faithful imitation of nature, without any indication of that *ideal beauty*, which in a later period was introduced into Athenian sculpture by Pheidias. Every motion of the body is in perfect harmony with that of nature, and the muscles and veins exhibit the soft flexibility of real life. The limbs, particularly the hands and feet, are beautifully formed, yet the old Doric severity reigns throughout, mingled, however, with the airy grace of youthful forms. And yet the most extraordinary circumstance in these curious statues is the *total want of expression* in the heads and a certain Egyptian physiognomy—no doubt, a pious imitation of some standing type from venerated statues of gods or heroes of the olden time. We see the protuding eye, lengthened like that of the Chinese, the inanimate smile of the mouth, the peaked beard and elaborate ringlets of the hair. The wounded heroes, who though fallen, still defend themselves in different attitudes, are smiling upon death. Greeks and Trojans, victors and vanquished, dying and dead—all look alike, all have the same unmeaning smile on their countenance. The characteristic difference between the Attic (Ionic) and the *Æginetic* (Doric) sculpture, in *that remote period*, therefore, consisted in the great attention which the Ionians paid to the *heads* of their statues and the disregard of the body, mostly represented in the form of squared pillars (Hermæ columns,) while Dorian *Æginetans*, as admirers of the naked beauty in the stadium, executed the

body with the utmost care, but neglected the head to which they gave the smiling archaic type of the Amyclean Apollo.*

Another interesting discovery was made during the excavations at Ægina. The statues were not only ornamented with bronze weapons and other metallic accessories—they were painted in brilliant colors, which though much effaced, may still be recognized on the armor and dress of the heroes and the ægis of Minerva. The purple and azure have been well preserved in the dry soil in which they were buried.

It is now a fact, proved beyond any doubt by the most able architects in Greece, that in the period anterior to the celebrated Athenian artists Pheidias and Iktinos, the Doric temples in Hellas were covered with a coating of bright and dazzling colors, but that on the later temples in the Acropolis, painting was *only* employed to give relief to the sculptures and to adorn the less prominent members of architecture. The most ancient specimen of a *completely painted* temple, is this sanctuary of Minerva, on the island of Ægina. To my great astonishment, I have myself with perfect distinctness, seen the cella-wall painted with a bright minium or red lead-color, and the whole interior pavement is to this day covered with a beautiful vermillion stucco. The pediments and the triglyphs were blue, and the mouldings and smaller fascia of the entablature red, yellow and green. All these colors can be seen on the old weather beaten temple to this day; they are metallic, and were applied on the plaster or marble by means of a thin coat of wax. This encaustic painting, burnt on the marble by fire, was used by the ancients in order to give gloss and brilliancy to their colors and to preserve them from injury by air or moisture. Even the burning and golden hues of the columns, which convey such an indescribable charm to the Grecian monuments, are supposed to be the remains of an ancient coating of color and the architects of king Otho pretend, by close examination, to have discovered, spot by spot, the original red-golden stucco preserved quite fresh on the surface of the stone.

* Several of these statues of Apollo have been found in different parts of Hellas; some are roughly cut out of the marble and have not been finished. At the entrance of the Acropolis stands a highly interesting bas-relief of Minerva ascending her chariot. The folds of her garment are beautifully sculptured in the quaint and stiff style of primitive art. At a village near the plain of Marathon was discovered the sculptured monument of Aristeion in full armor, and painted in purple, azure and yellow colors. The hero has the *smiling* physiognomy of the Æginetic statues, though the delineation of the figure is inferior, and its hands and feet remarkably large and clumsy. This ancient bas-relief now forms one of the most precious objects in the large collection of antiquities placed in the temple of Theseus at Athens.

The tasteful imitation of the Æginetic temple with its bright colors and painted statues, by the chevalier de Klenze in Munich, has a striking and pleasing effect, and most distinctly proves that the painted decorations on the Grecian monuments were in perfect harmony of character and execution with their architecture and sculpture. The first modern attempt to apply polychrome ornaments to architecture, has successfully been made by the Danish architect, Christian Hanssen, at the Othonian University in Athens. It will, no doubt, soon call forth imitators, and may yet become the prevailing taste in Europe and America.

Every spot in the neighborhood of the old temple presents some objects of interest and traces of antiquity. Quite near, on the slope of the hill, we see a cavern, at present obstructed by fallen blocks and columns, which appears to have led into a subterraneous passage under the temple. At a greater distance we find walled up in the door of the chapel of St. Anastasios a marble slab having this inscription :

“ Here is the limit of the sacred precincts of Minerva.”

The Temple of Ægina is one of the most ancient and venerable monuments in Hellas. Here it stood, finished, with its glittering sculptures and gorgeous colors on its high and picturesque hill, overlooking the broad Saronic gulf, in the sixth century before our era, when the populous and enterprising island-republic was flourishing in arts, commerce and war, when her proud galleys were ploughing the Ægean, and her merchants held the sway on the banks of the Nile, while—yonder across the water—Solon, the wise law-giver, laid the foundation to the greatness of Athens, and the rich and luxurious Corinth rose in arms and overthrew the last of her tyrants !

On the south of the temple of Minerva we find a different character in the scenery of the island. A high ledge of barren rocks, descending eastward from the mountain of St. Elias, forms the precipitous eastern and southern coast, where no springs or cultivation are to be seen. Instead, therefore, of crossing this wild and lonely region, I generally preferred to ascend to the convent of the hospitable Kalogers, where I was sure to find comfortable quarters for the night. Then, on the following day, after having enjoyed the glorious sunrise on the distant Mount Hymettos, and a good breakfast which we rarely miss in the Grecian monasteries, I would descend by a rug-

ged mountain path, leading down to the only orange and lemon-gardens of Ægina, pleasantly situated on the south-western coast, opposite to the island of Poros, the ancient Calauria, where in the sanctuary of Neptune, the great Demosthenes, by a voluntary death escaped the vengeance of the Macedonians.

The gardens belong to a Hydriote captain, who kindly receives every visitor and offers him the welcome refreshments of his golden fruits. In Greece, the beauty of a garden does not consist in an artificial variety of flower-beds and shrubbery, but in long alleys, perfectly shaded by arbors of vines which unite in the middle of the inclosure at a large tank, filled with water from a subterranean reservoir, by means of a wheel-machinery, turned by mules, which the Greeks call *manghani*. Around the deep and glassy tanks, stakes are raised on which the vines are drawn, and these cool retreats serve as a place of assembly and repose for the family during the warm summer months. The large clusters of grapes, hanging down from these delightful bowers often weigh fourteen or sixteen pounds, and a single bunch is quite a sufficient desert for seven or eight persons at table.

Through the foliage we perceive at some distance, the small bay of Pertica hemmed in by a projecting promontory, on which stands the chapel of St. Michel, on the foundations of an ancient temple. Here again an inscription tells us that we are within the precincts of a sanctuary dedicated to Apollo and Neptune, those tutelar deities of the Dorians, who from their temple on the southern promontory hailed the returning fleets of the Æginetans, as Venus and Minerva did from theirs on the west and the east of the island.

Thus the mariner of old, on his entering the Saronic gulf, beheld everywhere on the distant head-lands around him, in Attica, Argolis and Ægina, the glittering sanctuaries of his gods and heroes, which excited his veneration and revived the beautiful traditions of his native country. But those monuments have all perished with the race that raised them,

For time hath not rebuilt them, but uprear'd
Barbaric dwellings on their shatter'd site,
Which only make more mourn'd and more endear'd
The few last rays of their far-scatrer'd light,
And the crush'd relics of their vanish'd might.

The sun has now set behind the mountains of Morea; the bare and craggy-rocks of the Panhellenion are tinged with the

rosy hues of evening—it is time to return. We thank Captain Budburis for his delicious grapes, leave the gardens and on a smooth and easy road, which Dr. Howe has laid out, through the plain, we return northward to the town. As we approach we hear the distant drum of the College calling the young warriors to retire, and on our arrival in the harbor we find all the officers and professors, the Æginetan citizens and their Athenian guests, seated before the coffee-houses on the mole, in lively conversation about the blunders of government and the tyranny of the Bavarians, enjoying the refreshing breeze and silvery moon-shine, which at the midnight hour lights them back to their home.

The Æginetans are a strong and healthy people. Their features, language and manners, prove them to be true-born Greeks, like all the inhabitants of the Ægean, while their neighbors in Attica and the islands of Poros, Hydra and Speszia are of Albanian descent, and have a greater resemblance to the mountaineers of the mainland and the Morea, whose harsh and proud look and war-like, roving habits, make them the dread and terror of the more peaceful islanders. They are handsome, active, lively and quarrelsome. Their eyes are large, dark and expressive; their eye-brows arched; their complexion ruddy; the oval of their faces regular, and their features in perfect proportion. Their hair is dark and glossy; they all wear a black moustache and have a spirited and prepossessing appearance. The Æginetan husbandman is industrious and temperate; the mariner shrewd, intelligent, but though frugal on board his caique, where he tastes nothing but olives, bread and water, he is extremely fond of good cheer, wine, dancing and music, when on shore. The women of the island are good looking, submissive, and very attentive to their duties, but their education was totally neglected at the time of my residence there in 1835-'37. They still wore the Turkish jacket and red skull-cap; they seldom appeared in public and suffered all the restraint of eastern manners, which now begins to wear off in Greece and even in Turkey. They were, however, far inferior in grace, beauty and elegance of dress to those noble minded and attractive women of Ipsara, who lived as fugitives in the upper town of Ægina, where they scarcely had any intercourse with the native families.

The central position of the island between Attica, Syra, and the Peloponnesos, is highly advantageous to its industry and commerce. The former consists chiefly in the fabrication of

bought, and all sorts of business transacted. Men and women in their most costly attire of brilliant and dazzling colors, so well suiting the scenery around them, begin to form the immense circle, holding one another by the handkerchief and dance the *Romaika*, with the greatest enthusiasm. Guitars and violins accompany the voice of the singers, and the whole crowd join in the chorus. The dance itself is simple, without any studied movements, but eminently graceful, and the Æginetans love it so passionately, that they will continue whirling and singing for many hours without intermission.

I have mentioned that many families from Ipsara, Chios, Samos, Crete, and other parts of Turkey, during the war of independence, found a refuge in Ægina. Some had already returned to their homes; others still remained, and among them were the Ipsariotes, who served in the royal navy and several merchants from Chios, who were established in the island. These amiable families used to be present on the hill and increase the romantic effect of so many different costumes by their national dress. Yet they never took any part in the general dance: the *Romaika*, which the Æginetans, with an air of pride, said "belonged only to the natives." Later in the evening, however, when the great mass of the islanders, toward sunset, began to retire to the city, in order to recommence their carousing and libations at home, all the poor Exiles, in their separate groups, would commence their still more fanciful and elegant dances, sometimes resembling the Spanish *fandango* or *bolero*, and the slow but graceful French *minuet*.

It was there, at their parties, which frequently were prolonged during the bright moonlight nights, that the beautiful women from Ipsara, showed the full grace of their step, the dazzling delicacy of their complexion, and their rich and picturesque costumes, to the best advantage. The widows of the fallen warriors, in their deep mourning, with black turbans and veils, sat always at some distance as silent spectators, without taking any part in the hilarity around. The old admiral, Konstantinos Kanaris, the celebrated Ipsariote leader, who, with his fire-ships so often had carried death and destruction among the Turkish fleets, never failed to revisit his family during our Easter holy-days. I often saw him sitting on a carpet spread on the ground, surrounded by his beautiful wife and daughters, and heard him good humoredly compare the stormy days that had passed over their heads, with the peace and prosperity they now enjoyed under the banner of King Otho.

One evening, during Easter, in 1836, I perceived a large crowd listening to the song of a handsome young Zantiote, in his national black cap and embroidered capote. He, like all his countrymen, had a sweet and melodious voice, and touched the guitar with the taste and skill of an Italian. All the pretty women from Ipsara and Chios, pressed forward to hear the words of his melancholy song. They seemed attentive and deeply moved, and I then learned the tragical event, which made this little song ever afterwards a favorite air in Greece.

A young mariner in Zante, fell in love with a pretty young girl, and she soon returned his affection. He was a handsome and active youth, but without a fortune; the parents of the maiden, therefore, refused to give their consent to their union, and in order to cut the matter short, they offered the hand of their daughter to a wealthy neighbor.

Manners in Greece and in America are different. Woman is suffering and submissive in the East—and the unhappy Marigula (little Mary) therefore, instead of opposing herself to the unnatural match, gave, though with many tears, her consent to the marriage.

Her admirer, in his despair, resolved to leave the island and join the Greeks of the mainland in their heroical struggle for independence. His bark lay already moored beneath the eastern promontory of Zante—the Akrotiri—and everything was prepared for departure. But could he leave fair Zante, perhaps forever, without saying his last adieu to his Marigula?

With the guitar under his arm, he at midnight, ascended to the mountain-village, and sinking down beneath the window of his love, sent her his farewell in the following strain:

Γλυκοφύγει και τ'αστρο της αυγούλας
Σμαράσσει πως 'ο 'ηλιος προβαίνει
Ίσως πλέον για τ'έμας δεν δαγγαίνει,
Να μας 'βρίσκη 'ενώμενα τα δυο.

Πασι σχνιτοντας τ'ώραισεν φεγγαρι,
'Όπου μ'έδεχτε τ'αχνο πρῶσπον σου,
Μια βραδεία 'ένα δακρυ 'έκασον σου,
'Όταν μ'έλεγεσ εγώ σ' αγαπῶ.

Τοτ' 'η φως μ'έμας εχαιρωταν,
Γλυκα μ'οφιγγες εις την αγκαλιαν σου,
'Η καρδια μ'εκτεπνισεν στην καρδιαν σου,
Κ' 'η ψυχη μου ην 'ελη με σε.

Ἄλλα τώρα με εὐθὺ ᾔαθ' ἄν,
 Καὶ μες εἰμὺν μονα ῥ' ἀγκαθία,
 Σκληροῦ ἔρωτος αἰώνια παθία,
 Πικρὰ βασάνη καὶ στεναγμοί !

In English, after the beautiful translation of the late lamented Consul Peter, in Philadelphia :

It dawns ; the moon-star glows on high,
 And tells us, that the sun is nigh ;
 Soon will he rise o'er yon blue main—
 But never on our loves again !

Fast fades the moon, all pale her ray,
 Pale as thy cheek, on that glad day,
 When first—while tears with utterance strove—
 I heard thee falter forth—"I love."

O ! how all nature smiled around,
 When first I felt that heart's rebound,
 When thy fond heart throbb'd back to mine,
 And my full soul was lost in thine !

But now of the sweet flowers bereft—
 To us the thorns alone are left,
 Love's lasting pangs, its tears, its sighs,
 Its fears and death-fraught agonies.

The weeping maiden appeared at the lattice and with her handkerchief beckoned him her eternal farewell, when a pistol-shot was fired—and the youth lay weltering in his blood. The betrothed spouse was the murderer !

Death, too, was in the heart of Maria ; she pined away like the lily in the valley, and soon followed her lover to the grave.

Such are the manners, the climate and scenery of the fair island of old Æakos, and may the stranger who has lived there and by congeniality of feelings, by inclination and habits, become himself a Myrmidon—forever carry bright and pleasing recollections along with him—and may he never feel the bitterness of those celebrated words of the great Florentine Exile :

No greater grief than to remember days
 Of joy, when blighted hope and sorrow are at hand !

A. L. K.

Lancaster, Pa.

ART. V.—FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE.*

THE State of Pennsylvania has been not unaptly compared to a *Sleeping Giant*. The trope finds its application and significance in three points of resemblance. In the first place, the State, in itself considered, is of large size and strength. By its extent of territory, its fertility of soil, its mineral resources, its facilities and opportunities of trade, the peculiar character of its vast and sturdy population, its solid material wealth, and its commanding geographical position in the midst of the general American Union, it possesses a greatness and importance which must be at once acknowledged by the whole world. Politically, it forms the key-stone of the arch, on which rests the structure of our glorious Republic. No President of the United States has ever been made without the vote of Pennsylvania. By its conservative weight emphatically, the nation is held together and kept to its place. In the second place, however, this great giant is still to no small extent asleep. It has not yet come to the full apprehension, and proper free use of its own powers and resources. Much of its strength has never been developed; and such force as it has come actually to exercise, is too often put forth in a comparatively blind way, without the waking insight and self-conscious purpose, that should go along with it, to make it of complete account. In politics, for example, the State, good natured, dozing giant, as she is, sells her birth-right for a mess of pottage; and with the power of giving the nation a President in the person of one of her own distinguished sons, in all respects worthy of the station and entitled to its high honor, quietly foregoes the prerogative belonging to her by universal consent, and by her obsequious, but powerful and decisive patronage, turns the choice in favor of a comparatively unknown stranger from New England. But our figure implies, in the third place, that the giant which is now sleeping, will in due time, awake. The torpor which we see here, is not that of death. It is the rest rather of living powers, which may be expected to break forth hereafter, with a force proportional to the long restraint that has gone before. The secret strength and hidden resources of this great Commonwealth, as yet only beginning to come into

* An Address delivered in Lancaster, by the Rev. J. W. Nevin, D. D., at the celebration of the union of the two Colleges, held in that city on the evening of June 7, 1858.

view, may be expected before long to reveal themselves in another and altogether different way. The State will not only possess her present rich elements and vast capabilities of power, but these elements and capabilities will be understood and turned to account. Her greatness will be no longer a slumbering fact simply. The possible will be all actual. She will know and feel her proper strength, and she will be able so to use it, we may trust, that the whole nation may know and feel it also for its own good.

The undeveloped wealth of the State is at once both material and moral. It is only of late, as we all know, that the physical resources which it carries in its bosom, have begun to be properly understood and improved; and who shall say what treasures richer than the gold mines of California or Australia, are not still reserved in this form for its future use? But it is not too much to say, that the latent spiritual capabilities of the State are fairly parallel with this condition of her natural resources, quite as full of promise, and of course much more entitled to our patriotic interest and regard. In comparing one country or region with another, intellectually, it is not enough to look simply at the difference of culture which may exist between them at a given time. Regard must be had also to the constitutional character of the mind itself, the quality of the moral soil, if we may use the expression, to which the culture is applied. A comparatively uneducated man may surpass in capacity and fitness, another who in point of actual education leaves him far behind; and just so it is possible that one people may be thrown into the shade for the time by another, though capable all the while in truth of a better order of cultivation, and carrying in itself thus both the possibility and the promise of a better spiritual future. In this view, we think it not absurd to magnify the mind of Pennsylvania, although it be fashionable in certain quarters, we know, to treat it with disparagement and contempt. We are persuaded, for our part, that the State has no reason to shrink here from a comparison with any other section of our flourishing and highly favored land. She may fall behind some parts of New England in the machinery of education, and she may have less to boast of just now, in the way of general knowledge among her people. Her schools and colleges are not equal to those of Massachusetts. She may not vie, in point of intellectual culture, with Connecticut. But it does not follow from this, by any means, that she is inferior to either of these States in the matter and qual-

ity of her intelligence itself; nor even that her particular culture, such as it is, and so far as it has yet gone, may not be intrinsically worth quite as much, to say the least, as that with which it is thus unfavorably contrasted. That growth is not ordinarily the best, which is most rapid and easy, and which serves to bring into view with the greatest readiness all it has power to reveal. It is by slow processes rather, that what is most deep and solid, whether in the world of nature or in the world of mind, is ripened and unfolded finally into its proper perfection. There is room for encouragement in this thought, when we look at the acknowledged deficiencies and shortcomings of our giant State, with regard to education. She has proceeded with slow and heavy course thus far, in the development both of her spiritual and her physical resources. In the case of the first, however, as well as of the last, it is possible that there may have been an advantage in this delay. Time, and a certain progress in the general life of the country, may have been needed to make room for the development under its most promising form. An earlier, more active cultivation, might have proved possibly more artificial, and therefore less vigorous and free, as being the result of foreign outward influences, rather than the true product of our proper provincial life itself. This would have been a lasting and irremediable calamity. It was far better, we may believe, that the peculiar constituents of our life, the elements from which was to be formed in the end the common character of the State, should *not* be forced into premature activity, but be left rather to work like the hidden powers of nature for a time, without noise or show, in the way of silent necessary preparation for their ultimate destiny and use. In such view, they are like the mineral wealth that lies buried so largely beneath our soil, whose value is created to no small extent by wants and opportunities which time only could bring to pass. All that is wanted now to make them a source of intellectual and moral greatness is, that they should be subjected to educational processes answerable to their own nature, and wrought into such form of general culture as this may be found to require. And may we not say, that the hour of Providence has at length struck for the accomplishment of this great work? With the mighty strides the State of Pennsylvania is now making, in outward wealth and prosperity, is it too much to cherish the pleasing belief that she is fully prepared also for a corresponding development of the rich energies that have thus far slumbered to a great

extent in her moral and spiritual life; and that intellectually as well as materially, from this time onward, her course is destined to be like that of the rising sun, which shineth more and more unto the perfect day?

What has now been said of the general intellectual character and condition of the State, may be referred with special application to the *German* element, which has entered so largely from the first into the composition of its life.

For years, as is well known, this element has weighed like a heavy incubus among us on the cause of education, both in its lower and higher forms. The fact has often been noticed and quoted, as a reproach upon the German mind itself. Rightly considered, however, it carries with it no fair room for any such reproach. So far as Pennsylvania may seem to have suffered, in this way, from the prevailing German character of her population, the evil has resulted, properly speaking, not from the constitution at all of the German mind, as such, but from the circumstances only of peculiar disadvantage in which this mind has stood here from the beginning. It was doomed in the nature of the case, we may say, to remain rude and inactive for a long series of years, with little or no participation in the onward movement of thought around it. A very large proportion of the original emigration from Germany to this State, consisted of persons who were comparatively poor, and who found it necessary, therefore, to devote their attention, almost exclusively, to occupations and cares immediately connected with their own personal subsistence. Their language, at the same time, formed a barrier to their free communication, with the English community, in the midst of which they dwelt. At the present time, no such barrier can long stand. The relations of business, politics and trade, soon sweep it out of the way. But in the earlier period, to which the case before us belongs, it was of far more serious account. It gave rise to separate German settlements, which produced a permanent isolation of interest and life, by transmitting the German tongue from one generation to another, and thus shutting out those who used it from the reigning social system of the country. No situation could well be more unfavorable for intellectual activity and improvement. There was no room in truth for action or progress in any such form; and so the energies of this part of our population became devoted almost entirely to agricultural pursuits, and to the service of purely material interests, with little or no regard to the social culture of their English neighbors. The result was, with their habits of indus-

try and economy, that they soon rose above their first condition of want, and gained property more and more; till at length, as is well known, a large proportion of the wealth of the State is found in the hands of their descendants. But this outward favorable change brought with it no corresponding moral enlargement; had no power of course, in the circumstances, to do anything of this sort. It served to produce rather an undue attachment to money for its own sake; and along with this, as a necessary consequence, a low appreciation of all that pertains to the proper care and culture of the mind. Thus the German mind of Pennsylvania has become, with many, in a way most false and treasonable, certainly, to the true, original constitution of the German mind itself, the proverbial type of narrow-minded ignorance and close-fisted avarice combined. No part of the community has needed education more; and yet, from no quarter, unfortunately, has the cause of education, in time past, been so much discouraged and withstood.

The evil, too, has had a tendency to fatten itself upon its own bad fruit. The want of knowledge can never fail to make itself felt as a want also of power, and to carry along with it, for this reason, a more or less uncomfortable sense of weakness and inferiority. In this way, the relation of the German to the predominant education around him, has been too generally of a sort to create in his mind a prejudice against it, as involving in some way an unfavorable distinction at his expense. Then the bad purposes which such education has been found palpably to serve in many cases, have come in as a plausible show of reason to clothe their prejudice with still greater force. An intimate association was unhappily established in his mind thus between learning and mischief, very much akin with the union of smartness and fraud that goes to make up the character of a pettifogging lawyer. Scholar and Yankee, grew to be terms of nearly the same sense. The prejudice has operated seriously against all education; but especially, of course, against education in its higher forms. Whatever might be thought of common schools, prudently held within proper bounds, all seminaries of a more advanced character, were to be frowned upon and discouraged as productive of evil rather than of good. Colleges, in particular, have been brought in this way, extensively, into the very worst odor. In the eyes of the German farmer, they have appeared, very generally, to be nurseries of idleness, extravagance and pride, or schools of fair-faced knavery and over-reaching art and wit,

something worse in truth than an unprofitable vanity, an actual burden upon society, rather than a source of blessing and strength.

It is not easy to express the disastrous bearing of this widespread indifference and prejudice, in various ways, on the cause of education thus far in Pennsylvania. The evil has not limited itself to the German portion of our citizenship as such. This has been too large and powerful to be a simply negative factor in the life of the State. It has lent a vast positive force to the formation of its character. We are emphatically a German State. The whole spirit and conduct of the State in regard to education, as well as in other directions, have been influenced and determined to no considerable extent by the German habit of thought. All our educational movements accordingly, have been heavy and slow. Especially have our colleges been left to contend with all sorts of discouragement and difficulty. A number of such institutions have been established; but none of them can be said to rest on any proper foundation, or to be possessed of much real strength. The State has indeed made them, to some extent, the object of her patronizing care; but it has been in such a way, for the most part, as to defeat, in a great measure, the purposes of her own liberality. Her patronage has been administered, with variable, unsettled, fitful policy; or one might say, perhaps, capriciously, with no policy at all. The colleges have been left, generally, to take care of themselves. In these circumstances, the number has become twice as great as the actual wants of the State require; while the resources of the whole of them thrown together, would not be sufficient to make one institution fairly equal to what is required by its honor. In the midst of such public neglect, itself the fruit and sign of the prevailing popular sentiment in regard to the interest concerned, but little was to be expected for the support of such seminaries of learning, in the way of private munificence. In the history of the colleges of Pennsylvania, we hear of no rich donations or legacies, to erect buildings, found libraries, or endow professorships, lasting and noble monuments of a truly large zeal for the cause of letters. The only thing which may look like an exception, perhaps, to the remark, is presented to us in the magnificent Orphan College of Stephen Girard; but this most wasteful charity is no monument, properly speaking, of any really liberal interest in favor of letters, just as little as it can lay claim to the character of any such interest in favor of re-

ligion ; it is but the glaring expression rather of a narrow and illiberal mind, with regard to both. Thus it is, that our colleges have been left to build themselves up as they best could, without any such endowment as was needed to make them properly strong and independent over against the low and false views of education with which they have been surrounded. They have been doomed, in consequence, to a sickly existence, the unfavorable influence of which, has extended itself to the universal cause of knowledge in the State. For common schools will never flourish, where no suitable provision is made for education in its higher character ; and it must be visionary, of course, to expect in such a case, that any general intelligence or cultivation, can be brought to have place, by any means, in the community at large.

Altogether, it is evident enough, that the German element in our midst has had much to do with the somewhat proverbial sluggishness of our State, thus far, in the march of intellectual improvement ; and much reproach has been cast, in certain quarters, upon the *Pennsylvania Dutch*, as they are vulgarly called, for this very reason, as being a sort of Bæotian drawback and drag on the whole life of the State, greatly to its disparagement, especially as compared with its more smart and forward neighbors of the East and North. But what we have said of our moral composition, as a whole, is particularly true, we believe, of just that part of it which is subjected to this reproach. If the German mind of Pennsylvania has stood in the way of letters, heretofore, and caused her to lag behind other States, in the policy of education, we may see in it, at the same time, the fair promise and pledge of a more auspicious future, that shall serve hereafter, to redeem her character, on this score, from all past and present blame. So far as this large mass of mind is concerned, it is owing, certainly, to no constitutional inferiority, that it has not yielded more fruit in the way of knowledge and culture. The fact, as we have just seen, is sufficiently explained by other causes. Regarded as material, simply, no body of mind in the country, is more susceptible of education, or more favorably disposed for the reception of it, in its most healthy and vigorous form. Who that knows anything of the literature and science of Germany itself, will bear to be told that there is no native affinity between the spirit of such a people and the cause of knowledge, or that it can require anything more than proper opportunity and encouragement, in any circumstances, to bring this affinity

finally into view? It is a slander upon the German mind of Pennsylvania, to stigmatize it as constitutionally inactive and unproductive, or as naturally narrow and illiberal. We have no right to charge upon its nature, what at worst is to be considered only the fault of circumstances. The condition in which it has been placed, has been such, as to consign it for years, to general ignorance, and along with this to much moral and spiritual rudeness in other respects; and this has had the effect of seriously retarding the progress of the whole State in the cause of education. But it has not destroyed or impaired, in the mean time, the capabilities of the State for a generous and vigorous self-development in this form, at a later period. Nay, it is quite possible, that something may have been gained for the force of this development at last, by the very delay which has thus been put upon it in past years. An earlier awakening of the proper German life of Pennsylvania, might have been more untimely, and so less favorable to the drawing out of its powers in their best form. It may be well, that these powers and possibilities have lain buried for the most part till the present time, when the opening as it were, of a new era in the history of our country might seem to make room for their being unfolded with such effect as was not to be hoped for before. In this view, we have no reason to be ashamed of the German character of our State. There is a blessing in it, with all its faults; and the time has now come, we may trust, when the secret power of this blessing will begin to make itself extensively felt. The hindrances which have heretofore stood in the way of its moral and intellectual advancement, are happily fast disappearing. Our German population has begun to free itself everywhere from the thralldom of an isolated, and therefore, comparatively stagnant and dead social position, maintained heretofore through the use of a foreign tongue, and is entering more and more into free, active communication with the general life of the State. With the falling away of this middle wall of partition, old prejudices, and old occasions of prejudice, are rapidly losing their power. A new interest is beginning to make itself felt on all sides, in favor of education. Much of course, very much, still remains to be desired, in this respect, especially as regards education in its higher forms; but never before has there been the same room for encouragement, that there is now, in the way of what may be regarded as fair preparation at least, and promise here in the right direction. The field is white already to harvest.

What is wanted, is, that the rich opportunity should be rightly understood, and vigorously, as well as wisely improved. Let us have faith and confidence in the German nature itself; let us believe, that in these circumstances it will not fail to show itself spiritually worthy of its own pedigree and race. The Low Dutch nature, extensively prevalent in New Jersey and New York, might have been considered, constitutionally, a much less promising element for the process of social cultivation; although we find it now actively associated in fact with all that belongs to the cause of education in those States. Only let the unnatural restraints fall away, which have heretofore done violence to the German heart and German soul of Pennsylvania—an emancipation which, as we have just seen, is now fast taking place—and we may reasonably anticipate a still more cheering result. With all the deterioration it may seem to have suffered for the time, in the captivity of more than seventy years, through which it has been called to pass, the mind of Germany still lives in the posterity of her children transplanted to America during the last century; to some extent modified, no doubt, by the new influences to which it has been so long exposed, but ready still to wake in the power of its now properly distinguishing qualities and attributes, just as soon as fit occasion may be afforded for such purpose.

In this view then, we repeat it, there is no reason to be discouraged with the prospects of our State, as regards education and learning. Our population contains at least the elements of a greatness in this respect, which may be expected to bear favorable comparison, in due time, with that of any other section of the country. Our mountains are not more full of buried wealth, than the spirit of our people. Let us be true to ourselves, in constructing schools and colleges for the one interest, as well as rail-roads and canals for the other, and all will be right. Pennsylvania may yet become the soil of the most thriving and vigorous literature in the land.

It is not only, however, for the purpose of encouragement and hope, that we need to understand the genius of our State, and to have proper faith in its spiritual resources and capabilities; such knowledge and confidence are of indispensable account also for the right ordering of what may be done or proposed in the way of education, for the due development of its moral life.

To insure a truly efficient system of culture, regard must be had to the nature and quality of the soil to which it is to be

applied. Every intelligent farmer knows this to be true, in the common tillage of his fields. It is, however, not a whit less true in the moral world. The education of any people, politically, morally, religiously, or in the way of literature and science, is a problem in which account must always be made of the constitutional nature and temper of the people itself, and of its actual origin and history, as given conditions which can never be left out of sight, if the problem is to be solved in a really satisfactory way. The training that suits England or Scotland well, may not be desirable for Italy, France, or Spain. And just in the same way, we say, different sections of these United States may call for different systems of education, as really as they require different systems of agriculture; and if this be so, nothing, of course, can be more important, in the business of social and intellectual culture throughout the nation, than that it should be made, as much as possible, conformable everywhere to the actual character of the particular population for which it is designed.

Pennsylvania, in particular, it is easy enough to see, requires for the full proper development of her hidden spiritual life, something more than the form of education, which prevails in New England. The two regions embrace two different orders of mind; and this difference is not accidental simply, but constitutional; it enters in each case into the very life of the people. However excellent the reigning life of New England may be in itself considered, it is not the proper life for Pennsylvania; and it would be both unnatural and unwise to insist on making it so by educational force. No such violent process can ever produce a natural, harmonious, and truly vigorous evolution of the inward powers on which it is brought to act; and it is hardly necessary to say, that without this no intellectual or moral culture deserves to be regarded as worthy of the name. If our great State is ever to rise to her proper high position in the world of mind, she must have an order of education in some measure peculiar to herself, and answerable to her own order of life.

It is to be expected, indeed, that some common national character, will, in the course of time, impress itself on the mind of the country as a whole; and we should be sorry to encourage any such provincial or sectional distinctions, as might fairly serve to stand in the way of this final result. But there are two things here to be considered and kept in mind. Such national unity of character must not be confounded with the idea

of monotonous sameness. That would be the uniformity of death; whereas the very conception of life implies variety, diversity of powers and operations, the union of the manifold for the representation of some common idea, and in the service of some common end. Then again, in a country like ours, no such unity of national life and spirit can ever be reached, by the mere outward triumph of any one single form of mind over all other forms of mind embraced in the general process; and much less is it to be imagined, of course, that it is the prerogative of any particular fashion and type of thought already at work among us, to set itself up in this way, as the last standard and whole measure of all that is to be included hereafter in our American civilization. The time has gone by; when it might have been dreamed that the law of this civilization, under its last and most universal form was to be regarded as a fact already given in the social constitution of any part of the country, as it now stands. Even New England, with all its power of ubiquitous self-multiplication, must now be content to give up every pretension to any such legislative authority in this view, whatever reason there might have seemed to be for it twenty or even ten years ago. Deserving as it may be of all honor and respect, it is becoming more and more plain every year, that the mind of New England is destined to be, after all, a partial factor only, a single element merely, and nothing more, in the constitution of what is to be known hereafter as the proper nationality of this mighty republic. This nationality has not yet appeared; it is a problem which still remains to be solved by the course of history; and the universal movement of things, at the present time, shows that the solution is to come, not by man's forethought or plan, in any way, but by the action of forces which God only is able to control.

In such circumstances, the true idea of education for any particular portion of the country, should be felt to involve much more than a blind outward following merely, of such modes and habits of intelligence as may have come to prevail in some other part. The case requires rather, that every section of the land, north and south, east and west, should fall back as much as possible upon the true ground of its own life, and aim at a culture which may as far as possible correspond with this, and thus serve most effectually to bring out its proper capabilities in their best and most perfect form. In this way only can each part of the nation do justice to itself, and con-

tribute its due share at the same time to the formation at last of a true national life ; since this can be brought to pass only as the product of a general process, in which shall be comprehended all the constituent factors of this life, and not simply a part of them ; and in which full room and scope shall be allowed to these different forces, so that each shall be properly represented in the final result.

Never was there a time then, when it was more necessary and proper, than it is at present, that the State of Pennsylvania, in particular, should propose to herself, in the way of social, intellectual and moral cultivation, the natural development of her own distinctive resources and powers, instead of consenting to follow simply in the wake of Massachusetts or Connecticut, New Jersey or New York. Let her learn now especially to understand and respect her own nature, her own constitutional genius. The time has been, when it was not easy to do this ; when it may have seemed hard for any such self-respect on the part of the Commonwealth, to sustain itself, over against the more advanced culture, and more active intelligence, of some other parts of the country ; and it is perhaps, fortunate, as before suggested, that the way was not then open, in the State, for any general movement in favor of education and knowledge, just because from the known pliancy of the German mind, and its readiness to yield itself passively to foreign influences, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that in such a case, as things then stood, the true and proper character of the State might have been sacrificed altogether to the power of a life different from its own. But this time has passed away. We live now in a different period, stand in the midst of new relations, and see ourselves surrounded on all sides with a new horizon. It is no longer difficult to set a proper value on the distinctive character of our State, or to see that it is capable of taking a form in the way of education, answerable to its own native and peculiar constitution, which may be of far more account to the country than any that could possibly be borrowed for its use from abroad. In such circumstances, it becomes the duty of all to seek the elevation of the State in this way. Let her know herself ; let her have faith in the capabilities of her own population ; let education be made a truly home interest within her borders. In this way, and only in this way, may she be expected to rise, to come into the full waking possession finally, of her own rich interior life, and to fulfil, successfully, the great mission that

seems of right, to belong to her, politically and morally, in the coming history of the United States.

No system of education then, taken as a whole, can be regarded as complete for Pennsylvania, in which account is not made practically of the German mind and German character as such. Whatever else such a system may need to include that it may be answerable to the original and natural genius of the State, this point is indispensable; it must be in a certain sense German as well as English. An exclusively English training, an education representing only English modes of thought, can never be taken as fully sufficient to meet the wants of a community which is to so great an extent of German origin and descent. We do not mean by this, of course, that the German tongue must be retained in common use, or that the German national usages and customs are to be carefully carried forward from one generation to another. The sooner the language as it is now commonly spoken among us may go out of date, the better. This is a corrupt and barbarous dialect, which stands in no proper organic connection at present either with the life of Germany, or with that of the United States; the whole influence of which for this reason is unfavorable to every thing like free mental development. Nor could any important end be answered, by trying to substitute for this the German in a pure form. It is far more easy to substitute for it the English tongue, which is commonly spoken in the country, and which in the nature of the case must ever be on this account also of far greater value and use. Those are no true friends of our German population, whatever they may pretend to the contrary, who endeavor to foster in it a prejudice against the English language, and thus do as much as they well can to exclude it from the social and educational advantages which are fully accessible only through the use of this language. We have reason to congratulate ourselves, that the day for such prejudice has now nearly come to an end, and that through the influence of our public improvements and common schools the bad German dialect of Pennsylvania is in a fair way finally of being forced to retire from the field. This revolution must involve also necessarily the passing away of many old customs, handed down by tradition from the fathers. To insist on holding such things fast, as mere dead relics of a by-gone time, would be pedantry only of the poorest sort. But that is a low view to take of nationality, by which it is regarded as at once coming to an end by any such change of

language or merely outward and accidental life. When we speak of the German character of Pennsylvania, we mean something much deeper than this. We refer rather to the nature of the German mind as such, its distinguishing spirit, its constitutional organization, its historical substance and form. It is true indeed, that this has undergone a certain modification by the influences to which it has been subjected thus far in the new world; and it may be expected to undergo still greater change in time to come, when the old language shall have gone entirely out of popular use. But no alteration of this sort is sufficient, to pull down the whole genius of a people and build it up again in new style. The German order of mind still survives in Pennsylvania, and will long continue to survive, the wreck of German speech and German customs. It enters largely, as a lasting constituent, into the universal character of the State, and it is in this view especially, we say, that it is entitled to continual practical regard in our schemes of intellectual and moral improvement. Our Anglo-German character demands an Anglo-German education.

From what has been already said, it is plain that this requirement is one which cannot be met adequately by our common schools. If it were wanted simply to keep up the use of the German language, we might indeed call in their powerful machinery to our aid. But this is not wanted; and it is no business of our schools now, accordingly, to teach German. But beyond this, their province can have little to do directly with the interest now under consideration. What they teach, arithmetic, geography, grammar, and other such particular studies, so far as the main matter of them is concerned, have as little to do with one nationality as another. There may be a difference indeed in the spirit with which such things are taught, in the governing idea and ruling soul of the instruction itself. But this is something, which these common schools are not able of themselves to produce. Viewed as a matter of education, the spirit that should rule them must descend into them from a higher quarter, from the university or college. Here we see the true relation between the college and the school, between education in its higher and education in its lower character. Nothing can well be more foolish and absurd, than to think of exalting one of these interests at the cost of the other, or to imagine that there exists between them any sort of real contrariety and op-

position. A true system of education for any people must embrace both; and it must embrace both always in this relation, that the spirit of the college shall give tone and character to the spirit of the school, as it ought to make itself felt indeed in the spiritual life of the entire community. It is to our colleges then we must look mainly for the proper solution of the problem now before us, an educational culture that may be fairly answerable to the wants of Pennsylvania, as an Anglo-German State. If they are not brought to provide for the case, it will be in vain to expect that suitable provision can ever be made for it in any other way.

Is it asked now, how a college may do its part towards this object? We may answer, that the case does not require of course a system of instruction carried forward in the German language. Some have been disposed indeed to insist on something of this sort, as being the only effectual way, in their view, of maintaining the interest in question. But no surer course could be taken in fact, to overthrow the interest altogether. A German college established in any part of Pennsylvania on this plan, even if its professors might rival those of Halle or Berlin, would carry with it almost no weight or influence whatever. On the other hand, however, the case requires something more than a course of instruction in German, or a regular department even of German literature, hung as a sort of outward appendage simply, on the general scheme to which it is attached. An institution suited to the character of Pennsylvania, and carrying in it a proper relation to its educational wants, particularly at the present time, needs to be English altogether in its general course of studies, and yet of such reigning spirit that both the German language and the German habit of thought shall feel themselves to be easily at home within its bosom. The presence of this element will be cherished with true congenial sympathy and respect. The power of a natural affinity with it will be felt and acknowledged on all sides. A living communication will be maintained with the literature and science, philosophy and religion, of Germany itself, serving to promote, at the same time, an intelligent regard for the German life at home, with a proper insight into its merits and defects, its capacities and wants. Such an institution will have faith in the resources of this home life as such, will understand the true sense of it, the sterling qualities, that lie hid beneath its rude and rough exterior, and will address itself honestly and heartily to the task of developing and

drawing out these qualities in their own proper form ; in the full persuasion that no better material, no more worthy sphere of service, and no surer promise of success in the end, could be offered to it from any other quarter or under any different form. Making itself one in this way, and feeling itself one, with the natural spirit of the State, so far as it is German, an institution of this sort must carry with it at once a passport to the good opinion and confidence of our German citizenship ; for it is wonderful how soon like makes itself intelligible to like, and the sense of a common nature and spirit serves to draw the most different orders of mind together, causing children even, for instance, to feel themselves familiarly at home with age and authority in one case, while they shrink from their presence in another. Such fellow feeling, in the case before us, must open the way immediately for the happiest results. The German mind of Pennsylvania, seeing and feeling the real significance of its own nature reflected upon it in this way from an institution of learning really and truly belonging to itself, cannot fail to be inspired with a new sense of independence and becoming self-respect. No object deserves to be considered more important than this, for the cause of education in our State ; and if a college may be so constituted and ordered, as by its relationship with the German mind among us to become an interpreting key that shall serve to make this mind in any measure rightly intelligible to itself, it will by such good office alone have done more for the State than can well be expressed. With self-knowledge and proper self-reliance, may be expected to appear more and more movement and decided action also in favor of knowledge. A proper patronage will be called forth, in support of a system of education which is thus appreciated and understood. It will become more and more the fashion for German families to send their sons to college ; and the influence of the college will be made in this way again to reach forth more and more extensively upon the community. The case will be one of continual action and reaction ; and so long as the institution remains true to its original character, and tries to carry out faithfully, as it ought to do, its proper mission and task, as a college for Pennsylvania and not for some other State, working thus in harmony with the natural spirit of the State itself and finding in it a congenial element, it will make itself felt upon this more and more as a source of general education, giving tone and character to its universal life. Such we conceive to be the

general process, by which it might be possible to realize the conception of a reigning education properly adapted to the German character of Pennsylvania, and which every true friend of the State should be willing to approve and encourage for this purpose. We do not see, how it is possible for the object to be accomplished in any other way.

This being so, those among us who love the German nationality, and who wish to have its just rights maintained in the process of amalgamation which is slowly but surely hammering out what is to be hereafter the finished character of the State, are the very last surely who should look with a cold or unfriendly eye on our higher institutions of learning. If these rights are ever to be successfully asserted and upheld, it must be by this agency rather than by any other. It is in vain to look to our common schools for any such service as this; and it is worse than in vain to imagine, that any possible form of social exclusiveness will be of the least avail to ward off the evil which is to be apprehended. The tide has already set in, which will soon sweep down all that may be opposed to it in any such purely outward and helpless style. The German language must soon pass out of popular use, and along with it will disappear with inevitable necessity much of the outward show and fashion of our good old Pennsylvania German life as it now stands. The time is fast coming on, think of it as we may, when this good old life will exist only in story or in song, like that which Diedrich Knickerbocker has rendered so illustrious in his ever memorable history of New York. In this approaching revolution and wreck, if anything is to be saved it can be only the soul, the spirit, the inward genius and power, of what is thus in every other view doomed to destruction. But, as we have now seen, the spiritual conservatism which is needed for securing a victory of this sort over such a crisis, is a power that can be exercised effectually only by our colleges. To them it belongs of right, to determine and represent the course that shall be taken by the general intelligence of the State, and to give law and tone thus to its reigning education. How important, then, that such an agency should be clothed with a proper character in reference to the interests here in view, and that it should be properly supported in such form by those especially to whom this interest is dear. Let this be well considered by our German citizens generally; and they will soon see that they of all others ought to be concerned to have colleges, and to have them in a form and shape also to

answer their own wants. In no other way have they it so much in their power, to maintain the credit of the German name, to make their language honorable, and to perpetuate the force of their own life in the future history of the country. All depends indeed on the spirit with which such institutions may themselves be animated and ruled. But for this very reason, they ought not to be surrendered into wrong hands, and placed under false direction. Let our German population see to it, while they have power to do so, that an agency so potent for good be brought in some proper measure under their own patronage and control, and thus be wielded for the conservation of these interests and not for their destruction.

It is hardly necessary to remark, that what we have now said looks in no way to the idea of anything like an exclusively German spirit, in our system of college education. The life of Germany, as such, can never, and should never, become the life of any part of these United States; just as little as the life, in any like view, of England, Italy, or France. All we mean, is, that the German mind among us should come in for its just share of regard, as a vast and mighty element in the composition of our State. Respect must be had also of course, and in the nature of the case always will be had in more than full proportion to what may be denominated the natively English side of our life. What the case demands, as we have already intimated, is an Anglo-German education—a form of intellectual and moral culture, in which the English and German nationalities shall be happily blended together in the power of a common spirit fairly representing the mixed character of the State. The two orders of life are eminently well fitted to flow in this way into one; and the combination, we believe, would give a result which in the end must prove itself to be better than either. Towards the accomplishment of this great object, the patriotic wishes of all good Pennsylvanians should be actively turned. Now especially, when the fulness of time might seem to be at hand for it in the course of God's providence, it ought to be the aim and scope of our whole educational policy.

The interest and importance of this celebration turn altogether, we may say, on the relation it bears to the cause, whose claims I have thus far been endeavoring to explain and enforce. The opening of Franklin and Marshall College in the city of Lancaster, is an event, which deserves to be publicly proclaimed in this way, and which is destined, we trust,

to be held in long remembrance hereafter, not simply because a new institution of learning is thus introduced under favorable auspices to the attention of the world; but especially and mainly for this reason, that the institution in question is one, which by all its connections and relations stands pledged to sustain such a true Anglo-German character, as we have seen to be needed for Pennsylvania, and may be expected to do much towards solving, practically, the problem of a right education for the State in this form.

The new college is formed by the consolidation of two other chartered institutions, both of which were intended from the beginning, to serve the cause of learning among the German part, more particularly, of our population. The funds of Franklin College were created by the Legislature of the State, expressly for this purpose and could never have been devoted to any other object without a solemn breach of trust. Marshall College was established at Mercersburg in the year 1885; under the patronage of the German Reformed Church, for the same end; and it is not saying too much to affirm, that its energies have been faithfully and successfully devoted to this object from first to last. It has aimed to be an Anglo-German institution, and to adapt itself, in this respect, to the genius and wants of Pennsylvania, as well as of other parts of the country in which the English and German elements are similarly united; and in the prosecution of that end, has steadily refused to be a copy or echo simply of systems of thought elsewhere established, which might carry in them no reference whatever to any such order of life. Having this character, and pursuing this course, the college has in fact done much, during the comparatively short period of its history, to encourage and promote a proper zeal for education in the German community; as well as to show how much of promise for this cause is contained in our American German mind, just so soon as proper pains may be taken to turn it to account. No other college has done more, none perhaps, as much, to call out the qualities of this American German mind, in the case of its students, in a form answerable to its own historical nature; to inspire it with a confidence in itself; to wake within it the felt sense of a living connection with Germany; to make it, in one word, strong and honorable in its own eyes, and also in the eyes of others. Marshall College has a history in this view, possesses a name, forms an important fact, carries with it memories and associations, which must be regarded of lasting account for the

cause of education in Pennsylvania. The whole worth and weight of this moral character and property, including the favor of its alumni, and other pupils, at this time widely scattered over the land, pass over now along with the college itself to the new institution established in Lancaster. By the act of consolidation which we are met to celebrate on the present occasion, these two German interests, Franklin College and Marshall College, are here at length happily formed into one; the future history of which, thus carrying in its bosom the united force and purpose of both, will prove to be a stream, we may trust, worthy of such twofold source, that shall continue for ages to diffuse far and wide the blessings of education, in a form suitable to the genius, and worthy of the character of this great Anglo-German State.

In the second place, this new institution derives additional importance, in the general light now presented, from the consideration that it stands under the care of the German Reformed Church, and may expect to enjoy its perpetual patronage and support.* The denomination is bound to it, on both sides of the union from which it springs; in virtue of the interest it has had all along in Marshall College, and in virtue also of its interest in Franklin College; since by original title and recent purchase together, two thirds of the whole property of this last, as is well known, belonged of right to the Reformed Church before the union took place. From its membership also, no doubt, has been drawn a large proportion of the sub-

* It is hardly necessary to say, that this denominational character of the institution implies nothing exclusive or offensively sectarian. All who have given the subject any sort of serious consideration know very well, that no college can go forward vigorously in this country, which is not placed under the reigning control of some particular religious body, so as to be entitled in this way at the same time to its special patronage and care. The fact of such a relation in the case before us, made perfectly clear and sure from the start by the terms of the college charter, should be regarded as a consideration greatly in favor of the whole enterprise. Without this, there could be no proper guaranty that it would be consecrated to the service of religion at all, or that it would be animated by a prevailingly religious spirit; a gross defect, which must at once render it altogether undeserving of confidence; since all godless education, high or low, all education which is not subjected throughout to some positive system of religious faith, can never be a blessing, but only a curse. It is well, therefore, that this new college stands in decided connection with a particular branch of the Protestant Church. In the character of this branch of the Church itself, however, as well as in the general organization of the institution, the best security is given that no narrow spirit of sectarianism will be allowed to turn the enterprise from its proper object, but that it will continue to go forward always hereafter in the same liberal and catholic spirit with which it has been commenced.

scription raised in this county, to indemnify in the way of new buildings here the large sacrifice that was to be made, in the nature of the case, on the buildings which have been left behind in Mercersburg. All around, the transaction is to be considered thus far mainly, as a consolidation of separate German Reformed interests, which have thus been wisely thrown together now for the establishment of a college that shall be worthy of the Church at this point. But this is only a small part of what the institution may be said to possess, by its relation to the Church. Of far more account, is the friendship, and favor, and lasting patronage of the large and respectable German denomination which it is made in this way to represent. It will be the centre of education for the whole body at least on this side of the mountains; towards which, from every side, will be directed its eyes of expectation and hope, and on which must depend in fact all its future prosperity and success.

Finally, we have much to augur in favor of the new institution from its location. This may be said to be all that could be desired, especially for the full realization of what we have found to be desirable in the case of a college, designed to act properly on the German mind of Pennsylvania. In any view, the city of Lancaster offers a fine situation for such a seat of learning. Its immediate local advantages are too well known, to require any notice or mention. By its position, in the midst of the new facilities for travel and trade which are opening on all sides, it is easy of access from almost every quarter. Especially may it be regarded as in this view likely soon to become, if it be not in fact already, the very heart and centre of the German Reformed Church, and of what may be termed the German region in general in the Middle States. A college of good character established here can never fail to be in full sight of this broad and ample territory, and to command more or less of its attention and respect. But it would be hard to name any place at the same time, which might seem to have less need or occasion to look abroad in this way for encouragement, in the case of any such enterprize. The city and county of Lancaster ought to be considered a host in themselves, most fully sufficient for carrying it forward alone, if that were at all necessary. The county, for size, and population, and wealth, might pass respectably for an independent State; and if the cause of education within it stood in any sort of proportion with its prosperity in other respects, it would be found to require no doubt, as it would also abundantly sustain,

a flourishing college simply for its own use. No such patronage indeed is to be asked of it, or expected from it now. The time for it has not yet come. But who will say, that it may not come hereafter, or that it may not begin to come soon? The field itself, at all events, is full of hope and promise. It derives additional importance also, as related to our present enterprise, from the fact that it is so thoroughly German. It is altogether right and fit, that Franklin and Marshall College, along with its other German affinities and connections, and proposing, as it does, to make common cause with the natural Anglo-German spirit of Pennsylvania in the business of education, should be planted in the bosom of Lancaster county, where the German element still prevails in full strength, and is able to make itself felt politically and morally over the whole State. Here precisely is the place for a seat of learning, which may be made under German auspices, and in the midst of German associations, to accomplish in part at least the service that is needed, to do justice to the mixed character of the State, and to bring out its peculiar capabilities in the best form. And may we not trust, that the fit and right time also has now come for such an institution to enter upon its work, and that the way is open for carrying it forward with success? A new impulse has begun to be felt in the life of the county, as well as in the spirit of the city, in other respects. May it not be hoped, that the benefit of this awakening will not be confined wholly to material interests; will not exhaust itself in railroads, and cotton mills, and other such machinery of business and wealth; but that some portion of it at least will find its way to the far more important interest of learning, and make itself felt auspiciously in favor of the great and noble enterprise, whose claims and hopes and prospects are before us at the present time?

Let the enterprise only prove true and faithful to what we have now seen to be the object which should be aimed at in a system of education for this State; let it be carried forward vigorously in the spirit of the idea, which would seem to be prescribed for it by all the conditions in the midst of which it starts; and we see not how, with these favorable auspices and omens, this field of opportunity and promise, it should fail of being crowned in time with the largest and most triumphant success. Never was the way more fairly open before certainly, for the creation of a literary institution, which might be brought to represent and express worthily the true character

of the State while it should serve also to make it respectable, by calling out effectually the resources which are comprehended in the German side of its life. In such view, the present occasion deserves indeed to be regarded one of no ordinary significance and interest. The whole State is concerned in the opening of this new college in Lancaster; and has a right to expect that such a movement, put forward in favor of so great an object at such a point, will not be allowed to come short of its proper purpose and end. It will not do so, if the citizens of this county, if the people only of this city, choose and resolve to have it otherwise. Let us hope and trust, that such determination will not fail to rally itself around the enterprise more and more, until there shall be no room for even a shadow of doubt in regard to its success. Let us accept as an omen and pledge of this, the public welcome with which the arms of the community are thrown open, to receive the institution into their midst on the present occasion. The whole State knows, we might almost say the whole world knows, that if Lancaster county and the city of Lancaster see proper, Franklin and Marshall College may soon be made the ornament and glory, not only of this city and county, but of the entire Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. And who will pretend, that the ambition and zeal of this old German community, now rolling as it does in wealth, would not be well and worthily laid out, if they were turned in fact towards the realization of so grand an object? One cannot be satisfied indeed, to think of such a community stopping short with anything less high and honorable, in an enterprise of this sort. A mere second or third rate college, a college of no character or force, might answer for other places, or might have answered well enough perhaps for Lancaster itself in other times; but for the Lancaster that now is, and still more for the Lancaster that is to be some ten or twenty years hence, no thought of this kind should be for one moment endured. Better no college here at all, with the greatest deliberation we say it, better no pretension whatever on the part of the place to be known as the seat of any such literary institution, than to have the German name disgraced, and the literary character of our German State turned into a perpetual proverb and by-word, by the mere sham or shadow of a college in no right keeping with the central and solid character of the place in other respects. Lancaster should either have no college at all, or else have one that may be in all respects worthy of the name. Let the powerful citizenship of the county, and

call an *infant* happy? He alone is happy, who is a subject of holiness, whether consciously or not. Such holiness the infant does not possess. The prayer expressed in the next three lines, is good enough in itself. The author asks for something to be "given from above." Yet in the end, as will be seen, he plainly teaches that all must come from native "innocence," developed by the "teachings of nature," and finally consummated by the "Spirit *placed* within the heart." It mechanically *places* the Spirit within the heart, to direct it, very much as the farmer places his boy on the horse to guide him while ploughing out corn.

The second stanza declares "the wish and prayer for perfect bliss to be fruitless and vain." Such, however, is not the teaching of Scripture, nor the experience even of the martyr. The cross leads to the crown, and the foretaste ends in the full fruition. The Church is the vestibule of heaven. The poem, however, seems not to know any heaven. That is a continent which as yet it has not discovered; nor has it even heard of that celestial Columbus who has revealed it, and brought life and immortality to light. Consequently also it knows no Church.—It makes existence from beginning to end, (for it intimates no hereafter,) to be a mere mixture of (natural) "bliss" and "wo." This "wo" has no relationship to sin. The poem, therefore, knows nothing of "godly sorrow," and will not let its "happy" babe, either now or hereafter, escape from natural sorrow. Yet the third stanza implores that the "sweet one, may know capacity to relish bliss and strength to combat wo." But this, instead of unriddling the riddle, renders the enigma of life still more hopeless. What else than perfect mockery is it, to "know capacity for bliss and strength to combat wo," when the latter can never be escaped, and the former can never be attained! But whence this capacity and strength? Doubtless from the original "happy one," and hence its inefficiency and vanity.

"May that pure innocence, which now
Is infancy's best spell,
Encircle long thy cloudless brow,
And in thy bosom dwell.

"It is the talisman, whose touch
Is like Ithuriel's spear;
And it shall teach thee, used as such,
Both what to love and fear."

Here, then, is imputed to the infant, a *pure innocence*. The infant is rightly allowed to be innocent—harmless, without wilful malice and guile; but purity is a quality which the Church and Scripture nowhere recognize as belonging to the infant. Daily experience cannot find it there. The nature of the infant has a native obliquity; its being, from the first, is an instrument unstrung, in discord with itself, and out of tune with the whole order of the world. "Man enters the world with a wail, and leaves it with a groan."—This fourth stanza, however, is in harmony with itself, though not so with the second and third. The second allows its subject no perfect bliss, and no escape from sorrow, (that is, natural ill). The third, throws its "sweet one" into a combat between bliss and wo, (that is still, mere natural states or conditions.) The fourth now prays that its native, "pure innocence, may long encircle its *cloudless* brow, and in its bosom dwell;" and to cap the climax, the fifth stanza declares, that "pure innocence,"—native, inborn purity, an original, subjective potency, developed doubtless by proper circumstance and condition, as the "teachings of nature," (afterwards mentioned,) "shall teach the infant both what to love and fear." No objective teacher, either human or divine, is needed in the case: no parents, no Church, no Bible even, no Saviour, no Spirit, no God. The original germ, "pure innocence," is itself an infallible guide. Animal instinct, which keeps its subject in all its ways, sounds the alarm when danger is near, leads to places of refuge and rest, and presides over the selection of appropriate food, from among a multitude of noxious plants, would seem to be a perfect parallel to this pure innocence. The "bliss" of our poem, seems to be a mere natural product, and not the child of virtue; so also its "wo" is but a natural circumstance, and not the offspring of sin. Instinct and innocence, therefore, seem to be in the same category—to have the same capacity to relish the same bliss, and the same strength to combat the same wo. Development, satiety and safety are the bliss of each, and merely external danger and deprivation, not internal corruption and pollution, is their wo. Their harm is wholly from without, and not a "root of bitterness," native and within. Much more consistent, therefore, is the heathen poet Anacreon, when writing of the *Katydid*, (*καττις*;) for he hesitates not at once to pronounce it "blessed, immortal, and almost a god," on the ground of its perfect natural happiness and bliss. Our author, on the contrary, blesses his already "happy one;"

and bids it depend on its own "pure innocence," to "teach it both what to love and fear." To his already "happy one," whose "pure innocence" renders it self-sufficient for all emergencies, he superadds his blessing, and gives the following anxious exhortation to scorn all authority, to spurn all tradition—to violate the commandment, *Honor thy father and thy mother*. If his subject was already so thoroughly furnished out of its own native resources, he should have spared this exhortation, as wholly superfluous. But here it is :—

"In all the countless codes and creeds,
Which man for man has planned,
Is much, that he who ofteneest reads,
Will never understand.

"May these be as a volume sealed ;—
A fountain closed to thee ;
And in thy heart shall be revealed
Life's true philosophy."

—"There,"—doubtless the author complacently exclaimed—"there is a touch of the transcendental for you!"—and transcendental it truly is. The author must be a very Gallo, fearing neither God nor man, but sublimely transcending them both. Doubtless the infant thus addressed, has now become "Young America," kicking "Old Fogysm" out the door ; or one of the "fast young men," who knows no higher honor to his venerable father, than to style him, with significant sarcasm, "The Treasurer."

There is indeed in "human codes and creeds," much that, the more it is pondered, becomes the more perplexing. For this there are two reasons : the one, is the presence of really erroneous elements ; and the other, incompleteness of development. Codes and creeds partake of the imperfections of their authors, and of the times in which they originate. They all have their history, whereby they eliminate their foreign elements, appropriate new ones, and expand their original germs. Consequently the older they are, the better ; and when persons of the present day, undertake to reconstruct their codes and creeds, or to produce them *de novo*, they soon involve themselves in the same category with their fathers, with all antiquity, with the past in every shape and form it can possibly assume, political, scientific, or religious. The fable once was that the old crab took his son to task, because, instead of going directly forwards, he was continually running off side-

wise ; and the son replied that this was all a matter of inheritance and vital tradition. But the times are changed ; and now we hear the young crab chiding his father, and sayings : "You old Foggy, why this obliquity in your goings ? Here, now ; let us both start from the same point ; and while you are crawling off sidewise to an ignoble end, I will dart straight ahead to perfection and renown." The old crab, who has often shed the shell of narrowness and inexperience, stations himself skilfully at the desired point, so that in spite of the tide that sweeps down the native proclivity to ill, and in spite of all the winds of opposing circumstances, he makes a successful "tack," and gains a point in the rapid river of time, far in advance of the station from which he started. Thus, though his movement was not directly forwards, a thing which he sadly knows is impossible in his present case, yet has he made a commendable distance in the direction of true "historic progress." But where is the selfconfident son, who treated his father with such rudeness and dishonor ? Scorning his ancestral codes and creeds, which crabs for crabs had planned, and trusting to the original potences of his being, to the "pure innocence" that stands ready within his own breast to "teach him both what to love and fear," — in fine, to the sweet bent of native inclination, he faced his purpose with determined eye, nerved to its utmost tension the strength of youthful zeal, and then — dashed away — away, away ! "How gloriously I'm going," thought he. "While old Foggy is tugging against wind and tide, here, to my sweet surprise, I have both in my favor ; and these, together with my own powers, are carrying me away at a delightful rate.

' Oh, bless me, this is pleasant,
A-riding down the stream !'

Thus he sings in the delirium of fancied triumph ; and again, responsive to his poetic teacher he shouts aloud :

" Away with all the codes and creeds,
Which crabs for crabs have planned ;
Himself, whoe'er them oftenest reads,
Will never understand.

" Ah ! these my fate had sadly sealed !—
But now, I'm free, I'm free !
And in my own glad heart's revealed
Life's true philosophy !"

And still away, away, away he goes; till at last, his strength exhausted and his delirium hushed to rest, he pauses and makes an observation to determine his latitude and longitude. Well, young crab, the chart and compass of old fogysm has been cast overboard; and now, what will you do? "Do? why, sir, I'll make my own stars. And as for chart, compass and all the other *guessing* apparatus — I more than have them all in this one dear, sweet, infallible guide within me, Pure Innocence." — Well, then, where are you? — "Why! just where any crab should be; here in my own snug shell, to be sure; one that I have made for myself, without any help from codes and creeds, or tradition in any form." — But what is your relative position? Where are you in reference to the rest of the world, past, present, and to come?—"Relative position!—the rest of the world, 'past, present and to come!' Humph! I take care of myself; that's *my* 'position'; and as for the rest of 'the world, past, present and to come,'—you may take care of it,—or leave it to take care of itself—I reckon it is of age. But as for my single self, I'm *free*; that's *where* I am. *Freedom*, sir, is my latitude and longitude, the world over. I have no codes and creeds,—no chart, or anything of the sort. My own private judgment, sir, is superior to all such cumbersome trash." Young crab, then, is fully out at sea. He has clean escaped beyond all the entangling grass of tradition, and all all the narrow creeks, and coves, and harbors, and gulfs, and bays, and shores, and coasts of obstructing, circumscribing history, which old crabs, and their slavish young ones, have been surveying for so many centuries. But he soon feels that his shell is too narrow; "shrewdly guesses" that this after all is a thing of mere tradition, inherited with his life, and therefore casts it off. Having no refuge in his "soft" and helpless state, he falls a victim to the first hungry passion that approaches, and is gulped down at once and forever. But let us leave crabdom.

Human codes and creeds, as we said, often become perplexing. But the remedy lies not in casting all away, and building again *de novo*. In no case are we to "lay again the foundation," but to "go on unto perfection." Were each man—were each age to build wholly for itself, laying its own foundation, and completing its own superstructure, man would in no case differ from the animal. The son would be a mere repetition of his father, and each generation, of the one before it. Human existence would thus be a perpetual circle, and would know noth-

ing of that spiral progress of history, which is essential to its very being. Codes and creeds are the ancestral mansions of our political and religious life. Civil law and Christian doctrine, are the scientific architecture, the moral and religious bulwarks, the practical homes and temples, wherein, as citizens and christians, we live and move and have our being. They are our nursery in infancy, our dwelling through life, and our sure and calm retreat in the hour of death. Altogether they are that structure of history, that temple of time, wherein we are born; whose columns, as the proper business of our lives, we help to rear, and finally leave as the rightful inheritance of the succeeding generation.* We cannot come into the world, except within the hallowed homes of the past. We cannot, if we would, make our codes and creeds *de novo*, outside of all history and tradition, unless we ourselves are first made *de novo*, from the hands of the Creator, outside of humanity altogether. Chinese tradition, in the form of law and religion, life and history, is the very womb wherein every citizen of the Celestial Empire, is conceived; is the world into which he is born; is the air he breathes and the food he eats; is the sum and substance of every element, social, intellectual and religious, which enters into and forms the structure of his entire being. Otherwise, he would not be a Chinese; but might chance to be a German, an Englishman, a Hottentot—or nothing at all in particular. We must get out of the world before we can get out of tradition. Every nation, every religion, every school of science has its tradition. We may emigrate from land to land, till we have circumnavigated the world of nationalities, schools and religions, yet will tradition be our constant breath, our daily meat and drink. Never can codes and creeds—never can tradition, written or unwritten, be to us a “sealed volume,” or a “closed fountain,” till humanity’s womb, the fountain of our being itself is closed. Our very being, soul and body, is an inheritance, a tradition, something handed down to us and bequeathed from the past. The life and being of a savage tribe, springing among the wildest mountains, only by rolling itself onward through successive generations for centuries, can at last reach the regions of civilization and enlightenment. It is one life, physical, intellectual and spiritual, from beginning to end, from the infant tribe to the

* All who have seen “*Willard’s Temple of Time*,” will doubtless regard the authoress as a Millerite; for the columns of the present century are to complete this “Temple,” and of course, end the history of the world.

adult and invincible nation. This life continues to utter and re-utter itself in clearer and still clearer consciousness, as it increases in stature and wisdom, in the individual generations and men, in whom in its onward course it ever reappears. Once in the world, once in the tide of history, choose and change our current as often as we will, still, part and parcel of the general stream we cannot cease to be. The streamlet of our personal history may rush on in advance of our age; may lag behind and rotate on itself in a sluggish eddy by the shore; or may crawl off backwards through some side channel into a creek of hermit life—or, in the high floods of revolution, when history overflows its banks and sweeps, a deluge of desolation, far and wide, it may, as the waters subside, be left far inland and forgotten, a stagnant pool of sad and solitary being. Still, Napoleon on St. Helena, Murat in Florida, exiles in any corner of the world, and emigrants wherever found; the criminal in his dungeon or penal colony, the incarcerated victims of political or religious bigotry, and the scientific anchorite—all and severally need but to be seen, in order to be recognized as drops from this or that particular current of history. The very tinge and breath of their being, proclaim the color and spirit of the specific tradition that has mothered and nurtured them.

Again: whatever is faulty in our codes and creeds, in our traditionary, historic being, can be remedied only by the power of the same life, in its original form, or vivified by a new objective principle, which has brought it into existence. Our natural bodies are the product of our natural life. These bodies from the very first, have in them the latent elements of various diseases. Our life, bodies, and diseases come to us by natural inheritance; and never can we, at any point, throw away our bodies, however diseased and unsuited to our taste and purpose, and manufacture others at our will. The most that we can do, is, by a virtuous, a temperate, sober, industrious, Christian life, to attempt the eradication of disease, the elimination of all its elements, and the full and harmonious development, into strength and beauty, of all the capabilities of our physical being. In no other way can we secure bodily health and freedom. Now, just as surely as our natural life has its natural body, so surely also have our intellectual, our moral, and our spiritual life, each its respective body, in the form of science, code, and creed. These three supersensible bodies, come into existence at the very moment with their

three corresponding forms of supersensible life. The natural soul is formed in the natural body, and the growth of the two is commensurate throughout. So also our moral being is, from the start, formed in the element of law: in law it is incorporated as its proper body: the code and moral life are related as body and soul, and the expansion and development of the latter, is always measured by that of the former. The code of a nation is the sure index of its morality. When constitutional and statute law perish, it is only because morality, its inner soul, has first expired, and then begins the "reign of terror." Again: all our thoughts are born and formed in language. As grows the mind, so grows its expression. The understanding and the reason are respectively embodied in science and philosophy. Where there is no knowledge or language, there idiocy alone prevails. So also the spirit has no actual existence, till it finds utterance in some creed, formal or practical. Our religious life at once embodies itself in our daily actions and worship. No man's life is without object and worship of some sort. His creed will correspond with the object of his worship. He may say he has no creed; and if this be a fact, then has he no spirit. His life then is without object, end or aim. He lives at random, and dies ditto. Now, granting that the code, science, and creed, wherein our moral, intellectual and spiritual life are born, (if born at all,) and embodied, have in them all, many and various elements of imperfection and disease; is it, we ask, within the bounds of human possibility, for men to cast away these bodies of their supersensuous life, and form for themselves others *de novo*, whether perfect or not? Is not the very fancy of such a thing, a perfect absurdity? Were it not just as rational and easy for one to cast off a weak and sickly body, and take to himself a new one, free from these defects?—or even to exchange one sound one for another? One must first forget his mother tongue, roll all his knowledge into oblivion, renounce all law and order, and become dead to every sentiment and feeling, even of natural piety. But granting that one can thus disencumber his supersensuous life of the threefold body which so displeases him; where is he to find the material to construct another of? Can he at all extricate himself out of that wreck of humanity which he has thus ferociously strewn around him? If he builds anew, must it not be out of this very ruin? If the moral, intellectual, and spiritual body wherein it was born, had in its elements of imperfection and disease, how can he expect

to create an immortal, pure, ever-blooming Cosmos, out of that putrifying Chaos of death, which he himself has made? If he is to construct a supersensuous body for his mind, free from error; for his moral being, free from corruption; and for his spirit, free from the elements of death: if he is to embody his inner life in the Good, the Beautiful and the True, in their absolutely holy, immortal and ideal forms; inevitably must he step out of the world altogether; leave behind him all that is human; (and then, pray tell, what would be left of him, unless he should happen to be some god?) and emigrate, or transmigrate into some new world, where error, sin and death have never entered. The fact is, those who are so terribly displeased with the embodiment of their supersensuous life, and are bent on something else, first of all deny and renounce their intellectual, moral, and spiritual, (and oftentimes their natural) parents; godlessly profane their altars and temples, prodigally squander all their treasures of knowledge, and finally clear at a bound, all the bulwarks of their authority and protection. Renouncing thus their entire patrimony, they beggar their minds, join their wills to every harlot passion they meet, and consummate the wreck of their inner life, by a spiritual suicide, which at once and forever disencumbers—or rather disembodies them of all science, code and creed whatever. The result is the bodiless infidel, the dodging rationalist—the ghastly ghost of a demon spirit. Destitute alike of a “local habitation and a name,” no thought can fix it, no law direct it, no shrine of endearment become its hallowed home.

When one has thus disembodied himself of all science, code and creed, or has never been embodied in them, then begins the reign of pure Idealism, which acknowledges no objective world, natural, human, or divine—nothing objective in knowledge, law, or life. Private judgment is all and in all. Hence our poem declares:

“And in thy *heart* shall be revealed
Life's true philosophy.”

But this matter of private judgment, is all phantom. -Every one is born and brought up in some nation. His very consciousness is some phase of his native nationality. Whenever he utters a political judgment in the hearing of one who is at all acquainted with the “comparative anatomy” of nations, he will be localized at once, even though his speech should not “bewray him.” One may boast that his political opinions are

purely his own; yet does he belie himself the very moment he opens his mouth. He should indeed have his own *individual* opinions, just as much as he has his own physical body. He can no more live in the same mental body with another, than he can occupy in partnership with him the same natural body. The minds of men should be individualized in separate bodies of opinion, just as much as their natural life in natural bodies. If this is all that is meant by private judgment, well and good. But it is not. Our natural bodies, though individual, still possess a generic type and character, derived to us from humanity in general through our immediate parents. Such also must inevitably be the case with our mental embodiment. We derive our opinions, or at least the elements of them, from that general stock of knowledge—of thought, sentiment and feeling, in the midst of which we are reared. Thus our mental body is first shaped and formed in our mother's arms, in our homes, and then in the community around us, in the social, political, and religious spheres wherein we move, in the schools we attend and the studies we pursue. Every new teacher, book, study, or occupation—every new companion, scene and relation, contributes new material, or even a new objective element to our intellectual formation, to our mental habit and dress, and to that scope and horizon of thought, wherein, as rational creatures, we live, move, and have our being. We may indeed accept or reject any of the elements of knowledge, virtue and life which are presented to us, and thus individualize and embody our minds and spirits, in the type of any particular life, good, bad, or indifferent, which we may happen to fancy. Yet out of and beyond all forms of specific life, which have come down to us from former generations, we cannot get. We may leap the enclosures of as many forms of consciousness as we please; we may, O. A. Brownson like, pass through or peep into every region of science, every kingdom of law, and every creed and communion; yet for all this can we never reach a position out of and beyond every sphere of traditionary life and history. This can be done only by leaping the bounds of time itself, expatriating ourselves from the whole world, and transmigrating out of humanity into some other form of being.—But even this other form of being would be a traditionary one; so that absolute independency and privacy of judgment would still be unattained. Private judgment is merely a claim of the individual to be free from the specific or even general type of being out

of which it has originated, and to which it owes, by the very constitution of its being, an everlasting allegiance. In this relation, piously acknowledged and honored, does the freedom, happiness, and very being of the individual hold. "The branch cannot bear fruit," or even live, "except it abide in the vine." The claim of private judgment, is not that of proper individualization of mind, which is the very course and form of history, but of absolute independency of being, which is impossible.

Yet often have we heard the subjects of Puritan or Presbyterian tradition, with all its fetters clanking about them at every movement of the mind, while occupying the bench as they supposed, in the court of private judgment, pronounce the most terrible sentences against the prisoner at their bar, the fancied culprit of tradition. Now, all the good and orderly people of the land and world, scholars, christians and patriots, are educating their children in that particular tradition, scientific, political and religious, wherein they themselves have their continual existence; and if at any time they condemn tradition, it is only one form of the same thing, arraying itself against another. When any one, in the fancied exercise of private judgment, declaims against the right of the past to rule the present in any respect, he is for the time being merely the spokesman and voice of that particular craft of tradition, which with others is making its voyage down the stream of time. Far wiser and better would it be, were these various ships of tradition, these vessels of particular history, instead of perpetually firing into each other with the wrathful cannon of private judgment, to cast these guns overboard, and move forward together in the fraternal bonds of one united fleet. In the broad bonds of such authority alone, can men escape the narrowness of sectarian and party tradition, and find that ample freedom and security, for which, only in a suicidal way, they are now so earnestly contending. Private judgment is nothing more nor less than the selfish, cruel, angry arms of envy, malice, and all uncharitableness, often wielded with terrible effect by those who claim, as the scope of their lives, the whole broad ocean of history. Private judgment is the Ishmael enemy of all order and love—it is the very cannon and sword, the bowie knife and revolver of the pirate and robber of rationalism. Trusting to this as his invincible weapons of attack and defence, the child violates the fifth commandment in all the length and breadth of its vast significance. He

wanders from tradition to tradition, and leaps from craft to craft, till at last giddy, he misses his aim, and is mentally, morally and spiritually lost overboard, and perishes, long before half his voyage to eternity is completed. Private judgment, if it have any meaning at all in the current literature of the day, is the very soul and watchword of rationalism—of infidelity, under whatever name and cloak it may pass, in science, morals or religion. This impudent teacher, claiming to be the great prophet of the age, steps about among us in "calf" and "gilt;" and with head erect, walks into our homes and churches, and offers its strange unhallowed fire on our public and private altars. No hearth so sacred, no shrine so awful, as to check for a moment, the leer of its lecherous eye, and the bony movement of its audacious hand. It bewitches the mind of the mother, the priestess and charmer of home, and bewilders the hoary head, that ministers in our holy religion. The insidious poison works, till both priest and priestess rave with madness. Both forget all reverence alike for the human and the divine. Science with its light and joy, the code with its order and peace, and the creed with its faith and comfort, are driven into exile. The child is the lord at home, and self is the idol at church. The rein is thrown upon the neck of the world, and the rider, private judgment, is giddily dashed along, whither whim, caprice, and passion may take him. Schools, capitol and churches, are demolished, and the Prophet, Prince and Priest are assassinated. All the structures of antiquity are razed, and home, the hallowed, happy home, reared by the hand of God himself, is polluted to the ground. The fountains of the great social deep are broken up, and one deluge of anarchy "tumbles round the world."

But let us look into this matter a little more carefully. Our present text still is,

"And in thy heart shall be revealed,
Life's true philosophy."

Now, every actual existence is the product and outbirth of two polar and creative factors. In every case there must be a generating object, and a conceiving subject. Every form of being has its parents. Father and mother are the elementary, the constitutional and historic factors in every kingdom, material, vegetable, animal and human. The objective element supplies the internal soul and life, and the subjective, the external form and body. Light is the objective *anima mundi*,

or soul of the world, and mere matter is the subjective womb which has conceived, embodied and brought it forth.—(The elementary or constituent factors of light, are the calorific, the colorific and the electric, magnetic or chemical rays, as demonstrated through the spectrum. All of these, in a true and proper triunity, are embodied in matter, and may at any time be evoked out of it. On this point, however, we cannot now enlarge.)—The mere material world is the matrix of the vegetable kingdom; and these two are the matrix of the animal kingdom; and these three, or all nature as itself a triunity, is the matrix of the human; and the whole world itself, as thus concentrated in the human, is the matrix of the divine. Each of these eras of historic development, had to grow and mature, and thus reach its "fulness of time," before it became the bride of a higher objective life, and impregnated and vivified therefrom, gave birth to a nobler form of being. But subject and object not only flow together in the formation, or constitution of generic and individual being, but also ever afterwards continue this process of interflowing, interpenetrating, or of mutual permeation; until the existence of the genus or individual is filled up and perfected. The act in the outset is that of creation, and the after process gives us the true idea of history.

Now, we know that the Kantian dictum of *principle* and *condition*, has become a favorite distinction in almost all modern thinking. This, however much service it may have rendered to philosophy and truth, we now firmly believe to be nothing more nor less than the disguised handmaid of rationalism. Under the guidance of this distinction, the *principle* which is first conditioned in matter, namely, the "soul of the world," may easily be developed and conducted upwards, through a series of conditions, as in the "*Vestiges of Creation*," until it effloresces in the human. Or we may take the human as the principle and all else as the condition. The soul then is the principle and germ, out of whose *native* potences, conditioned by the natural and the divine, the future man is entirely developed. This disallows the Incarnation, or the introduction into the human, by a true generative process, of an objective divine life, which originally and constitutionally it did not possess. Moreover, in the matter of knowledge, the mind is maintained to have native in it, the ideal and perfect germs of all actual truth. These latent potences, without a vivifying object, are revealed by certain conditions. This ultimately

nullifies the objective world, natural, human and divine, evolves everything—constructs even the universe out of the “subjective reason,” and thus leaves nothing that is real and lasting, save the pure ideal. All else is its transient shadow. But we have neither space nor time to follow this further just now.

This subjective idealism is the sum and substance of our present text, “And in thy *heart* shall be revealed, life’s true philosophy.” This is to be done without the presence of any object whatever; no external condition, even, is needed, in the case. The sweet mystery of life is to be closely caged within the heart. It is to perch itself there as a bird full-formed and fledged, dropped directly from heaven into the world, without the intervention of any previous race of birds. It is there, out of the subjective resources of its own being, to develop, perfect and enjoy its darling self. The complacency of “pure innocence,” is to be its heaven. Now, all this is absolute fancy. People may call it poetry if they choose, but we call it unmitigated lie. Sad is the scene here presented. Thus have we seen the female Canary, caged and shut in from her objective world. Sorrowful, in the glad spring time, she built no nest; but dropped her unvivified eggs in her cage, and eyed them with a breaking heart; for when they should have opened and filled her cage with joyous fledglings, they exploded and filled it with a stench. If this be “life’s true philosophy,” better had it been for us all, had we never been born. The fact is, the subjective potences of our being, cloistered from the objective world, natural, human, or divine, will result in subjective, unvivified fancies, which, instead of producing the tuneful joys of actual life, will rot away into inevitable ruin. The subjective potences of our being, are merely the womb and mother, which have it in their power to conceive, embody and bring forth the light of truth, the beauty of holiness, and the bliss of life and immortality. But this they can never do, till bound in the bonds of holy wedlock, to their respective forms of creative, vivifying, objective life. The unity of subject and object alone, can give us in actual existence, the blessed forms of the good, the beautiful and the true.

The spiritual element in the human, is the true and proper bride of the divine. Our world, in none of its inferior eras, mineral, vegetable, or animal, could conceive, apprehend, utter and reveal it. This could be done by the human alone. The human, therefore, from its very infancy, was espoused to the divine, and when of age, its nuptials were actualized in the in-

carnation, and celebrated on the plains of Bethlehem, in that song of the angels, "Peace on earth, good will to men." But between the espousals and nuptials, the human played the harlot, in countless forms of idolatry. It would not abide by the marriage contract, entered into on the part of God as its father, and of nature as its mother, wherein it was stipulated that it should grow up under their fostering care, and at the proper time become the chaste bride of the blessed Spirit. God and nature, in the very generation and conception of the human, had poured together and formed the constitutional and triunal elements of the very being of their offspring. These were, first, "the Life," as its objective, vivifying factor, which was to reveal itself in creed, reverence and worship; secondly, "the Way," as its subjective, embodying factor, which was to form and express itself, its being and action, in conscientious order, code and law; and thirdly, these were to find their perfection, their proper effulgence and glory, in wisdom and true knowledge, in science and philosophy, in the dazzling splendors and ineffable bliss of assured and conscious "truth." But by no such previous creed, code and science, though inherited as the constituent and germinal elements of its being, was the human willing to be bound. Consequently it broke away from all faith in its Father, and from all obedience to the law of its mother, took the management of its existence into its own hands, plunged away into disbelief—into ignorance, crime and death—into dismal darkness,

And in its heart was sad revealed
Life's deepest misery.

It gazed into the stagnant pool of private judgment, "leaped at stars, and fastened in the mire."

The only remedy in this misery—the only remedy for imperfection and error in the science, code and creed, wherein humanity in its historic progress embodies its inner, supersensuous life, is to look to the absolute physician of our nature, whose sovereign cure and vital elixir, is, to generate within it the principle of a new objective life, which, in its growth and development, will swallow up all previous death, crime and ignorance, and restore, in more than pristine vigor, the bliss of life, the beauty of holiness, and the radiant glory of truth.

This *process* of the Christian salvation, is by no means an anomaly. The divine is the generating object, the human is the conceiving subject, and the outbirth is the actual christian.

But we have said that man, in the constitution of his being, in his original and elementary factor, has God for his father, and nature for his mother. But this unity of the natural and the divine in the constitution of the human, yields merely the subjective side of a new and higher order of created being. In this form, man's existence is incomplete. His state is that of the undeveloped and unconscious subject. At once, however, subject and object, the universe within and the universe without, the Microcosm and the Megacosm, are espoused to each other, and the unity of external body and form and of internal substance and life, the unity of heart and mind, of thought and affection, is begun in the very infancy of being. Man and the universe are children together, they grow up together, and in their communion, their very being flows together, into the continuous fact of history. Hope unrolls the scroll of the future, memory rolls and treasures up the past, while thought and affection with united voices and enraptured heart, chant the line of the living present. Thus the physical, intellectual and spiritual nature of man, verges towards puberty, and accomplishes its fulness of time. When these successive eras are fulfilled, man comes to know nature, God and self objectively. This knowledge, however, is secured by the subject, only by becoming married, (in the only true and proper sense of that term,) successively to these three forms of the objective universe. When the human is thus lawfully and truly wedded; first, nature, both in the unity and in the multiplicity of its forms, generates itself in the conceiving subject, and the out-birth in the case, is natural consciousness or a knowledge of nature in its individual and generic forms. Thus the human in its elementary constitution, receives the subjective factor of nature; and in its history, the objective one; so that in this unity of subject and object, which *mutually condition each other*, the natural man is completed in the actual fact and birth of world-consciousness. But before *self-consciousness* can have place, the human must become an object to itself. To this end, (corresponding to a like fact in the material, vegetable and animal kingdoms,) the human polarizes itself naturally and socially into the two sexes; spiritually and morally into Church and State; and for the purposes of intelligence and education, into reason and understanding, imagination and fancy. When the human is married to the first form of its objective self, we have home, with all its relations, yielding us innumerable joys; when wedded as Church and State,—(polar institutions which

are constitutional in humanity, and have therefore as truly as husband and wife, been "joined together" by God himself, and by man may never be "put asunder," without the most ruinous consequences, some of which, in our own country, are already showing themselves in truly alarming forms—polar institutions, whose historic relation thus far, has been an unhappy one, either the State acting the Xantippe, or the Church the Hildebrand, and have therefore yet to learn how to cherish each other in mutual affection,)—when wedded as Church and State, we say, each, dutifully and unmolestedly discharging the duties of its own sphere, the legitimate outbirth is the school; and this, receiving its body and support from the State as its mother, and its life and spirit from the Church as its father, both develops all the scientific interests of its sphere, and educates us for all the natural, intellectual and spiritual destinies of our being. When the polar factors of intelligence are joined in true wedlock, reason and understanding give us science and philosophy; and imagination and fancy rear for us the lovely progeny of the arts. This analysis and synthesis, or polarization and reunion of the elemental factors of the human, might be made commensurate with all the interests and phenomena in its broad constitution and almost boundless history.

But the highest and happiest wedding day for the human, is its nuptials with the blessed Spirit. In its original constitution it inherited the subjective factor of the divine; and now in this higher transaction it receives the objective element of the same; thus is it emphatically "made a partaker of the divine nature." Here man attains a spiritual consciousness; and as natural and self-consciousness have their historic era, so also has this; and the historic process in this case, is called sanctification.

We therefore thus see, that the *process* of the Christian salvation, is no anomaly—no contrivance for a special emergency; but constitutes in reality the most critical and eventful period of man's history; a period contemplated from the beginning, and begun and carried forward under the guidance of the very same law of life, which begins and consummates the other two periods of his natural and intellectual development. But these three departments of human history, do not occur in succession, nor yet simply run parallel with each other; but from the beginning have their being vitally in each other, and in their process and progress, permeate each other throughout.

That, however, which is natural, is matured and married first; then that which is spiritual; and finally the intellectual. The first of these reached its *constitutional* completion in Eden; the second, in the incarnation; and that of the third, we apprehend, is yet to come. When or how it will take place, we know not; but may, without irreverence, fancy the millenium to be the time, and the manner to be included in the personal reign of the Logos or Word, in whom alone "are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." Then, when the two periods of nature and of grace have sufficiently perfected their *history*, may we hope that human thought also, will be mature, and the subjective mind will become wedded to the objective truth. They are indeed already, and have long since been, betrothed to each other; but then will they celebrate their nuptials; and the bride, fully redeemed from death and hell, purged of all sin and sorrow, and recovered from all error and "*darkness*," will truly become "*light* in the Lord;" and her person be irradiated with the same splendor and glory, that beamed from the personal Logos on the mount of transfiguration.

Now, in all this scheme, we have no one of the three fundamental philosophies, separately considered, Empiricism, Idealism, and Mysticism, which make up the spectrum of the world's thinking; nor yet any one or number of the countless shades of speculation which glimmer out between them. It is, as we humbly believe, the pure and undivided light itself. Empiricism and Mysticism, both alike, only in opposite extremes, disallow in man everything like a subjective and conceptive factor. The first allows man to be just what the objective, embodied in the natural universe, is pleased to make him, by daguerotyping itself upon his blank being, through the lense and medium of sense. The second looks on man as the same absolute passivity, set for a daguerotype of the divine through the eye and glass of faith. This seems to have reached its climax practically, in the doctrine of absolute decrees. Empiricism and Mysticism thus give two forms of fatalism, natural and spiritual. On the contrary, Idealism virtually nullifies the objective universe, and develops all things out of the subjective and original potences of the human. Man is thus at once the only God and the only nature that can be found. Kant, with his distinction of principle and condition, forked his philosophy into an irreconcilable dualism. He could in his own way make out a development of the original constitution

of the human, the principle ever devouring its conditions and leaving itself self-supported, solitary and alone; but when he came to Christianity, being alike unable and unwilling to disallow its historic character, he had to resort, for its defence, to an altogether different mode of tactics, in his notions of practical life. He could find no philosophy of Christianity, which should be identical in its principle with philosophy in its universal and absolute sense. In the scheme here presented, however, this end is gained. One thread leads us through the entire maze of the universe; one compass enables us to navigate every sea, and to traverse every continent of human interest; our polar factors ever keep us steady in our course. The most intense and sleepless watchfulness, is indeed demanded, alike in order to make rigid observations, and to hold a steady helm. If at any time we swerve from the direct line of fact and truth, the fault is ours, and not that of our compass.

We may also observe that we here have no opposition of purely positive and negative factors; of existence and non-existence; of a Yes and a No, posted diametrically against each other, and apparently bent on each other's annihilation—but in the collision and conflict of actual life, astoundingly carried from their respective positions, and reconciled in a third position of oneness and peace. But we have being ever polarizing itself constitutionally into subject and object, (which are mutually conditional, and complementary to each other,) and these again reunited in the glorious outbirth and child of actual history. Here then, we have the longings of the heart, the fancies of the mind, and the visions of the spirit, all vivified and blessed, all quickened into life, all actualized and experienced, in the happy history of our transient days: and all this, simply by having these subjective potences of our being, all impregnated and filled by the generating and creative energies and ever-abiding presence of their respective objects. Here then we have, living and substantial, and in legitimate form, all the smiling, happy, countless progeny of the good, the beautiful and the true. All that is virtuous in action, glorious in thought, and blissful in existence, is ours. Here in this universal order of science, code and creed; in this faithful wedlock of loving subject and life-giving object; and in the long, long history of their happy offspring, alone is found "life's true philosophy." "Seal the volume" of authority; "close the fountain" of objective life; wholly exclude the outward

universe, natural, human and divine; cloister the subject within her own heart; veil her eye in inward thought; and her being indeed may bud and bloom, but only to wither away into the joyless old maid, and the sad wrinkles of morbid sentimentality—or perchance she may run the reckless career of the harlot of private judgment, in utter scorn of wedded life, of a husband and a happy home. From either—from both of these catastrophes, “good Lord, deliver us.”

But it is time to proceed with our poem. Having “revealed life’s true philosophy in the heart” of its subject, without the presence of any vivifying object, human or divine, it thus flatteringly continues its address :

“ Thus should it be ; for thou art one
Round whom the enlightening ray
Of nature’s outward, glorious sun,
Will freely sport and play.

“ And the unchartered breeze, that sweeps
Thy native valley fair,
Will dry the tears thy young eye weeps,
And wave thy flowing hair.

“ Then be a child of nature’s school,
Her silent teachings trace;
And she shall fit thee for the rule
Of holy, heavenly grace.

“ For they are still the truly wise,
Who earliest learn to look
On earth’s best charms, on sun and skies,
As wisdom’s open book.

“ There may thy dawning reason read
Instruction line by line;
And guileless thought, and virtuous deed,
In life’s first bloom be thine.

“ Thus taught, nor art, nor base deceit
Shall mar thy opening youth;
Thy heart with healthful hopes shall beat,
Thy tongue be tuned to truth.

“ And when through childhood’s paths of flowers,
Thy infant steps have trod,
Thy soul shall be, in after hours,
Prepared to learn of God,

"His Spirit, placed within thy heart,
Shall fill it from above;
With grace to act a Christian's part,
And keep it pure by love.

"And thou shalt find in every stage
Of ripening soul and sense,
That virtue's guard, in youth, in age,
Is holy innocence!"

Such "innocence," is *in-no-sense* "holy;" for innocence is a mere negative quality, not harmful, doing no injury; but holiness is positive goodness, wherein slumbers no latent germ of sin; in it the elements—the life and soul of absolute righteousness, alone are found. Not that subjective, inactive, "innocence," therefore, but this objective, active holiness, in the form of "*grace*," is our "guard in every stage of ripening soul and sense." But let us take our poem forwards. The first stanza just quoted, seems to make the "enlightening ray" of the natural sun, instead of Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, to be the objective Word, wherein are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. The mind of the child, withdrawn from all instruction, human and divine, is to be "enlightened," vivified and kindled by a "ray" from the natural sun. The sun then, is to perform the office of prophet in our world, of teacher in all departments of knowledge; under his "enlightening ray," all the potences of the mind are to be developed. Our children are to scorn their homes and play truant from the schools we have provided for them, and all betake themselves to the universally "free school" of the natural sun, and when sufficiently educated here, are to be graduated into the high school taught by God himself, as intimated in a subsequent stanza.

But the next stanza finds in the "breeze that sweeps its native valley," that spirit and comforter, which is to soothe and sustain the child, when overtaken by sorrow and affliction. A human spirit, taught to repose for consolation, on the passing wind! All its supersensuous miseries, which the "code and creed" of a mother's fond affection are forbidden to approach, are to be dried up and blown away by a breath of air! All its griefs, so sacred as to be polluted by the warm sympathy of a mother's heaving bosom, and the anxious gaze of a father's tender love, must find relief in the spirit of its "native valley fair!" A child thus exhorted to forsake the code and creed of home, the love of its mother, and the faith of its fath-

er, and to roam unguided with the companion breezes of the field! There lurk, alas! the wolf's jaws, and the viper's fang!

But the delirium of the poem plunges on. It urges the child away from all catechetical and scripture teachings at home and in the Church; from all instructions in the school; and even from all books whatever, and bids it become a pupil in the mute school of nature alone. The natural heavens and earth are "wisdom's open book." Here, unaided and "without a teacher," its self-evolving, "dawning reason is to read instruction line by line." Here, away from God and man, its life is to bloom in "guileless thought and virtuous deed; it is never to tell or act a lie, and its heart is to beat with healthful hopes." Never before did we learn that natural knowledge was included in the category of wisdom. We have heard of *wise men*, of the wisdom of *God*; but never before did we hear that this treasure was monopolized by nature alone; and that solely by her "silent teachings," with "earth, sun and skies as her open books," we are to learn to be "truly wise." Moreover, we always supposed that the "guileless thought," the "virtuous deed," the "healthful hope," and the "truthful word," were things to be found and practiced only in our actual life and dealings with God and each other. Never before did we know that guilelessness, virtue, hope and truth, predicates of nothing below the human, were to be derived from nature and practiced in her sphere. What is simply natural, can never become the moral, the rational, and the spiritual; and to think of acquiring these in the school of nature, so as to make them available in our after days and intercourse in human society, is paralleled only by that stolidity, which refuses to breast the feeblest wave of actual life—"till it has first learned to swim."

Our poet would have this child to be the pupil of nature only, without any human code or creed; and yet does himself disregard this order, by furnishing it, at the very door of life, with an outfit of his own code and creed, namely, that man cannot educate the child for human life, nor God hardly for divine life. All this must be acquired in the previous school of nature. When all has been developed out of its own "pure innocence," then is it "prepared to learn of God" direct. No Church, with its means of grace, no human intervention in any shape, is needed. The Spirit of God comes straight down from above, and "fills its heart with grace to act a Christian's part, and keep it pure by love." But this is not the Christian

salvation; no, no; the Spirit is merely "*placed within the heart,*" and lodged there for a season; it works no change there; it does not vivify it with an objective divine life, a new and glorious element, whose law is in itself, and is the very essence of freedom; no, none of this; but it seems merely to guide it, as the rider does the horse, in the way of purity and love, while still the impelling principle throughout, is native, self-moving, "*holy innocence.*"

But even granting that the author has in view the Christian salvation in some sense; still, this is not a salvation for the *child*, the *infant*. It does not become available till the youth has graduated from the school of nature. Should death step in at any point between birth and the egress from "*childhood's paths of flowers,*" we are not informed what would be the fate of the subject; but are left to infer, that on the ground of its "*pure innocence,*" the soul of the infant would be admitted into the abodes of the blessed—that is, if there be any such thing as an hereafter; for nothing that is expressed in the poem presupposes or requires any immortality at all. But for one, we can find no such thing as Christianity in this poem. There are in it indeed a few words from the Christian glossary, but only as these may be "*jewels in a swine's snout.*" Nature, by her "*silent teachings,*" is to "*fit the child for the rule of holy, heavenly grace;*" then is it "*prepared to learn of God;*" his "*Spirit fills its heart with grace to act a Christian's part,* and keep it pure by love;" but after all this is done, the child is still to look within, and, among the original potences of its being, "*find that virtue's guard, in youth, in age, is holy innocence.*" Thus, no Jesus, no Savior is needed, and consequently none is even alluded to. Even the "*teachings*" of nature, have no objective value; impart no new element to the being of the child; but are mere conditions for the development of original powers and possibilities. Grace, also, is included in the same category, and is a mere condition—not itself that new and vital element which is our only sufficient guard and guide from the cradle to the grave. But even man is not to train up and educate his own offspring; the State, the School, and the Church, are to have nothing to do with them; but as soon as they are born, they are to run way into the school of nature; she by her "*silent teachings,*" (we presume then, that nature keeps a "*quiet school,*") is to "*fit them for the rule of holy, heavenly grace,*" and then to pass them to the higher department, where they are to "*learn of God*" himself.

For this attendance in the presence of God, they have, of course, been "prepared" by nature. There is no need of any reverence or fear in their case; but on the ground of their own "holy innocence," are entitled to rush boldly in, "where angels bashful look." There is no need of any "Mediator," any Moses or Christ, to stand between them and Sinai on the one side, and the Cross on the other. No, they are their own Moses, and their own Christ, "prepared by the silent teachings" of nature, for the immediate presence, teaching, and communion of God. Thus are they able "to act the Christian's part,"—not because they have been "baptized into Christ,"—O, no; not that at all. They are to be called "Christian," but not from Christ, as "Jesus," or Anointed Saviour, Prophet, Priest, and King; not this; for they need no salvation, but are good of themselves, through their own inherent "holy innocence."

But though the author addresses the infant in such glowing eloquence, yet has he himself not one particle of faith in a single word he has uttered. He modestly *says* it is all good for nothing—and yet has a complacent *thought* that it may be something, notwithstanding. Hear him:

"Farewell! I dare not hope that prayer
Of mine can prove of worth;
Yet *this* may not disperse in air,
Since thou hast given it birth."

Verily, this is most charming modesty! His *prayer* is of no worth—or at least he "dare not hope" it is; and yet his *verses*, wherein that prayer is expressed, "may not disperse in air," but become of vast account, both to the child and to its parents, thus:

"Oh, for thy sake! and theirs no less,
Who on thy being build!
May the warm hopes these lines express,
In mercy be fulfilled."

Here, again, in his very last words, the author betrays no symptoms of Christianity. He does not "ask and offer all in the name of Jesus," in whose name alone we are encouraged to pray, (and perhaps for this very reason, the author is sadly conscious of the worthlessness of his prayer,) but it is all and solely for the sake of the child itself and its parents. All that we do, as the subjects of his salvation, should be for the sake of Christ; while all that he does, is of mere grace, and for our sakes.

This little poem may itself be of little note ; but all the poems which are treasured with it into "*Affection's Gift*," seem to be of the same general Rationalistic type and tendency. And not only so, but nearly all the literature which flows from the gushing fountain of the press, and is bottled "for the million," at this fashionable mental watering place, is strongly impregnated with the same insidious poison. An analysis of one little bottle should suffice.

We will now redeem our pledge, and ask the reader first to read over the above poem connectedly, and then peruse the version, how much soever blemished it may be, wherewith we now close this article.

VERSES TO AN INFANT.

Be all this blessing thine, dear one :

The Father's tender Love,

The grace of Christ his only Son,

And Comfort of the Dove.

Baptized in this, not vain the prayer

For Heavenly bliss for thee ;

Though sin and sorrow thou must share,

Yet Christ thy hope shall be.

The graceless sinner's doom thou'lt miss :

For in the Church thou'lt grow,

A pleasant plant with Christian fruit,

Unstung by mortal woe.

May that sweet innocence, which now

Lights up thine infant eye,

Be changed t' a halo round thy brow,

Of holy living, ere thou die.

Born not alone of flesh and blood,

But of the Spirit, too,

With Living Manna for thy food,

The truth alone thou'lt do.

In all the Church's codes and creeds,

Breathed by her saintly band,

Is what, who'er believes and reads,

Will wisdom understand.

They are the waters deep and clear,

From God's own Word that flow ;

Here freely drink, for strength and cheer,
And in true knowledge grow.

For God's thy Father, and the Church
Thy nursing Mother true;
Their words in honor deeply search,
And learn their will to do.

Then, while glad Nature's glorious sun,
Pours forth its living ray,
'T will light a temple, reared and done,
Where God will hear thee pray.

The breeze, thy guardian angel's breath,
Will waft thy sighs on high;
Will bear thy tears to Him who saith,
I'll hear my children's cry.

Thus here in Nature's infant school,
The elements of Grace,
Interpreted by Christian rule,
Thou'lt early learn to trace.

For they are still the truly wise,
Who earliest learn to see
Their Father's love in earth and skies,
In bird, and brook, and tree.

Herein the dawning reason reads
God's mercy to mankind,
And learns to imitate his deeds,
With gentle hand and mind.

Thus, when through childhood's flowery path,
Thy bounding steps have fled,
Thou wilt not fear thy Father's wrath,
Though flowers are round thee dead.

His Spirit and the Church will then,
Conduct thee higher still,
To schools, where meek and earnest men
Suffer and do his will.

And here thou'lt find, in this dread stage
Of Truth and Error's strife,
That Grace alone can keep thine age,
To everlasting life.

When here thy task thou 'st fully learned,
And said it, too, in word and deed,
Thy fair diploma, faithful earned,
The Judge aloud will read.

"Here to thy life we set our seal,
The Father, Spirit, Son;
Enter forever to our weal;
Thou servant, child, well done!"

Farewell!—And sure shall be this prayer,
Of patriarchal worth;
'Tis no mere breath of empty air,
This blessing on thy birth.

IN JESUS' NAME, for thee, for those,
Who on thy being build,
These hopes shall rest in sure repose,
That all will be fulfilled.

A. J. M. H.

Lafayette, Ind.

ART. VII.—REFLECTIONS ON THE HISTORY OF CIVIL LIBERTY.

ALL human institutions and establishments, however complicated may be their structure; all forms and externalizations of thought, however diversified may be their character, resolve themselves finally into a few simple elementary principles.

The elements of human greatness and perfection are neither many nor obscure.

Humanity even in the lowest stages of civilization, or the last extremes of degraded barbarism, carries within itself, in an inactive undeveloped form, the germs of those splendid endeavors, and those dazzling results, which like polished jewels, sparkle on the bosom of the most refined and enlightened civilization.

The elements of man's improvement and greatness lie not around him. Men become great and enlightened not by putting energies, elements, or ideas into the soul. These are all

there already, and the universal and eternal laws of progress and development unfold them slowly it may be, but surely and majestically.

Whatever then of rare or wonderful in moral or political science there be, whatever of beautiful or useful in art exists, has struggled up from rudeness to perfection, has its history which may be written and read.

We propose, therefore, in a very general way, to trace the progress and development of that thought or idea, which gives character to and presides with so much efficiency over, the complex and diversified interests of our own country, and has lately displayed its forces under so many astounding and apparently discordant aspects in Europe.

We propose to point to the origin and follow up the various fortunes of this idea from its rude and earliest manifestations in Europe. When unconscious of its own meaning or existence, it is found battling with its own errors and excesses or encountering the less formidable, but still powerful displays of the spirit of despotism, on through some of the vicissitudes of its history, as purified by the ordeal of a constant and bitter warfare, it rises clearer and brighter over the face of civilization, until, in our own day, unobscured by the clouds of despotism and unmoved by the storms of passion, it gathers a rich aureola of light around the youthful brow of our own country, and bends like the bow of promise over the dark turbulence of European life.

For civil liberty, like every other system, has its history, or rather the thought or sentiment that vitalizes that system, has its history—has moved on through ages of mutation and revolution ever developing some phase or form of its meaning, never losing its distinguishing character.

The sentiment of personal freedom,—the beating heart of civil liberty—is an universal and primary principle of man's nature.

In all stages of civilization, in every form and description of political society, that sentiment has ever been present, displaying its forces in some form. Ever urging men forward to exertions of personal energy, high resolves, and brilliant execution, which the language of no other sentiment has the power to evoke.

Rejecting the claims, and scorning the control of all outward or external appliances, it points the man to that which is within him, and there amid the treasures of his own capa-

hilities, discloses the intelligence that is to direct him, and the energy that is to sustain him, amid the perils and toils of life.

Recoiling from the support and touch of all external rule and authority, in its lone desertion it calls up to its support, the mental energies that lie inactive there, and braces resolution with that unfaltering self-reliance, and those unflinching ardors which are the proud and lofty harbingers of all that is great and successful in action.

It nerves the mind with that iron energy that breaks through the meshes of external, objective authority, and is ever warring with the tyranny of circumstance and accident.

But profound and universal sentiment as it is, it has ever been met and modified by an opposing principle, that reposes in objective, outward power, that guidance and control which is early felt to be a want, a necessity of our nature.

There is a weakness, perhaps an amiable weakness in humanity, that is ever distrusting the untried powers and capabilities within, and seeks around, and without, for some powers on which to repose those interests, and that destiny, which the relations of life suggest. The one seeks within for the rules of conduct, and the principles of action, the other looks without and around for the land-marks of action; the one stands shivering on the banks of life appalled with the fury of the elements, which bid the other emulate the strength and power of the strife that rages before it.

The one is an exclusive reliance on private will and judgment, the other an unfaltering faith in the sufficiency of established *objective* authority.

The one is the mother of anarchy, the other the forge of despotic manacles.

The one is, under proper restrictions, the principle of *freedom*, the other is ever the principle of despotism.

Between these two opposing and antagonistic principles, there has ever been a stern and steady struggle, and ever will be, until in the convulsions of history is solved the problem of reconciling the claims of objective authority, and the demands of subjective law,—of harmonizing the claims of government or society, and the rights of the individual.

A casual glance at history will reveal how these two antagonistic principles have ever been actively at work—closely joined in conflict in every form of government, and in every condition of society. There may indeed be found here and

there a people who have reposed their individual and national destinies and interests, exclusively on the arm of despotic power without one struggle; others in which the transition from unrestricted despotism, to the milder forms of monarchy, or vice versa, has been so gradual as to leave scarcely a trace of the struggle.

But the history of the world is full of the encounter. Some of its most sanguinary pages are crimsoned with the blood of this very conflict.

Every page discloses alike the struggle, and the approach to a harmony between these conflicting tendencies.

It may be but a mere fancy, it may be extracting a strange meaning from, and applying a singular and visionary test to historic data, but there does seem to be something in that early and familiar conflict, when two continents seemed to struggle for the mastery, when Persian and Grecian banners confronted each other at Marathon, that bears a resemblance to an issue between these two primary principles. Persia, the representative of despotism; Greece, the embodiment of all men then knew of self-government.

Persian soldiers fighting and dying at the bid of their monarch. Grecian citizens periling life for their laws, their separate individual liberties.

So too, when subsequently Macedon grew pale before the proud attitude of Athens, when Demosthenes, the embodiment of Athenian genius and spirit, speaking out of himself the high thoughts and sentiments of his countrymen, poured the ardors of a dauntless democratic soul, over the outrages of right, and the violations of law, and awoke the slumbering energies of personal freedom by describing the gloomy terrors of despotism, here too rises in nobler view, and in truer form the antagonism which has just been hinted at. There, in Greece, was the first nationalized expression of individual freedom,—the first general form of personal independence—the first externalization of inward law, the first attempt of a people to harmonize the principles of private reason with the claims of authority; and the history of that single trial, that first attempt, crowned as it is with at once the most beautiful displays and enduring examples of mental development, is but an epitome of the grand result that attends the history of the idea through all its subsequent trials and struggles.

To linger amid these monuments of intellect, at whose base

genius has ever thrown the offerings of its deference, and whose summits still catch the sunlight of the world's wonder and admiration whilst the darkness of the tomb shrouds the nationality they ennobled ; to pause amid these, and trace the connection between each bold conception, each brilliant execution and each wonderful exertion, and the unrestricted freedom under whose auspices they sprang into being, would be to reveal the philosophy of a fact, which is apparent the moment we have a clear conception of the nature of civil liberty ; and would be wholly foreign to the purpose in view.

Freedom, triumphant in Greece against foreign opposition, was doomed to a more melancholy fate, and finally perished in the conflict with that opposition which we have before suggested, and which, as we shall see, has ever been its most fatal enemy.

For though the individual participated largely and directly in enacting and giving color to laws that were to govern him in his individual action, and in his social relations, the suggestions of personal liberty were soon lost amid the fulsome flatteries and dangerous attributes bestowed upon the *State* ; and the feeble exertions of the lone *man* to enforce his rights, were swept away by the powerful arm of *majorities*, as it asserted its plausible but fatal claims to absolute supremacy. Society, under the miserable pretence of protection to herself, presented the poisoned chalice to the lips of one, whose thoughts still rest like a beautiful diadem on Grecian history, and whose memory immortalizes the very hand that would have blotted it out forever.

The spirit of despotism had prevailed. The equality of rights was unknown ; the *man* was lost ; his individuality swallowed up in the state, civil liberty had fallen, and the little of personal freedom that still survived, soon shrank, and cowered before the victorious sword of the Roman soldier.

The stern features that looked from the eternal city, were graven on the world, and before that haughty glance, the spirit of personal independence shrank as from the touch of death. There was no civil liberty under the Roman Empire. Laws indeed there were, *written* law, but the gleam of personal independence that flashed out as that powerful political system was gathering up, and concentrating the elements of its life, was soon quenched ; its very remembrance was swept away by the surgings of those waves that soon began to sweep in from all sides crested with the *glories of the republic*.

There was indeed law to protect life and property, but that sleepless vigilance which is the soul of liberty, was early dethroned by the power and magnificence of the *State*, and personal independence lay pale and lifeless in the path of contending factions.

To be dazzled by the glitter of a diadem, to be allured by the pomp and show of Empire, or seduced by the attractions of power is a weakness to which patriotic integrity has sometimes yielded, but never without merited shame and dishonor. These first seduced the early Roman from his stern democratic virtues.

In nothing was the error of the Roman citizen more fatal to the growth of civil liberty, than when throwing aside his individuality, he rushed to the embrace of that stupendous *centralization* which filled the world with terror and wonder, it is true, but which absorbed every vestige of personal freedom, and which would lay a hand of violence on all that stood in its path. His rights as a man were gone—the state was every thing, the man nothing, and it mattered not that “he was a Roman citizen.”

True the ancient forms of liberty were still preserved, and in the miserable mockery of what was once the high privilege of a freeman, he strutted in fancied secrecy and independence. Yet in nothing did that independence receive a more effectual death blow, and in nothing is his degradation more deplorable, than when he is seen closing his eye to that high region of moral truth, and those classic beauties which his own genius disclosed before him, and prostituting the stern and vigorous energies of his mind to sustain the miserable scrambles of a party, or vindicate the low strategy of a demagogue.

But that nationality from whose soil sprung forth a towering centralization that shaded half the world, blighting every appearance of personal freedom, was in its turn destroyed, and its stately structures, and massive ruins were floated off on the wild and tossing sea of barbarism.

Mutation followed mutation in sad procession, until the sun of ancient civilization set in blood and gloom, and in the darkness of the night that followed, time gave birth to a new era.

Society was resolved again into its original elements, and all human interests, all social and all political elements were thrown together, in vague, terrible confusion.

Humanity commenced its progress anew amid anarchy, mis-

rule and disorder. But those wild and leading forces that swept like angry waters over the face of ancient civilization contained the stamina of a new and nobler life, and as they dashed here and there in the twilight that now began to quicken along the heavens, by every wave was tossed up the sparkling gems of personal freedom,—individual liberty.

Every surge that lashed some vestige of Roman civilization from its mooring, was borne onward by the new-born energies of strong and resistless private will and judgment. From these distracted scenes, from this chaotic jumble of all social and political elements, the car of progress moved out, starting on its track freighted with those treasures that have since enriched European civilization. For there in the bosom of that distraction lay potentially all that now characterises the politics and morals of the old world—and here of course begins alike the progress and the struggles of civil liberty in Europe; we say the struggles; for even in this new-born era was renewed the conflict between personal freedom and its opposite, a conflict not as before for the mastery, but a conflict for existence.

For though the sense of personal freedom, (the rude form of civil liberty) was strong and all pervading in the masses; though anarchy and misrule in consequence, displayed their gladiatorial process along the whole surface of society, let it not be supposed that no other influences were at work strengthening themselves in open direct antagonism.

The fourth century witnessed the final dismemberment of the Roman Empire and the wide spread prevalence of an almost unrestrained personal liberty; but the succeeding century gave birth to institutions, and revived memories and associations which quickly checked its unbridled license.

The Christian Church, organized in the midst of the Roman Empire, and partaking in the form of its temporal government and economy of many of the features of that political system, first introduced something of order, and the idea of government into the desolating distractions then prevailing. It not only revived and preserved the recollection of the glories of the Empire—its wealth and attractive power, but threw broadcast into society, principles and elements, which, though their truth may not be questioned when restricted to Ecclesiastical Government, went home with a paralyzing spell to the heart of personal freedom, and to the exercise of individual judgment and reason. The early separation of the governed and the govern-

ing power, the denial of any participation directly on the part of the governed, in the affairs of the government—the denial of the rights of private judgment, not only when it presumed to scan the system of faith, or question the attributes of the Church, but even when it dared to question the policy of temporal economy, were the sources of many bitter fruits that subsequently cost the Church dearly.

These prerogatives did not rest with her, where they may perhaps be consistently and safely asserted; they became controlling elements in civilization, they took fast hold on all social and political establishments. They were quickly extended into society, became cardinal principles of government in the State,—they were seized with avidity, and exercised with remorseless cruelty by every petty lord. It requires no lengthened process of reasoning to perceive how utterly inconsistent with the exercise of all civil liberty, of all individual freedom, are the exercise of such powers, at least out side of the Church.

Political establishments, however, there were none. Society was still unsettled and for three centuries continued to be convulsed by those dreadful disorders attending that incipient stage of government, when opposing systems are quickly rising and falling in the struggle for supremacy.

The principles of Church government were, however, preparing society for the prevalence of centralism. But there was another system at work, which, notwithstanding it has been excused as an inevitable result of the state of society, more silently and effectually retarded the progress of civil freedom than all other influences combined.

Starting forth about the seventh century, the Feudal System, by silent advances, spread itself over the whole of Europe, entered every avenue of society, grappled with every form of freedom, until the thirteenth century witnessed its full development, in the haughty step of the monarch, and the muttered curses of the peasant,—in the lash of the despot and the writhings of the slave.

Space will not permit us to lay bare the complex machinery of this violent and unnatural system. It is sufficient for those who regard civil liberty as the development and protection of *individual rights*; for such it is enough to know that in the caprice and arbitrary will of the lord which this system sustained, and in the strong tendency to casts which it engendered, nothing but the liberty to oppress and violate the sanctity of private *right*, was legitimately produced.

Let it not be supposed, however, that during all this time, that God-like activity within us, which is ever whispering to man the lessons of self-government, ever telling to him the tale of his sublime origin, and his high destiny, had been crushed and broken; let it not be supposed that the lone but quickly beating heart of personal independence shrunk back appalled at the cumbrous appliances and close linked chains of the Feudal System. Every step in the progress of that system was marked with blood. Every movement of the minutest fibres of its huge and bloated carcass was met by the despairing, but still proud protest of outraged right, and the cries of injured innocence.

And even from the bosom of the Church, that only element in this new-born civilization, that preserved amid the convulsions that prevailed, the idea of unity, of general authority, and of centralized power; even there in the persons of John Scotus, Roscelin, Abelard, and others, as they vindicated the claims of private judgment, and protested in favor of the rights of the individual, here in these mighty intellects we have the assurance that the principle of personal freedom had not forsaken the course of history, but was still actively at work in the bosom of humanity. The assertions and protestations of these great men were not lost on the history of civilization, though they did not prevail. And their influence was soon felt to trouble that vast sea of opinion that had lain unruffled for ages, with agitations that would not be calm, and on which the power of the papacy could no longer lay the finger of its silence.

Still, however, no decided results were apparent. Indeed no period of European history is so barren in political event as that between the seventh and eleventh centuries. There was no distinct form of government, no monarchy, no democracy, no aristocracy, all were yet unformed, none were developed.

Up to the thirteenth century, there was nothing in European politics bearing the slightest resemblance to what we now know of government; there was nothing general, no public sentiment, no nationality. All political elements were in confusion, none were clear, distinct or defined. Monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, theocracy, were all strangely, apparently inextricably commingled together.

But in the eleventh century these political elements, after the long night of their labor began to emerge from chaos, began to appear as active, operating agents in the strange, nameless condition of society. Still there was no intelligent

action on the part of either. There was no community of action, or of interest; all was local, and exclusive; society was split up into a thousand small communities, and beyond these men had no aspirations, no interests. To have attempted anything like a general system of government of any form, at that period, would have been madness.

Precisely, however, about this period, and coterminous with the important and revolutionizing feature in the Church, to which we have adverted, the whole religious and political aspect of Europe is shaken by the presence of a fact, which ere it passed away, had swept every avenue of civilization, broken every ligament of society and revealed phenomena which had hitherto lain almost unknown in the bosom of European life, but which was thereafter to rule its destinies. For at this moment the crusades present themselves.

Spreading with unexampled rapidity over Europe, and sweeping away in their far-reaching generality the local prejudices and habitudes that prevailed, they evolved in their action an activity whose power was henceforth to fashion the civilization of Europe. In the midst of the disorder and confusion produced by this sudden dethroning of prejudices, and local exclusiveness, as men and districts impelled by a common impulse, threw aside their feudal habits, and exclusiveness, and rallied to one common standard—in the midst of this overleaping of old barriers, and breaking down of old customs, the genius of empire is unchained and begins to concentrate the elements and energies of *nationality*. The storm now ceases its fury, but has swept off in its strength those wild disordered products, which had so long retarded the growth of the political elements of Europe, and these now began to put forth their vigorous activities, and there, over the cradle of modern Europe, gathered as to a stately prize, all political elements and struggle for the mastery.

The spirit of personal independence was abroad in Europe, its lofty presence was recognised in the republics of Italy, amid the bold passes of the Alps, in the Free Towns of Flanders in the south of France, and along the whole southern portion of Spain.

Personal independence had taken its distinct position as an active constituent element of civilization, it had embodied itself in a general, a nationalized form, henceforth it becomes a centre around which gather the hopes and affections of men, but a centre too of circling hate.

Those who have been accustomed to view a principle under one form only may not recognise it again when embodied in a different form. He who has watched the nimble sports of the lightning on a summer evening's cloud, may not recognise the same agency that was throned in the blinding flash and crashing thunders of a gathering storm.

Those who have contemplated the lawless displays of personal freedom in the third, fourth and fifth centuries, may not detect the embodiment of the same principle in the refinements and elegance of the Italian republics, or in the order and sobriety of the Hanseatic League.

But the same heart was beating in each ; the same primary principle gave life and vigor alike to the anarchy that swept over the ruins of the Western Empire, to the brilliant but transient republics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and to the still more perfect institutions of our own country. Such is the law of progress.

But contemporary with these developments of the democratic element, two other elements of society rise more clearly and distinctly to view, Monarchy and Aristocracy, and as each infant nation moved with the instincts of life, its first impulse of being was the signal for a fierce and bitter conflict around it, between these three opposing elements. And scarcely had civil liberty asserted its separate existence in Europe, than the crusades of Simon De Motfort on the Albigenses in the south, and the wars of the Dukes of Burgundy on the Free Towns of Flanders, gave evidence that whether struggling for existence in the formation of Empire, or whether triumphant there it imparted its own distinct characteristics to nationality, in either case was civil liberty doomed to a remorseless, an uncompromising warfare. But whilst civil liberty thus dotted Europe with green places, amid whose freshness the historian still loves to linger, strong and rapid tendencies were lashing pure monarchies into being, and powerful recoils were concentrating the strength of aristocracy.

Democracy and monarchy were, however, the only powers that gave controlling features at this period to the politics of any nation ; but almost simultaneous with these displays, arose the States General of France, the Cortes of Spain, and the Parliament of England, institutions which are generally supposed to represent the popular or democratic interest in the governments in which they prevail. Never was there a more monstrous error.

One glance at the true state of society reveals an entirely different character.

Let us look upon the close of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries. Grave mists of passion and licentiousness roll up before the splendors of the republics, and the courage and energy that sustained them and which was once "equal to any fortune," now quails before the iron hand of monarchy. The step of royalty grows firmer along the paths of history. Kings hold a language unheard during the preceding centuries, a language that rouses the proud spirit of the nobility to a sense of that danger to themselves, lurking beneath the kindred features of royal power.

The haughty step of the monarch resounding through the halls of the Baron, is prophetic with absolute power.

In this situation of peril, the Cortes of Spain, States General of France, and Parliament of England, were barriers erected by the nobility to stave back the waves of absolutism, that threatened to sweep them off as a separate and distinct order in society; and though in this situation of danger they made some slight compromise with democracy, though they interposed the broad *Ægis* of wealth and power between the nation and the will of the monarch, yet that even-handed justice, that sacred regard for the principle of private *right*, that *equality* of right without either of which no man is secure, found no security among them. Even the boasted *Magna Charta* of England, whilst it secured the private rights of the Baron, was practically the political guarantee under which *he* continued to violate the rights of the peasant and with unholy hand to quench the fires of independence, which were ever and anon flashing from the depths of slavery around him.

They stood there powerful, operating protests against the claims of absolutism and the advances of centralism, but they exercised the most remorseless tyranny against the poor peasant.

They accomplished much in advance to roll back a dark cloud that was gathering over the path of civil liberty, but very seldom gave any direct encouragement to the principle, unless in situations of extreme peril to themselves, which as we shall see very soon, surrounded them.

For now far off in the future, where human foresight could scarcely penetrate, were preparing events, which, as they neared the stage where human interests and human passions were displaying their historic significance, stood clothed with deadly consequences to civil liberty.

From the fourteenth to the sixteenth century there floated over all Europe the bannered insignia of pure royalty, save only where here and there the hand of the nobility had inscribed the haughty denial of its own order.

But far above all these, sublime in its loneliness, with its high serene device and its imposing emblems wide displayed, streamed the untroubled flag of the Papacy. The republics were gone. The imposing show of royalty, the pomp of aristocracy, stood in stately order over Europe, but never failed to bow with conscious deference before the lone power, and solemn splendora of the Vatican.

But in the sixteenth century the same activity that shook the foundations of the Church in the eleventh century, again put forth its energies; again was unchained the spirit of individual freedom, and as it moved on in its strong and resistless energy, it jarred the whole system of society.

Another era began to quicken along the religious and political horizon, thrilling the ardors of a new life into Europe.

The banished thoughts and feelings of the eleventh century returned.

A glad shout went up from Europe and the friends of civil liberty hailed the event as the restoration of all that had been lost in the fourteenth century. The Reformation of the sixteenth century was achieved.

But strange and wonderful are the workings of the human mind when swayed by passion, and tossed by impulse. This gala day that dawned with such bright tints of hope, was quickly obscured, and the boundless sense of joy with which men hailed it, was soon turned to gloom, by gathering clouds which none foresaw, and which no human exertion could roll back.

Scarcely had the revolution of the sixteenth century weakened the power of the papacy, than *monarchy* made another fearful stride towards absolutism.

Kings and crowned heads everywhere, possessing the full measure of that personal ambition usually ascribed to the Popes, and perhaps but few of their virtues, seized on the broken fragments of ecclesiastical power, and laid a hand of iron on the very principle that had been so triumphantly vindicated in Germany, and which had released them from a conflict of ages.

The well known struggle between the Popes and Kings had at last closed and declared in favor of *monarchy*, but *civil liberty lost all by the result.*

The great protection to the rights of the people in the middle ages were undoubtedly the Popes, who never failed to take part with the people against the attempts of their monarchs to assume absolute power over them both in things temporal and things spiritual. Nor did an absolute monarchy exist in Europe until after the Reformation. In England the people were never more oppressed, and parliaments were never more cringing than under the Tudors.

And herein lies the significance of these States General, Cortes, and Parliaments, that they broke, in a great measure, the blow leveled by monarchy at all that stood in its path to absolute power.

They are still nothing more, however, than products of the courage of the nobility in asserting their own interests.

They represented but a small fraction of the nation, and that fraction too often rivaled the tyranny of the monarch in outraging the less conspicuous, but no less *sacred* rights of the individual.

Despotism was everywhere triumphant in temporal concerns; there was, if possible, still less hope on the religious side.

Scarcely had the Reformers advanced one step in the new path they had carved with so much toil for themselves, than elated with success, and inflamed with the ardors of the struggle from which they had just risen, they turned a scowling look of intolerance alike on their antagonists, and on those who, like themselves, dared to assert the principles of private judgment.

The execution of Servetus, by counsel of John Calvin, and the sanction to that act, by the mild and clear sighted Melancthon, is a conspicuous, but by no means a singular instance of the spirit that pervaded the whole Protestant side of religion.

We whose infancy has been horrified with nursery tales about the rack and stake, and who have been primed in all the terrors of the Smithfield fires, require no mention in this place of the Catholic persecutions.

A remorseless spirit of intolerance blinded by superstition, and inflamed by a bigoted rivalry, filled Europe with scenes, over which religion still weeps, and at which humanity will ever shudder; scenes over which charity has vainly attempted to throw the mantle of oblivion.

The spirit of despotism, sustained by the ambition of Kings, and fostered in the bosom of the Church, was rioting on the vitals of civilization.

He who would fly to safety from the rage of a monarch,

was greeted there with a hand reeking with the warm blood of innocence, or welcomed with the cold marble visaged countenance of persecution.

Did Kings fail to complete the system of despotism, *society* made the measure full to overflowing.

Did absolutism lose one inch of ground ; society would reenact the scenes that trailed the banners of freedom low in the dust in Greece. For again did society with its thousand tongues cry "crucify," and again did civil liberty bow its head in death.

The conflict of a thousand years had ended in defeat and ruin. Civil liberty ceased to be a fact in Europe. The governments that had once stood forth as its embodiment had gone down amid internal dissension, the mad strifes of ambition, the corruptions of party, and the intrigues of foreign power. All had disappeared—save only one lone spot, the little republic of San Marino, which had survived the revolutions of the times, and which still stands a singular instance of the strength that lies in virtue.

All was lost in Europe—but "westward the star of empire takes its way," and whilst kings were sacrificing all that stood in their way to absolute power, and religious strifes were distracting and desolating the nations, all Europe was startled by the grand attitude of her exile.

Then commenced a struggle in which despotism had followed to a new theatre of action the victim that she vainly imagined lay lifeless on her stupendous altars in Europe.

A struggle in which the spirit of personal independence, the sentiment of individual freedom, striving as it had been for ages for a permanent embodiment, came off victor, but covered with the dust and scars of a thousand conflicts.

Civil liberty at last stands embodied in institutions whose stability and growing importance seem to promise that they shall give the full and last development of the idea.

But civil liberty has just fairly started on its track; its most important history has yet to be written.

Already are its phenomenal displays writing change and revolution on the history of our country. A law called "progress," is actively at work in our midst ; its path is marked with the falling of old political establishments and the rising of new ones, with broad innovations on long established rules and ideas, with revolution and change in all directions.

But this same law of progress is working a less palpable,

but far more significant change in sentiment and idea, in another direction.

Men who have accustomed themselves to view despotism embodied in monarchies alone, suppose it can assume no other form. But Protean like it can take a thousand shapes, and as well in the hoarse clamor of the mob, or in the boisterous declamation of the rising demagogue, as in the frown of an emperor, may it live and riot on the liberties and sacred rights of man.

The same powerful arm that struck liberty to the earth in Greece, is growing strong in our own midst.

"The progress of popular opinions" vesting in *majorities*, the decision of those questions no longer of *policy* merely, but of political *right*, which the early statesmen left to the test of stern principle, is yearly making silent inroads on those private, but sacred individual rights which are the dearest treasures of a freeman.

Society under the name of majorities is becoming every thing; the mere man and his rights nothing. *Centralization* too, that most captivating but baleful of all tendencies, is making fearful strides among us; and let him who would know the power and despotism of this tendency, go and read his lesson in the deplorable fate of the once free, and ever gifted Roman.

But it does not rest here. The tide of emigration that has rolled for years on our shores, is commencing to pour into the lap of our country the active energies of European life. All the antagonisms and extremes of political life displayed there, are thrown together here, and fresh from the scenes of their triumphs or defeats are boldly debating their claims and contending for separate existences.

The civilization of Europe presents a variety of distinct, social, political and mental aspects and developments which flourish nowhere else in greater vigor. There each nation has some element of civilization, some peculiarity of thought, exclusively its own. Presenting as they do so many diversified modes of thought and aspects of politics and society, we may better conceive of, than describe the result, were these manifold diversities concentrated in the character of a single nationality, investing it with the splendors that repose in such rich profusion there, and clothing it with a mantle woven by the combined energies of the world. Yet such is indeed the aspect that is slowly but surely rising to view in America.

Much that is wild and visionary, much too that is substantial and politic in the organisms of the old world; in a word, all the conflicting tendencies, all the antagonisms of European life, are gathering up their energies here, and like the strong currents of adverse tides, are imparting a novel but momentous aspect to the general features of our nationality. What is to be the result when oppression shall have driven to our shores the active and the brave, those who are ever striking out some new and bold lines of action,—those who so fearlessly and restlessly attack existing institutions, and rise high amid the tottering of empires, and the crash of thrones—what new feature is to be graven on our nationality, when these powerful activities shall be thrown with unfettered arms in our midst, cannot be foreseen by the most comprehensive foresight.

And when too all that is splendid in Literature, all that is profound or seductive in philosophy, and all that is brilliant in science in the old world, shall be brought over and blended together in the new, it will produce a scene, which only a heaven-born genius may describe, but a scene that must differ widely from what we now behold.

It is fearful to reflect, that over this brilliant and fascinating spectacle, the sentiment of personal freedom may seldom pass.

It is a sad truth that science, literature and philosophy have very seldom thrown a single glance in their proud careers, on the difficult problem of harmonizing the conflict between the duties of the government and the citizen,—of reconciling and defining the rights of societies, and the rights of the individual.

It seems to offer but little encouragement to the sincere friend of freedom, that to European thinking, that problem has long been a stranger; and that the obscure but vital interest of individual rights, may be entirely overlooked in the growing magnificence, and dazzling splendors of the republic.

He may, however, lean on one thing, and trust, that the nationality that grounds itself on individual freedom, the same nationality that has hitherto presided with so much efficiency over the discordant elements already disclosed, will rule on, its controlling forces unimpaired.

There are times indeed when the citizen seems to doubt that efficiency, when the ship of state is groaning under the lashings of political strife, and her masts are quivering before the storms of distraction, he may turn with faltering confidence

to that lone power that has hitherto guided her through the storm.

But let him remember, that ever amid scenes of peril and danger have the most vigorous energies of personal independence been put forth, and its proudest triumphs displayed ; let him remember, that it possesses an energy whose noblest manifestations have been made under the darkest auspices—whose power rides serenest amid the wildest dashings of danger.

Let the American Freeman take lesson from the past. Let him avoid absolutism in all its forms, and remember that societies and communities or what has come to be the same thing, *majorities* may exercise the same utter disregard for principle and right, the same tyranny, that has rendered monarchy synonymous with despotism.

Let him shun the error of the Roman, and avoid the seductive and deadly influences of centralization.

And finally let it never be forgotten, that government derives its powers from the people, that it can confer no right, no power on the people ; and that there can never be justly any conflict or repugnance between the rights of government and the rights of the citizen.

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SHORT NOTICES.

ANCIENT CHRISTIANITY EXEMPLIFIED in the *Private, Domestic, Social and Civil Life of the Primitive Christians, and in the Original Institutions, Offices, Ordinances and Rites of the Church.* By Lyman Coleman. Philadelphia: Lippencott, Grambo & Co., 1853. 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 645.

THERE are questions that come up for solution in every age of the world's history. In this sense, each has its mission to fulfil, whether it meets that duty willingly or unwillingly. Often, indeed, this is misunderstood; and a knowledge of what it really is, specifically, is only arrived at, in some cases, by painful struggles to get free from some undefined responsibility, which the self-consciousness of the age may vaguely feel is pressing upon it. The force of this historical necessity, may manifest itself in the upheavings that at times agitate the world, in the sphere of politics as well as in that of religion. In one sphere, at one time, there may be such questions as that of slavery, for instance, coming up in stubborn and fanatical agitation; and refusing to be quieted at the bidding even of a compromise, and clamorously demanding a final and satisfactory adjustment. Then, in the other, there are not wanting, in different forms, the Church problems equally imperative in calling for earnest attention, with a view to their ultimate solution. And by way of eminence, that which thrusts itself upon our attention, has been denominated, "*The Church Question*," or *questio vexata*. The Polemical and Historical sides of Theology, more than the Dogmatical and Apologetical, seem to be called for in meeting the wants of our age.

Somewhat conscious of this want, the author of "*Christian Antiquities*" endeavors, in part, to meet the demand by re-writing that work, and presenting it to us under the changed title, as given above. The service thus rendered is doubtless valuable. But unfortunately, however, for the permanent and scientific advantage which might be expected to accrue from a work of this kind, the Puritan glasses of the author were not laid aside; and consequently the coloring, which they give to Ancient Christianity, tinges the whole book. On this account, however, it may be considered by some to be invested with

peculiar value. In controversy, truth is not always sought after for its own sake, and it is often made to wear a dress suited to some party prejudices and preconceived notions. Our author in the preface says: "The views of an ancient edifice vary with every change of position on the part of the observer, each point of observation brings out on the foreground, in bold relief, one pinnacle, and sinks and shades another: so an author's point of observation shades and groups his portraiture of the ancient Church. Our stand-point is that of a decided dissenter from the dogmas and doctrines of Episcopacy and prelacy respecting the government, worship, discipline, and usages of the apostolical and primitive Churches." Jaundiced eyes do not more certainly make all objects yellow, than do such prejudices prevent us from seeing the primitive Church in its real character and constitution. It doubtless requires no small share of Puritan bias to make Early Christianity to be one and the same thing, identically, with modern American Puritanism. For, if there be any one fact plain in the history of the early Church, it is, that it contained the germ of all the subsequent forms of Church life. The undeveloped Mediaeval Church was there, and in this again, was contained the Church of modern times.

The general plan of the book is good; the manner of treating the subject is extensive, varied and natural. The work will doubtless be welcomed by many to a place among the Theological Literature of our country. R.

THE PROPHETS AND KINGS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. *By Frederick Denison Maurice, Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn, and Professor of Divinity in King's College, London. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. New York: Charles S. Francis, & Co., 1853. pp. 466.*

IF we mistake not, this handsome volume is filled with matter far above the average contents of modern books. Its author has taken rank above the ordinary class of thinkers, and belongs to that class, who draw largely upon German resources. This book is made up of a series of sermons preached in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn. Their main object seems to be: to restore the wavering faith of the upper and middle classes, and to lift the lower class out of the pit into which they have been allowed to sink. By answering a series of questions, the author would afford help to "the gentler and feminine spirits,"

and thus prevent them from the necessity of trying to get it from the Pope. He would also prevent speculative spirits from becoming Pantheists, and the people from becoming Atheists. While the author avows himself in direct opposition to those in his own country and in America, "who make it their business to copy German models," yet he cannot deny his indebtedness to German learning for help, nor will he pronounce an unjust sentence upon the Theologians of that nation. Whatever he re-produces from this source, he seems to have the ability to invest with freshness and vigor. R.

THE BIBLE, THE MISSAL, AND THE BREVIARY; or, *Ritualism self-illustrated in the Liturgical Books of Rome: containing the text of the entire Roman Missal, Rubrics and Prefaces, translated from the Latin; with preliminary dissertations, and notes from the Breviary, Pontifical, etc.* By Rev. George Lewis Ormiston. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. Philadelphia: Smith & English. 1853. 2 vols. 8 vo. pp. 809.

HERE is another work called forth by the great controversy now, for the most part so violently, carried on between Roman Catholics and Protestants. At first sight of the title some might perhaps mistake, or at least be in doubt, as to which side it favors.

It is a common complaint urged by Roman Catholic controversialists against their Protestant opponents, that there is much palpable and gross ignorance of what their Church really holds and teaches. In many cases this charge is undeniably of too much force for the credit of Protestants. Not only are many of them to a great extent ignorant of what that Church is in the present time, but much more so in regard to its history, from the earliest times, and especially as it existed in the mediæval period. Modern Protestants, in this respect, are in strong contrast with their fathers of the Reformation; for they, unquestionably were far superior in learning and ability to their antagonists, the champions of Rome. It was only in subsequent centuries that the contrary in a measure came to obtain. This results, doubtless, in no inconsiderable degree, from the fact that the spirit of extreme anti-popery sentiments prevents liberal investigation. For fear of losing caste, forsooth, in popular common-sense Protestantism, this spirit takes good care to avoid all charge of "Romanizing tendency," by

eschewing everything that is not rank with radical protestation against Catholicism. It is as good as a prohibitory "Index," in preventing all knowledge of Catholic books, from the Catechism of the Council of Trent down to the veriest primer. But here, the faithful and obedient sons of the Pope can boast no advantage. They really have an "Index," and they *dare not* read Protestant books whose titles are registered there. They are consequently notoriously ignorant, if we may except their converts from the Reformation Churches, of the genius of the better forms of Protestantism.

The work before us is Protestant—stoutly opposing the abuses of the Roman Church, but withal not quite so rabid as some platform declaimers might wish it to be. The first volume is made up of dissertations on the *Missale Romanum*, *Breviarium Romanum*, *Rituale Romanum*, et *Pontificale Romanum*. In this is doubtless much that is interesting and new to the general Protestant reader. All that is found here is not total corruption. Along with a "general defect," which the author finds in the Missal, he says: "In the confession of sin, in the expression of feelings of a contrite heart, and in all the utterances of penitential devotion, the Missal excels. We have already referred to those prayers, called preparatory prayers, for the private use of the priest, before and after mass, as amongst the purest expressions of genuine devotion, humble, yet confiding, conscious of weakness, yet conscious also where strength is laid up for the believer. For a tone of devotion superior, or like these, the Christian must go to the Songs of Zion—that inspired liturgy of all ages." "In the priest's prayers *before* and *after* the mass, Christ, and Christ alone is exalted."

Of the Breviary he does not speak so favorably. "Our first impressions on opening the Breviary were quite different from what they now are, and strongly inclined us to soften the charge of hiding Scripture from her priesthood." Only mutilated parts of the Bible are there given, and often distorted to serve a particular purpose. All these together, do not make up a complete Bible. "But this mutilated Bible of the Breviary gives to the priest at least an entire Psalter, and in doing so, has provided devotionally, for the piety of God's own people in her pale." "Along with such vain expositions, the patristic lessons of the Breviary contain much that is excellent, both in matter and manner, that has delighted and instructed the Church in all ages, by their genius and piety."

The second volume contains a translation entire, of the Roman Missal Restored, according to the Decree of the Most Holy Council of Trent: published by order of the Holy Pius V. and revised by authority of Pope Clement VIII. and Urban VIII. augmented with the New Masses granted by the indulgence of the Apostolic See.

The specific object of the book is to enable any plain man to "see the Bible and the Breviary, Ritualism and Spiritual Christianity confronted." The idea here seems to be the common mistake that "in this controversy, Formalism and Puritanism are the great antagonistic principles; the one striving for a sensuous, the other for a spiritual religion." In its last results, however, this purely spiritualistic tendency, for the most part, reaches a point that is a sheer mental abstraction. Indeed, in its best form, it is only the common-sense religion, and surely we need nothing more *common* than that.

R.

REGENERATION. *By Edmund H. Sears. Printed for the American Unitarian Association. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co., 1853. pp. 248.*

THE author has written this treatise, we are told, at the request of the Executive Committee of the American Unitarian Association. It is intimated that they do not endorse the book entire; yet "they publish it, because they believe that the clearness and strength with which it states and enforces the great practical doctrines of Christianity, and the beauty and power with which it portrays and recommends the profoundest religious experience, will secure and reward a thorough study." The mechanical execution of the book is very commendable; and indeed, the mechanical seems to be its main characteristic, in more respects than one. It is divided into three general parts, treating respectively, of the Natural Man, the Spiritual Nature, and the New Man. The style by turns is clear, fresh, practical, hypothetical, and even quasi sentimental.

A more thorough study than we have been able to give it, would probably be required to bring all the parts and positions into organic harmony. Writing from a Unitarian stand-point, and in the service of that Association, the author, of course, denies the Personality of the Holy Ghost. This he is shut up to, for the purpose mainly, of making God to be a unity in person as well as in essence; and yet he allows another Divine Personality, in the "Author of Christianity," who is "not

an inspired prophet but a Divine Man." He allows too, that in Jesus Christ is a union of the Divine Nature with the Human, "so that in him are revealed at the same time a perfect humanity and an all-perfect Divinity." For our author, the Divine Incarnation may involve mysteries, yet it involves no contradiction. But if there can be but one Divine Personality, then it were evidently as much a contradiction, according to his scheme, to allow Personality to the "Divine Word made flesh," as to predicate it of the Holy Ghost. The doctrine of the Personality of the Holy Ghost is called "an abortion of the human intellect." But if according to our author the Holy Ghost be only a spiritual influence, (and that too in a sort of pantheistic sense) how can we yet commit an unpardonable sin against that mere influence?

The practical features of the book run out at times into the boldest subjectivity; and but little sympathy is shown for "those petrifications, called creeds, the cooling down of religious sentiment into solid crust." The whole scheme of regeneration here set forth seems to require a special revelation from God to every individual man, by a spiritual influence acting directly and immediately upon the soul—and not as mediated through the sacred ordinances of Christ's body, the Church. The book is not without interest. It is certainly suggestive;—as representing the rottenness of the system in whose aid it appears.

R.

ANNUAL OF SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY: *or the year book of Facts in Science and Art, for 1853.* Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1853. pp. 411.

THIS is the fourth annual contribution to this department of knowledge. It proposes to exhibit the most important discoveries and improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, Geography, Antiquities, &c., &c. The work is edited by *David A. Wells, A. M.*, and is ornamented with a fine engraved likeness of Professor A. D. Bache. The editor assures the reader, that he has "endeavored to present as faithful an abstract of the progress of science and the useful arts during the year 1852, as the limits of the present volume would allow." And a somewhat hasty survey of the book, has given us no occasion to find special fault with the manner in which these facts are compiled. Prefixed to the Annual, are "Notes by the editor on the Progress of Science in 1852." The book

will doubtless prove interesting to those engaged in the study and pursuit of Natural Science. R.

XENOPHON'S MEMORABILIA, *with Notes and an Introduction by Prof. R. D. C. Robbins.* New York: D. Appleton & Co.

WE have here another text book in Greek, printed in beautiful, clear and plain type. Had such been always in use, many a scholar's eyes might better have stood the preparation of "the Greek lesson." We know of at least one who would have been glad to have had such. The text of the present edition is based on that of Kühner. The notes, as far as we have looked into them, are, *ad rem*, judicious and appropriate. —Some editions of the classics, at least according to our early impressions, have copious notes on the "easy parts," while the knotty points for the most part are left untouched. Prof. Robbins renders his really useful. R.

THE CHILD'S MATINS AND VESPERE.—*By a Mother.* Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co., 1853. pp. 159.

THIS book is designed as a devotional manual for children. Probably the best part of it, about one third, is made up of select passages from the Bible, in which the *promises* of the Lord are plainly set forth. There is in all the prayers and pious meditations given, too little of the Incarnate Word, the God-man.

The above books can be had at the Book-store of Smith & English, No. 36, North 6th Street, Philadelphia. R.

LESSONS IN PROVERBS; *being the substance of Lectures delivered to Young Men's Societies at Portsmouth and elsewhere.* By Richard Chenevix Trench, B. D., author of "The Study of Words," &c.; Vicar of Ichenstoke Hants; examining Chaplain of the Lord Bishop of Oxford; and Professor of Divinity, King's College, London. Redfield, 110 and 112, Nassau Street, New York, 1853.

THE name of Trench guarantees thought and substance. He has indeed become a prolific writer, as any one will say, who has seen or read his "Miracles," "Parables," "Hulsean Lectures," "Star of the Wise Men," as well as his later small work on the "Study of Words." As a model of style, fluency of diction or nice sounds, he can have no claim; for he is forgetful of all such considerations, perhaps to a fault. But he may

yet be a model for all writers who would give us something more than a mere collection of words, however nice. There are many "masters of sentences" now-a-days, who by studying him, or some one like him, might become "masters of *thought*," which is a far better title, we think. Trench is rough, lubberly, rugged, and often obscure, as a consequence of manifest carelessness; but thoughtful, his words always meaningful and significant, quoting learnedly and abounding in rich and choice ideas, dug up from far below. You feel continually, that you are reading a scholar's production, and are not left in doubt, for a moment, as to its real value. There is substance enough contained, even in his smallest work, to set up a whole score of books of a certain popular cast, which, of course, is not very complimentary to the current literature. Such books may not win the praises of the crowd, who will at any time cast their notes for a poisoning novel or watery fustian, but still they will be enrolled in the catalogue of useful books, when their time-serving rivals shall be defunct. To say that he borrows largely from the German, is but to say, that he, at least, reads much and studies much, and is doing the English public signal services, by bringing his researches forward in his own original way. It were often better for some of our authors—if they *must* write—to present other men's thoughts, even in a far more dishonest way than can possibly be said of Trench, in preference to their own. We will not admit, however, that anything like a charge of plagiarism can be sustained against this author; nothing more can it be said to be, than a faithful re-production of thoughts, suggested and collected from a long and careful course of reading. And if you would read useful things arrayed in quaint garb, study Trench. The book to which we immediately refer, is by no means one of his most important productions. It is thus far one of his latest, and written with a wholly popular view. Its direct object is to inform some, and remind others, that there is a meaning and history—an interesting and instructive history—in the common, daily proverbs of the country. It would be the means of exciting men to an examination and contemplation of those popular phrases of the English and other languages. It would have us not to take rough diamonds for stones, or, to treat as worthless shells that harbor gems. It would tell us that all Proverbs are monuments and characteristics of times and circumstances, and that in these precisely lies their history.

The volume contains six lectures: I. *The Form and Generation of Proverbs.* II. *The Proverbs of different Nations compared.* III. *The Poetry, Wit and Wisdom of Proverbs.* IV. *The Morality of Proverbs.* V. *The Theology of Proverbs*; to which is also added an *Appendix*, containing specimens of *Metrical Latin Proverbs of the Middle Ages.* Through all this he wades, at some length, in his own heavy but suggestive style, by bringing forward such a host of illustrations, that the reader cannot grow weary, and the author cannot fall under the condemnation of the Spanish proverb—that *he leaves nothing in his inkstand.* W.

PHILOSOPHY OF MYSTERIOUS AGENTS, HUMAN AND MUNDANE:
or the Dynamic Laws and Relations of Man. Embracing the Natural Philosophy of Phenomena, styled "Spiritual Manifestations." By E. C. Rogers. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1853. 12 mo. pp. 336.

WE are truly thankful that the insane extravagance which is spawning upon us a so called "spiritual" literature, has incited to the production of the book before us. It is a patient, laborious, and scientific exploration of a region which has been left comparatively untouched, and which certainly promises to be rich in results. That region is sufficiently indicated by the title of the book. Even independently of explaining the phenomena of "spiritual rappings," the author has furnished a valuable contribution to the literature of a subject which future times will understand better than we do. But a satisfactory explanation of these phenomena we think he does give.

The movement of objects, the production of sounds and of sights without visible instruments, we think he shows conclusively, may be and are produced by a physical force associated with the human organism, which under peculiar conditions is made to emanate from that organism with a most terrible energy, and without any necessary conjunction with either spiritual or psychological agency. This force is the same as the "diamagnetism" of Faraday, and the "odic force" of Reichenbach. It is a book to study and be the wiser of; and we hope it will be carefully pondered by all intelligent persons whose minds have been discomposed by the puzzling phenomena of the "rappings" and the extravagant pretensions of "media," who claim to bring down spirits at their bidding.

C.

THE
MERCERSBURG QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1853.

ART. I.—THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY ON THE FAMILY.†

MARRIAGE, that universal, fundamental, moral relation, the nursery of the State and the Church, is, indeed, as old as humanity itself, and a strictly divine institution, (Gen. 2 : 18.) But under the influence of sin it has degenerated, and Christianity alone restored it to its proper dignity and significance. Our religion places marriage in the most exalted light by representing it as a copy of the relation of Christ to his Church, thus giving it a truly holy, we may say, a sacramental character, (Eph. 5 : 22, 23.)

By this comparison, in the first place, polygamy, which is found more or less not only in all heathen nations (most rarely in the Roman and Germanic,) but even amongst the Old Testament patriarchs and kings, and which has the sanction of law with Mohammedans, is forever condemned, and *monogamy* made the rule. This form of the conjugal relation was presented in the creation of the first human pair as the normal one; was made the ideal by the Mosaic law; and is the only condition of a true and truly happy marriage. Then again, in this analogy is implied the indissoluble nature of the marriage bond; for the union between Christ and his bride, the Church, can never be broken. The husband and the wife are one flesh; and what God has joined together, man must not put asunder, (comp. Math. 19 : 3-9. 1 Cor. 7 : 10.) Increase of immorality always goes hand in hand with the facilitating of divorce.

†From the work now in press: "History of the Apostolic Church." By Prof. Ph. Schaff, translated by Edw. D. Yeomans, A. M., New York: Charles Scribner.

Again, Christianity alone raises *woman* to her true dignity. It is well known, that in antiquity, even among the highly cultivated Greeks, woman was generally looked upon as a mere tool of lust, and therefore, in the most degraded light. Her education was shamefully neglected; and if she sometimes attained prominence in society, it was wholly in consequence of bodily attraction and the gift of entertaining wit, not for any moral force or purity of character. Even Plato, with all his exalted ideas, knew nothing of the sacredness of monogamy. In his ideal state he allows promiscuous concubinage. And in the ethical works of Aristotle, among many virtues, chastity and mercy, those pillars of genuine morality, are never mentioned. Sophocles, in his pious child-like, devoted, self-denying sufferer, Antigone, who followed her blind father into exile and sought in every way to alleviate his misfortunes, reaches out prophetically beyond the domain of Heathenism. Antigone is an ideal creation of poetic fancy, realized only in Christian nations. In reverence for the marriage relation the ancient Germans stood highest. They distinguished themselves above all other pagans by their great regard for the female sex, their chastity and conjugal fidelity; and these traits among others especially, predisposed them for the gospel. Yet these become most firm and sacred only by being referred to the holiest of all conceivable relations. Christianity does not, indeed, take woman out of her natural sphere of subordination and domestic life, and throw her into the whirl of public activity, from which she instinctively shrinks; but places her in a religious and moral point of view by the side of man, as a joint heir of the same heavenly inheritance, (1 Pet. 3: 7;) and by doctrine and illustrious example, as in the ever Blessed Virgin; in Salome, Martha and Mary, and Mary Magdalene, it has opened the way for the development of the noblest and loveliest female virtues in all their forms.

Finally, from that fruitful analogy may be derived all the duties of husband and wife to one another and to their children, as Paul himself presents them in few but comprehensive words in the passage cited above.

1. The relation of the *husband* to the wife is the same as that of Christ to the Church. In other words, the husband is even by virtue of his whole physical and intellectual constitution the head of the wife, her lord and ruler, (Eph. 5: 22.) He is not, however, to lord it over her ambitiously and arbitrarily, as a despot, but with the power of love, surrendering himself to her, as a part of his own being, as his other self,

making her partaker of all his joys and possessions, patiently and meekly bearing her weaknesses, promoting in every way her temporal, and above all, her spiritual welfare, and sacrificing himself for her, even to his last breath, as Christ has given His life for the Church, is continually purifying and sanctifying her with his blood, and raising her, as a spotless, richly adorned bride, to full participation in his glory and blessedness.* This, then, makes the sanctification and moral perfection of the character the highest end of conjugal life, to which the physical object, the propagation of the race, must be subordinate and subservient,†—a view, of which heathendom never dreamed. Of course, however, the devotion of the husband and wife to each other, as well as to the children, ought never to be absolute, or it would degenerate into idolatry. It should not interfere in the least either with the moral duties of public life and occupation, by neglect of which the most ardent conjugal love must only shrink morbidly into itself and wither, nor with the demands of love to God, who alone can claim our undivided heart and life. On the contrary it should favor both. When there is any danger of a conflict here, then the command is of force: "Let them, that have wives, be as though they had none," (1 Cor. 7 : 29.)

2. The wife stands related to the husband, as the Church to the Lord; that is, she is to be subject to him, and to show him all due reverence.‡ But this obedience does not exclude equality of personal and moral dignity.§ It should have nothing slavish or bitter about it, no fear nor trembling. It should be free and joyful, in, and for the sake of, the Lord. (Comp. Col. 3 : 18.) So the Church finds her highest honor, delight, and freedom in everywhere following her heavenly bridegroom in the most trustful self-resignation. Pride is contrary to the nature of woman, except so far as it relates to her husband and children, in whom she forgets herself. In this subordinate position, as well as in the maternal care of her children and the whole field of private, domestic life, she has occasion to exhibit her silent moral elevation, to unfold the noble virtues of modesty, meekness, patience, fidelity, and self-denial, and

*Eph. 5 : 25-31. Col. 3 : 19. 1 Pet. 3 : 7.

†Schleiermacher strikingly says (*Predigten*, I. p. 575 :) "The higher end of Christian marriage is, that each party may sanctify, and be sanctified by, the other;" and Rothe (*Theol. Ethik*, III, p. 670 :) "Only in the holiness of self-denying love can the marriage relation be a copy of the relation of Christ to humanity, which he, by his self-devotion, has purchased for his own."

‡Eph. 5 : 21, 33. 1 Cor. 11 : 7 sqq. 1 Tim. 2 : 11 sqq. 1 Pet. 3 : 1 sqq.

§Gal. 3 : 28. 1 Pet. 3 : 7.

thereby to adorn her Christian profession, and to integrate the masculine character. Here too, however, the analogy is not perfect. For while the wife often converts her husband, and always ought at least to exert upon him a softening, refining, elevating and sanctifying influence, such an influence of the Church on Christ, the Perfect, is of course unnecessary and impossible.

8. The relation of *parents* to children corresponds with that of Christ and the Church to individual Christians; the father here again holding the place of Christ, the mother the place of the Church. Every new spiritual birth is the result of the creative activity of the Holy Ghost in the womb of the Christian Church; and it is the Church, which by the faithful administration of the means of grace under the direction and with the power of the Lord nourishes, strengthens, and perpetually sustains the new life of her children, and protects it from all disease and degeneracy, till it reach the age of independent manhood in Christ. So should it be, also, in every Christian family. It is the duty primarily of the mother, who is peculiarly fitted for it by nature, to provide for the wants of the infant, and to awaken its slumbering powers to the first stage of their activity; but this she is to do under the oversight, and supported by the authority, of the father, who is king and priest in the sanctuary of his own house. Both parents are to treat their children not with severity, but with devoted, self-sacrificing love,* and to train them up not only for useful members of the body politic, but above all for citizens of the kingdom of heaven. They are to train them by instruction, and still more by the living power of example; by actually bearing witness of Christianity in their lives, and by the religious consecration of the whole domestic system; ever mindful that God has given them this precious blessing of marriage, and will one day call them to account for their use of it. This sacred duty the apostle enforces in the few words, Eph. 6: 4: "Bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord;"† that is, as the representatives of the Lord, so that, properly speaking, the Lord himself, by the free agency of the parents, with earnestness and gentleness trains the children for himself, as his own. The apostle is here speaking, indeed, primarily only to fathers, as the responsible agents in the education of

*Eph. 6: 4. Col. 3: 21.

†Not "to the Lord," Zum Hern, as Luther translates it, which alters the sense materially.

the children; but he certainly would not exclude the delicate, noiseless, but none the less important part of the mother, who, by her meekness, patience, and fidelity, happily softens the sternness of the father's authority, (though without the latter she untrains instead of training;) and who, especially where her husband is not a believer, may and should exercise an exceedingly deep, lasting and salutary influence on the moral and religious character of the children; an influence which Paul himself recognizes in the mother and grandmother of Timothy.*

4. The first duty of *children*, as derived from what has now been said, is of course piety, reverential obedience.† This again is not to be slavish, but cheerful, the obedience of unreserved confidence and grateful love. It is also in the course of nature the first form of all piety towards God and reverence for divine things. For in its parents the child sees the representative of God, the reflection of His majesty and love, nay, we may say, God himself, so far as the child is able to comprehend Him. Where this course, which even natural right and the first commandment of the second table point out, is forsaken, there inevitably results wildness, slavery, and curse. Obedience to the divinely ordained authority of parents forms the only true training for real freedom and manly independence. All those carnal schemes of emancipation, whether relating to women or children, accomplish just the opposite of what they propose, and will have bitterly to repent their subversion of the natural and revealed order of things. It is worthy of remark, that the apostle makes the children of believing parents an organic part of the Christian congregation in requiring of them obedience "in the Lord;" thus supplying the purest motive for obedience, and at the same time duly restricting it. For as parental authority is derived from Christ and is to be exercised for him, it can only claim obedience, where it answers His spirit and will. When, therefore, it commands what is wrong, it comes into manifest conflict with its author, and destroys itself. Then applies our Lord's language, Math. 10: 37: "He that loveth father or mother more

*2 Tim. 1: 5. Comp. 1 Tim. 2: 15; 5: 10, 14, where the bearing children, *τεκνογονία*, certainly includes educating them. Woman finds her highest dignity and purest happiness, not merely in being a mother, but also in fulfilling all the duties of a mother in the Lord and for his glory. Human life should be propagated only to be educated for the great end of mankind, for virtue and religion.

†Eph. 6: 1-3. Col. 3: 20.

than me, is not worthy of me."* When the children pass out of their minority, they cease to obey in the strictest sense, and enter the relation of friendship; but never should they lose the reverence which is due in fact to old age in general,† and the gratitude, which rejoices to render to parents like for like, (1 Tim. 5; 4, 8,) and embalms them even after their death in imperishable memory.

Even without any express New Testament command,‡ it is easy to see, that the proper shaping of Christian domestic life, and especially the successful performance of duty as to the religious education of children, require the *family altar*, on which the father, as priest, may daily offer the sacrifice of thanksgiving and intercession. Family worship, with morning and evening prayer and use of the Holy Scriptures, includes also prayer at table. We are not to enjoy God's gifts of nature thoughtlessly like the beast of the field, but "with thanksgiving."§ In individual cases, however, it is hard to maintain this family worship properly, without the assistance of liturgies and hymn books. And great watchfulness is necessary, lest it degenerate into soul-less mechanism, into an *opus operatum*, or infringe upon the duty of closet prayer, the unseen personal intercourse of the soul with God. But that this danger is not always sufficiently avoided, can be no reason for questioning the duty of family worship itself, or asserting, that it is made superfluous by public worship. On the contrary we shall always find, that the two require and promote one another, and that, where the former dies, the latter also decays.|| For as marriage continually replenishes the State and secures its perpetuity, so personal and domestic piety furnishes the Church a constant supply of her best material.

Thus, therefore, are all the natural relations of authority and subordination recognized and confirmed by Christianity, and duly regulated, defined, and sanctified by being referred to the Lord and his Church; and thus is the whole family life consecrated as a nursery of the purest virtues, as a miniature theocracy, rooted, indeed, in the soil of nature, in the sexual love of individuals, but rising into heaven.

*Comp. Math. 8: 21, 22. Luke 2: 49. John 2: 4. Math. 12: 46-50.

†1 Pet. 5: 5. 1 Tim. 5: 1, 2.

‡Comp., however, Eph. 5: 19. Col. 3: 16.

§1 Cor. 10: 80, 81. 1 Tim 4: 8-5.

||There is no doubt, that the regular and general attendance upon public worship, by which the English, Scotch, and Americans are so distinguished above other nations, is especially owing to their high regard for family worship.

Christianity then, as we meet it in the New Testament, recognizes in marriage the normal relation, in which the human character fully develops itself and answers its great end,—a relation instituted by God and sanctified by Christ. The depreciation of conjugal life by an asceticism, which cannot rise above its physical and natural basis to the view of its higher moral and religious significance, contradicts the spirit of the gospel, and is, in reality, of heathen origin.* In fact the apostle numbers it among the doctrines of the evil spirits, which rule the world of idolatry (1 Tim. 4: 1 sqq.) that they forbid marriage, as some Gnostic sects and the Manicheans did,—looking on the body, which was created by God and designed for the organ of the Holy Ghost, with its sensual wants, as a part of the intrinsically evil matter, and consequently regarding all contact with it as sinful.

*The defective, sensual conception of marriage among the heathen could produce both, great unchastity, polygamy, concubinage, &c., on the one side, and the ascetic contempt of the relation, on the other. For wherever moral earnestness was once awakened, instead of sanctifying this relation, it turned with horror from it. In its ideal of a priest, therefore, it usually includes, in some form, the conception of celibacy. So the ancient Indians, in the remarkable myth given by Creuzer in his *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker*, I, p. 407. 8d. ed. After Birmah had formed from his mouth, his arm, his leg, and his foot, the four patriarchs of the four castes, and had given wives to all, except the eldest, Brahman, the progenitor of the priests, the latter complained of his solitude; whereupon he received the answer: "He should not be distracted, (marriage is thus necessarily distraction,) but give himself up to doctrine, prayer, and worship." He persevering, however, in his request, Birmah, in anger, gave him one *Daintany*, a daughter of the giant family of *Dainta*, and from this unequal match sprang the whole sacerdotal caste of the Brahmins. Among the Greeks the highest priest of the Eleusinian mysteries, the prophet or mystagogue, was forbidden to marry after assuming the office, and if he already had a wife, he must abstain from commerce with her. In the Roman religion the virgin priestesses of Vesta are familiar. The Gnostic and Manichean contempt of marriage springs from pagan views, and rests on a fundamentally wrong conception of matter and body. With the Jews (except the sect of Essenes, whose asceticism, however, was affected by foreign, oriental elements) a fruitful marriage stood, as is well known, in high esteem, and passed for a special divine blessing; while celibacy or barrenness was considered a reproach, particularly for women, or a divine visitation of punishment, (Gen. 16: 2-14. 19: 80-86. 1 Sam. 1: 6-11. Ps. 127: 8-5. 128: 8-6. Is. 4: 1. 47: 8, 9. Hos. 9: 14. Luke. 1: 25, 36.) The priests, and even the high priests, were, therefore, all married, yet during their term of service in the temple they were required to abstain from cohabitation. The high estimate of virginity, which came to prevail so early in the Christian Church, cannot be derived from Jewish ideas, and certainly as little from heathenism. It arose, no doubt, from ardent enthusiasm for the kingdom of God, which could very easily take up many vitiating elements and influences from the low pagan notion of marriage; especially as the conception of Christian marriage was so seldom fully realized; for this required a long process of civilization.

In this point Christ cannot be strictly taken as our pattern; for he was not merely an individual, but at the same time the *universal* man, for whom no suitable consort at all, of equal birth, could be found. The Church, the body of regenerate humanity, and it alone, (not the individual soul,) is his bride; and this relation is assuredly, as already shown, the sacred model of every true marriage.

As to the apostles, we know for a certainty, that Peter was married, and took his wife with him on his missionary tours.* Tradition affirms the same of Philip, and gives him, as well as Peter, children.† From 1 Cor. 9: 5, it has been justly inferred, that at least the majority of the apostles and brothers of the Lord, (probably sons of Joseph from his former marriage,) lived in wedlock.‡ At all events, Paul here excepts none but himself and Barnabas, while claiming the same right of marriage for himself, if he chose to make use of it.§ Yet ancient tradition unanimously represents St. John as unmarried.|| As

*Math. 8: 14, Luke 4: 38, where his mother-in-law is mentioned, and 1 Cor. 9: 5: "Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other apostles, and as the brothers of the Lord, and Cephas?"

†Clement of Alexandria says of these two apostles, (*Strom.* III. p. 448) that they begat children; tradition speaks of a daughter of Peter by the name of Petronilla, (Comp. *Acta Sanct.*, 30th May;) and Polyocrates, bishop of Ephesus in the second century, in his letter to the Roman bishop, Victor, (in *Euseb. H. E.* III, 81, and V, 24,) mentions three daughters of the apostle Philip, of whom the first two died virgins in Hierapolis at an advanced age, and the third lay buried in Ephesus: Φιλίππον τὸν τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ὃς κεκοιμηται ἐν Ἱερὰπολει καὶ ὁνὲ θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ, γένηται καὶ παῖδες καὶ ἡ ἑστὰς αὐτοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι πολιτευσάμενη. ἡ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀναπαύεται. At the same place, (III. 81) Eusebius, on the authority of Proculus, speaks of "four prophesying daughters" of Philip, who were buried with their father in Hierapolis. But here it is plain from his remarks immediately following, that he confounds the apostle Philip with the deacon and evangelist of the same name, who according to Acts 21: 9, had four prophesying daughters, and when Paul last went to Jerusalem, was laboring in Caesarea in Palestine.

‡The deacon Hilary, A. D. 380, the probable author of the Commentary of Paul's Epistles, falsely ascribed to St. Ambrose and hence called *Ambrosiaster*, explicitly remarks on 1 Cor. 11: 2: "Omnes apostoli, exceptis Joanne et Paulo, uxores habuerunt."

§Hence some, though certainly without reason, (Comp. 1 Cor. 7: 7, 8,) held that Paul also was a husband or a widower. So Ignatius, *Ad Philad.* c. 4, according to the larger (spurious) recension: Ὁς Πέτρον καὶ Πάυλον, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων, τῶν γαμοῖς προσμιλησάντων. So Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* III, 7. ed. Potter.

||Hence he bears the standing title, παρθεῖος, παρθεῖνος, *virgo*. Augustine (*De dono conjugali*, 21,) mentions with respect as the views of many: "A Christo Joannem apostolum propterea plus amatum, quod neque uxorem duxerit, et ab ineunte pueritia castissimus vixerit." Hence also it is said in the chant for the festival of St. John in the Roman Church: "Diligebat eum Jesus, quoniam specialis praerogativa castitatis, ampliori dilectione

to the subordinate officers of the Church, the book of Acts mentions four prophesying daughters of the deacon and evangelist, Philip, (21: 8, 9.) In 1 Tim. 3: 2, 12, Titus 1: 6, it is disputed indeed, whether successive or only simultaneous polygamy, polygamy proper, is forbidden. But at any rate the being "the husband of one wife," which is required of presbyters and deacons, as also the mention of their children and their own households, 1 Tim. 3: 4, 5, 11, 12, Titus 1: 6, imply that *one* marriage is right for ministers; and, so far from censuring the married state, present it as the normal state, and as a good school for exercise in the most important duties of life.

But if apostolic Christianity forbids no man marriage, as little does it enjoin it. On the contrary it presents exceptions from the general rule, and puts celibacy, if it be a voluntary act of self-denial for the kingdom of God, we cannot say, indeed, above the married state, yet very high, and attributes to it in several places a peculiar value.* There are men, who lack the qualifications for conjugal life, as the capacity to support a wife, individual sexual love, &c.; others, who, by some fault, whether their own or not, cannot fulfill the necessary conditions; others again, who feel called and bound to sacrifice all earthly love to heavenly, and to minister to the latter alone. Hence our Lord in the mysterious passage, Math. 19: 10-12, without, however, giving his disciples any command, speaks of three kinds of eunuchism, congenital, forced, and voluntary. Of course the latter alone is of any moral worth; voluntary self-denial for the sake of the kingdom of heaven; the willing renunciation of conjugal love and joys, the better to serve the general moral purpose of life. Such, we must suppose, was the course of Paul and Barnabas. For the for-

fecerat dignum: quia virgo electus ab ipso virgo in ævum permansit. In cruce denique moriturus huic matrem suam virginem virgini commendavit."

*Math. 19: 10-12. 1 Cor. 7: 7 sqq., 25 sqq. Rev. 14: 4. As to the latter passage it is a question indeed, whether by the hundred and forty-four thousand "*ῥαπσωτοι*," which were not defiled with women, and which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth," are to be understood unmarried persons, or (as Bleek, *Beitrage zur Evangelienkritik*, p. 185, and De Wette, *ad loc.*, explain it) those, who have kept themselves free from all whoredom and unchastity, and from all contamination with idolatry. The first interpretation answers best to the literal meaning of the words, but has against it the vast number and the fact, that many of the most eminent servants of God, under both dispensations, from Abraham to Peter, who certainly belong also among the "first-fruits unto God and to the Lamb," were not *ῥαπσωτοι* in the strict sense.

mer was certainly a man of strong natural feelings, of an ardent, passionate temperament, so that the renunciation of marriage was, in his case, an act of self-denial and moral heroism, for which he was strengthened by the assistance of divine grace. He represents it even as a charism, and notices the diversity of gifts in this respect, (1 Cor. 7: 7: 'ἕκαστος ἰδίαν ἐκεῖ χάρισμα ἐκ θεοῦ.) Those, on the other hand, who have not the gift, to whom a life of celibacy would be such a perpetual struggle against natural propensities, as would prevent the quiet discharge of duty, he advises to marry (v. 9.). Such a celibacy, as cannot attain to the complete subjection of the bodily appetite, is assuredly of far less worth, than a virtuous marriage, in which also chastity may and should be preserved. To Paul, who spent his life in missionary travels, and was exposed to all possible privations, hardships, and persecutions, the married state, with its temporal cares and all sorts of personal matters of attention, must have seemed rather a hindrance to the fulfillment of his apostolic calling, and the single state, the *ἐννοχίζειν αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν*, more favorable to his activity in the service of the Redeemer (v. 32-35.) With him celibacy was actually an elevation above all earthly cares, an entire devotion to the purest love and the holiest interests, an anticipation of the *vita angelica*.* And who will deny, that such cases repeatedly occur? Who does not know, that the voluntary celibacy of so many self-denying missionaries, especially in times of wild barbarism and dissolution, as at the entrance of the Middle Ages, was in the hand of God a great blessing, in mightily promoting the spread of the gospel among the rude nations and under numberless privations?† Here Christianity deviates from the old Jewish view, in which ce-

*V. 7, 32. Comp. Math 22: 30. Luke 20: 34-36.

†Comp. Neander's remarks, I. p. 404. Not seldom is celibacy also very favorable to great scientific investigations in the theological, as well as the secular field. We may here refer only to two very different men, Dr. Neander, the historian, and Alexander von Humboldt, the naturalist. We cannot help observing here, that the work of home and foreign missions would be in many respects greatly facilitated, and much expense spared, if among us Protestants that moral heroism of self-denial, that voluntary and, if not perpetual, yet at least temporary *ἐννοχισμός διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν*, (Math. 19: 12,) were more frequent, than it unfortunately is. The great zeal, with which many young ministers, scarcely ordained, (often even while students) look around for a wife, as though they had nothing more important to do, is absolutely irreconcilable, at least with the seventh chapter of 1 Corinthians and with the example of Paul. The excellent Swiss divine, A. Vinet, expresses similar opinions on the relative value of celibacy as a voluntary service to the kingdom of God, in his *Pastoral Theology*, transl. by Dr. Skinner, p. 156 sqq.

libacy was a disgrace and a curse ; it can transform this state into a charism and use it for its own ends. Without the acknowledgment of the peculiar value and manifold benefits of this virginity, which grew out of unreserved enthusiasm for Christ and his gospel, it is impossible properly to understand the history of the Church, especially before the Reformation.

But in the chapter before us Paul goes yet further. He manifestly gives celibacy the preference, believing that it enables a man better to serve the Lord ; and he wishes, that all might be in this point like himself, and might share with him the happiness of freedom from all earthly cares and undivided devotion to the highest objects and duties of life. His words are too clear to admit of any other interpretation : " He that giveth (a daughter) in marriage doeth well ; but he that giveth her not in marriage doeth better," (1 Cor 7 : 38.) " He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord ; but he that is married careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife," (v. 32 sqq.) " I would that all men were even as myself," (v. 7.) Here undeniably that ascetic tendency and relative depreciation of marriage, which we find in almost all the Church fathers, even the married ones, (as Tertullian and Gregory of Nyssa,) has some plausible foundation to rest upon. Yet we cannot, without charging Paul with obscurity and inconsistency, understood him as derogating from the holiness and dignity of marriage, which in Eph. 5* he himself so decidedly asserts. The apparent contradiction may be solved by the following considerations suggested by the connection of the passage itself :

1. It must be remembered, that, in the time of the apostle, the education of the female sex, and the whole married life, were in a very low state ; that Christianity had scarcely begun to exert its refining influence upon them ; and that the elevation and sanctification of them must, in the nature of the case, be gradual. In 1 Cor. 7, Paul has in view the relations actually prevailing in a congregation but just gathered from amongst the frivolous heathens of dissolute Corinth, and, therefore, such a marriage as by no means answers to the Christian principle, or to the ideal, sketched by himself in Eph. 5 : 32. He has his eye upon a union, which stands in the way of prayer (v. 5,) entangles one in worldly cares, conflicts with the

*Comp. 1 Cor. 7 : 28. 9 : 5. 1 Tim. 5 : 14. Titus. 1 : 6 sqq.

undivided service of the Lord (32-35,) and is, in general, nothing more than a mere check upon debauchery (v. 2, 5, 9: *Κρίσιμον γὰρ ἐστὶ γὰμνος ἢ πορνεία.*) Here firm opposition to corrupt heathenism was the safe and necessary way to the final realization of the true idea of marriage. So the Church at first stood hostile to art, on account of its degradation to the service of idolatry and immorality; yet, at a later day, herself gave birth to the highest creations of architecture, painting, music, and poetry.

2. The apostle plainly has in view approaching pressure and persecution, which are certainly heavier on the married than on the single, and furnish strong temptations to unfaithfulness to the Lord from personal considerations. This is evident particularly from v. 26, which speaks of "the present distress;" v. 28, of "trouble in the flesh;" and v. 29-32, of the "shortness of the time," earnestly exhorting Christians to rise above everything earthly, and be ready for the approaching end.* The Christians were then expecting the speedy return of the Lord (as in fact he actually came, though not to the final judgment, yet to the destruction of Jerusalem,) and it appeared doubly advisable to await the catastrophe in a state of the greatest possible independence of worldly cares and connections. That there are, however, at this day, circumstances, in which it would be an indiscretion involving heavy responsibility for certain individuals to marry, can by no means be denied. The advice of the apostle, therefore, has by no means lost its force and applicability.

3. All this instruction on the question proposed to him by the Corinthians, respecting marriage and celibacy, Paul repeatedly assures us (v. 6, 25, 40,) he gives as his own private judgment, as his humble opinion (*γνώμη*), and not as an express command of the Lord (*ἐντολή*), who had given him no special, direct revelation on the subject.† Hence, to prescribe laws

*Möhler's is certainly not unbiassed, when in his defense of celibacy (*Gesammelte Schriften und Aufsätze*, I. p. 197) he denies any such reference to approaching dangers in 1 Cor. 7. The "*διὰ τὴν ἐνεστώσαν ἀνάγκην*," v. 26, he translates: "on account of the (easily) rising natural appetite," and refers to a passage in *Heroph. de venat.* c. vii, where *ἀνάγκη* denotes the impetus ad Venerem. But even admitting the philological consideration, (the passage adduced, by the way, is not about men, but about dogs!) this interpretation gives no good sense at all, because the *ἀνάγκη* in this sense exists also in celibacy, nay, is even still stronger in this state, (Comp. v. 9;) and hence the avoidance of it can be no ground for recommending virginity.

†In this case, therefore, at least, the possibility of error is admitted, espe-

on this point, is to assume more than apostolical authority. The *prohibition* of marriage is expressly enumerated by the same apostle among the marks of antichrist. (1 Tim. 4: 3.)†

Our conclusion, therefore, is, that, according to the doctrine and practice of the apostles, marriage is duty, in general, but, under certain circumstances and for certain individuals, celibacy; that the latter may be as great a blessing to the Church and to mankind as the former; that the decision, however, in any particular case, whether to marry or not, must rest neither on the person's own will nor on another's, but on a consideration of the person's peculiar gift, and the plain indications of Providence. The great work of the man remains, in both cases, the same:—to serve the Lord and Him alone. To do this, in whatever way, is neither greater nor less *merit*, but our bounden duty, and should be, at the same time, our honor and our joy.

To the family, in the wide sense, belong also *servants* or *domestics*, rendered necessary by the distinction of rich and poor, and by wants, which increase by civilization, and which the proper members of the family alone are unable or unwilling themselves to meet. Here Christianity, when it entered the world, had to encounter a deeply rooted social evil, which, in consequence of the fall, had gradually spread over the most cultivated nations of Heathendom, and, we may truly say, then held the *greater* part of the human race in a condition of almost beastly degradation.||

Slavery is the robbing an immortal man, created in the image of God, of his free personality, degrading him to an article of

cially as the personal experience of Paul on this point was all on one side, an experience of the advantages of the single life, but not of those of the married. In his thus qualifying his own advice, we must admire his great pastoral wisdom and prudence.

†Comp. also Harless: *Ethik.* p. 219.

||Attica alone, in the time of Demetrius Phalereus (390, B. C.,) according to the statement of Ktesicles, contained 400,000 slaves, with only 21,000 citizens and 10,000 foreign residents. See Böckh: *Die Staatshauhaltung der Athener*, I, p. 89, (p. 85 sq. of the English translation by Geo. C. Lewis, 2nd ed., London, 1842.) The slaves were, indeed, counted by the head, like beasts; but even if we quadruple the number of freemen, to make it include women and children, and, with Böckh, suppose the whole population of Attica to have been at most 524,000, the number of slaves would still be almost four times that of the freemen. In Sparta, Reitmeier (*Ueber den Zustand der Sklaverei in Griechenland*, p. 116,) supposes there were even from 600,000 to 800,000 slaves. In Rome it was still worse, slaves being there an article of formal luxury.

merchandize, a mere machine of his owner, and thereby hindering the development of his intellectual and moral powers, and the attainment of the higher end of his existence. For this, heathenism had no remedy. On the contrary, the most distinguished heathens justified this immoral and unnatural state of things by assuming an original and essential distinction between the ruling and the serving classes. The Hindoos believed, that the menial caste of Sudra, upon which the other three castes looked down with contempt, had been guilty, before its earthly life, of some peculiarly heavy crime, for which this degraded condition was a just punishment; or, according to a somewhat higher view, that it had sprung from the feet of Brahma, while the Brahmins sprang from his head, the soldiers from his shoulders, and the tradesmen from his thighs. The Greeks adopted the view of Homer, that Zeus deprived those, whom he "destined for servitude," "of half their mind;" and to this passage even Plato appeals in the sixth book of the Laws, appearing in general to view slavery as a natural and necessary institution.† Aristotle speaks much more plainly. He defines† a slave as an *'εργασιον ζων*, a man who belongs, not to himself, but is the property of another. He declares all barbarians to be born slaves, who have no reason at all or only instinctive, and are good for nothing but to obey. Single instances of intelligent, virtuous slaves, he would have pronounced exceptions, which prove the rule. The Roman law looked upon them in the same light, subjected them to the arbitrary dominion, passion and lust of the master—yea, gave to the latter, at least down to the time of Emperor Hadrian, the uncontrolled power of life and death over his slaves. With the pagan Germans, also, the equality of the slave with the brute, of the *servus* with the *jumentum*, was current. It was in perfect consistency with such principles, that the slaves were used and abused like beasts, and not seldom, even worse. The Spartans had the abominable custom to intoxicate their helots, in order to teach their youth sobriety by such revolting spectacles of drunkenness; and when the slaves became dangerous from their increasing number, they were hunted in the Crypteia, as the chase was called. The

‡So Ritter, with many others, asserts.—*Gesch. der Philos.*, II, 450. Yet this may be questioned. For the passage in the *Politicus* (p. 809, a,) to which Ritter appeals, may be more favorably explained, as it is by Möhler, *Gesammelte Schriften und Aufsätze*, II, p. 62 & 76.

†*De Republica*, I, c. 1-7.

celebrated Cato Censorius, in whose time the distinction between the two classes had not yet become so strongly marked in Rome as afterwards, worked, indeed, with his slaves, and ate at the same table with them, but mercilessly drove them away when they became weak from age, and were no longer saleable.* At a later day, slaves became a matter of luxury, like horses and precious stones. Romans of rank owned them by hundreds and thousands, and their wives likewise kept great numbers (sometimes over two hundred,) for the most trifling services connected with their endless wardrobes. Half naked, the poor wretches had to stand before their mistress, who was armed with an iron rod to beat them for every mistake. Even for innocent noises, as sneezing or coughing, they were often unmercifully whipped.†

Exceptions there certainly were. Heathendom retained a faint recollection of a golden age, when there was no sin nor slavery. It had feasts in memory of this age, such as the Saturnalia, in which the freemen ate with slaves, and even waited on them. Theseus, and the deified Hercules, once himself a slave, were patrons, and the Vestal virgins, the temples, statues and altars of the gods, and the churches of Rome, were refuges of slaves. In the old philosophers, too, we meet with many excellent precepts, framed, to be sure, not on the higher principles of religion, but only on those of humanity, respecting the kinder treatment of these wretched creatures; especially in Seneca, his letters, and his work on meekness and mildness (*De Clementia*.) After he himself had returned from an eight years' exile in Corsica, he laid down the rule in almost the same terms as those of our Lord.—Matth. 7: 12: "So live with an inferior, as thou thyself wouldst wish a superior to live with thee."‡ But what were the fairest precepts

*On this Plutarch, in his biography of Cato, c. 21, passes censure thus: "As if, when no further gain is to be had from them, there were no longer any room for humanity; as if equity were not more comprehensive than justice! Even dogs and other animals men continue to feed after they cease to bring them gain. The Athenians provided for the mules used in building the Parthenon till they died, though they were free from all further labor."

†Comp. on this Böttiger's *Sabina oder Morgenstunden in dem Putzzimmer einer reichen Römerin* (1806,) Part. I, p. 40 sqq., where the proof is given.

‡Epp. 47, ad Lucil.: "Sic cum inferiore vivas, quemadmodum tecum superiorem velles vivere. * * * Vive cum servo clementer, comiter quoque et in sermonem admitte, et in consilium, et in convictum," etc. See these and other passages from Seneca, Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, and the Saturnalia of Macrobius (which, however, only copies Seneca, often word for word,) in Möhler, l. c., p. 76 sqq.

of human philanthropy when they were never observed, or, at least, very rarely, and then not from principle and fear of God, but accidentally only, or from constitutional good nature? They could, at best, but mitigate the evil in individual cases. They could effect no radical cure. This demanded an entirely different view of the origin and destiny of man, such as Christianity alone has introduced.

Here, also, the Jews, of course, stood on much higher ground. Yet among them, too, servants, with their posterity, were in thralldom, and could be bought and sold. The Patriarchs had two kind of servants, those "born in the house," and "those bought with money," (Gen. 17: 12, 13,) who are sometimes enumerated with other property, although there is no case recorded, that they sold them. The Mosaic law did not abolish servitude, but regulated, and, in various respects, mitigated it by forbidding ill treatment, by admitting the slaves into the covenant of circumcision and its religious privileges, and by releasing them from their regular labor every Sabbath, at the three annual festivals, also on the new moons, the feast of trumpets, and the day of atonement. If they were themselves Jews, they should, after six years' service (without wife or children, however,) receive freedom, if they chose, and a small outfit of cattle and fruits. The year of jubilee made all slaves free, not only those of Israelitish descent, but also the strangers, as it would seem from Lev. 25: 10: "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto *all the inhabitants* thereof: it shall be a jubilee unto you, and ye shall return *every man* unto his possession, and every man unto his family." This was a practical declaration, that slavery is an abnormal state of society and incompatible with a renovation of the theocracy, when all should be made to feel equally dependent upon God, and equally free in Him.† The Essenes and Therapeutae, according to Philo, repudiated all slavery as inconsistent with the native equality of men. Of course the Jews in their wars with the heathen in many cases fell into bondage. The community of Jews in Rome consisted mostly of freed men; and at the destruction of Jerusalem, according to the statement of Josephus, no less

†Comp. on this subject such passages as Gen. 12: 16. 14: 14. 17: 12, 13. 24: 35. 30: 43. Ex. 20: 10. 21: 2 sqq. 23: 17. Lev. 25: 41-46. Deut. 15: 12 sqq. 29: 10-12. Jer. 34: 8 sqq.: Michaelis: *Mosaisches Recht*, II. p. 858 sqq.; and the article "Sklassen" in Winer's *Realwörterbuch*, I. p. 475 sqq.

than ninety-seven thousand were taken captive by the Romans, some of whom were sold at auction and others transported to the Egyptian mines.

What posture now did Christianity assume towards this horrible degradation of a great, nay the greater part of mankind. We here have to admire alike the reformatory principle of Christianity and her wisdom in applying it. The apostles did not attempt even a sudden political and social abolition, and would have discountenanced any stormy and tumultuous measures to that effect. For, in the first place, the immediate abolition of slavery could never have been effected without a revolution, which would have involved everything in confusion, a radical reconstruction of the whole domestic and social life, with which the system was interwoven.* In the next place, a sudden emancipation would not have bettered the condition of the slaves themselves, but rather made it worse; for outward liberation, to work well, must be prepared by moral training for the rational use of freedom by education to mental manhood; and this can only be done by a gradual process. Paul, on the contrary, (1 Cor. 7: 17,) lays down the general principle, that Christianity primarily proposes no change in the outward relations, in which God has placed a man by birth, education, or fortune, but teaches him to look at them from a higher point of view, and to infuse into them a new spirit, until in time a suitable change work its own way outward from within. This principle he applies particularly to the case before us. On the one hand, he requires Christian masters, not to emancipate their slaves, but for the present only to treat them with Christian love, (Eph. 6: 9;) and he himself sends back from Rome the run-away Onesimus, now regenerate and thus a "beloved brother" in Christ, to his rightful master, Philemon, in Colosse, with the touching direction to receive him as kindly as he would the apostle himself, (Philem. v. 16, 17.) On the other hand, he does not exhort or encourage slaves to burst their bonds, but checks all impatient desire for freedom, and exhorts to reverential, single-hearted obedience to masters, be they hard or gentle.†

* For the slaves were employed not only in domestic service, but in all sorts of business, grinding, baking, cooking, making clothes, waiting on gentlemen and ladies, carrying letters, attending to agriculture, and the keeping of cattle, working mines, &c., &c. Büchh: *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, I. p. 40.

† 1 Cor. 7: 21, 22. Eph. 6: 5-7. Col. 3: 22. 1 Peter 2: 18. 1 Tim. 6: 1 (where the *ὁ κύριος* forbids to think of free servants.) Titus. 2: 9.

Christianity, however, has also provided the only means for delivering man from the inward and most cruel bondage of sin, the bitter root of all wrong social relations, slavery and despotism among the rest, and for the radical cure, therefore, of the evil in question. It confirms, in the first place, the Old Testament doctrine of the original unity of the human race and its descent from a single pair.* Then it asserts the perfect equality of men in the highest spiritual view, in their relation to Christ, who has redeemed all, even the poorest and meanest, with his blood, and called them to the same glory and blessedness. In Christ, all earthly distinctions are inwardly abolished. In him there is neither Jew nor Greek, *bond* nor *free*, male nor female; all form one ideal person in Him, the common Head, (Gal. 3: 28. Col. 3: 11.) On the one hand, therefore, the Christian master is a servant of Christ, with whom there is no respect of persons, and he ought always to be conscious of this dependence and of the responsibility it involves, (Eph. 6: 9.) On the other, the slave is by faith a freed-man of Christ, in the blessed possession of the only true liberty, that of the children of God, and thus even though remaining in his bonds, he is raised above them; while the richest prince, without faith, is but a miserable slave of sin and death. Hence the master should look upon his servant as also his brother in Christ, and treat him accordingly, (Philem. v. 16, 17;) the servant should obey, not as the slave of man, but for the sake of the Lord. "Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven." "Servants, obey in all things, (of course not in things contrary to the divine command, for here the injunction ceases to be of force) your masters according to the flesh; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but in singleness of heart, fearing God: and whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men; knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the (heavenly) inheritance; for ye serve the Lord Christ."†

By this view the distinction of master and slave is at once inwardly obliterated and deprived of its sting, even where it outwardly remains. Christianity is so spiritual and universal, that it can exert its power in all conditions and relations, and turn, as by magic, even the hut of deepest misery into a heaven of peace and joy. Thus there are now slaves, who through

* Acts 17: 26. Comp. Rom. 5: 12. 1 Cor. 15: 22, 47.

† Col. 3: 22-24; 4: 1. Comp. Eph. 6: 5-9.

their virtue and piety are infinitely freer than their masters and put them to shame. On the other hand, a true Christian, who comes into possession of slaves by inheritance, will never treat them as slaves in the proper sense, but as free servants, with all love and kindness; he will seek in every way to promote their moral and religious culture, even if circumstances, for which he is not personally answerable, should make their formal emancipation for the time impracticable. But of course this alone is not enough. All, that is inward, must in the end work itself out and fully establish itself as an outward fact in actual life. So Paul expressly says to the slave: "But if thou mayest be made free, use it rather," (1 Cor. 7: 21.)* Hence the spirit and genius of Christianity, more powerful than any particular command, has in all ages, without any radical noise and revolution or contempt for historically established legal rights and the principles of equity, urged towards the orderly constitutional abolition of slavery; and though it has not even yet everywhere succeeded—in the freest land in the world, in the most glaring inconsistency with its fundamental political principles, there are still more than three millions of negro slaves!—yet it will not rest till by the power of redemption all the chains, which sin has forged, shall be broken; till the personal and eternal dignity of man shall be universally acknowledged, and the idea of evangelical freedom and fraternal fellowship perfectly realized.

*In the interpretation of this passage I agree with Calvin, Grotius and Nöander (I p. 427) who to *παλλερ χρονα* supply the words *τη ελευθερια*, most naturally suggested by what immediately precedes. The supplying of *τη δουλεια*, preferred by Chrysostom, Theodoret and others, reversing the sense and making the apostle give the preference to servitude, does not suit the verb at all and is by no means required by the *ε* *κα*, as Meyer and De Wette erroneously assert. The sense of Paul then is: Civil bondage is perfectly consistent with Christian freedom, and thy condition should give thee no trouble on this score; but if, besides the inward freedom of faith, thou mayest also attain the outward, as an additional (*κα*) good, of course, by proper legal means—reject not the opportunity, but rather thankfully use it.

ART. II.—MAN'S TRUE DESTINY.

A Baccalaureate Address to the First Graduating Class of Franklin and Marshall College, August 31, 1858. By the Rev. J. W. NAVIN, D. D., late President of Marshall College.

YOUNG GENTLEMEN :

By invitation of the Board of Trustees of Franklin and Marshall College, and at your own special and earnest request as a Class, I stand before you on this occasion to pronounce a few parting words in the name of the Board, in the name of the Faculty, and in my own name, in the way of *Baccalaureate Address*. The position is to myself one of more than usual interest and solemnity. The duty which it calls me to discharge, belongs of right to the relation I have borne to you for years as the President of Marshall College. It is not as a stranger, nor as the temporary representative simply of the government of this new institution for the service in hand, that I now speak to you, as a class, for the last time. I appear before you rather in the character of a father, whose responsible privilege it has been to preside over the course of your college education from its commencement to its close, and whose concern for your future welfare is conditioned thus by innumerable cares, and sympathies, and reciprocal affections, the proper growth of such endearing connection, which reach away back into days and years that are past. This relation itself, however, so far as the idea of outward office is concerned, has also passed away. All that remains of it is its moral life and power, which ought to be perpetual. In the present transaction, accordingly, the official in every view may be regarded as overwhelmed and lost in the personal ; while all the circumstances of the occasion conspire to crowd the personal, at the same time, with memories and associations of the most solemnly affecting kind. Any College Commencement is solemn, mirroring as it does, for every thoughtful mind, the great law of change, by which, in the drama of full life, one generation is continually passing away to make room for another.

But on this occasion, we have something more than such an anniversary in its ordinary form. I see before me the first Graduating Class of one institution, which is, in a certain sense, at the same time, the last of a whole series of such Classes belonging to the history of another. These seem to rise in long review before my mind, and to join their presence with yours in the tender solemnities of this parting hour. You will not take it amiss then, if I consider myself speaking to them along with you, in the present address. It is in virtue of a past relation only, at all events, a relation which has now come to an end, that I am here to speak at all. Let this relation then be owned to-day in its broadest extent. Let me feel that the farewell words I now utter, are dedicated as a tribute of affection to all the Alumni, to all who have ever been students of Marshall College.

The true destination of man, the proper end of his being and life, lies beyond the present world in an order of things which is supernatural; and it is absolutely necessary that he should know this, and have supreme practical regard to the fact, in order that he may not live in vain.

This is the theme on which I propose to speak; the one great thought I wish to bring before you, and to leave with you, in the full earnestness of its own proper consequences and relations. May the Spirit of all truth and grace so hallow the naturally sacred associations of this present occasion, that they may serve to fix deeply and lastingly in your minds the living force of the thought itself, so that it shall be found hereafter the pole-star of your existence, lighting it till life shall end onwards and upwards always to the glorious immortality of the saints in heaven.

The necessity of owning a supernatural destiny in the case of man, lies to a certain extent in his natural constitution itself, in the relation he is seen and felt to bear to the world around him in his present mortal state. This relation in one view is of the most close and intimate kind. The organization of the world, as a system of nature, comes to its completion in his person. This is signified to us very plainly in the Mosaic account of the creation; where the whole magnificent process, rising gradually from one stage of order and life to another, is represented as reaching its climax finally on the sixth day, when God said: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness, and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the air, and over the cattle, and over all

the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth." Man thus is strictly the perfection of nature, the crown of its glory, the very centre of its life. In him the world comes to its last, deepest, fullest significance and sense. So to some extent even in his mere bodily organization. But far more still in his soul, in his intelligence, in the self-acting power of his will—that higher life of reason, of which only the most dim and remote foreshadowings are to be met with in the lower spheres of creation, but whose appearance here at once proclaims itself to be the central light, that reflects back on every other part of the system its true meaning and form. In such relation simply to the present world, our human intelligence and will, notwithstanding the spirituality which belongs to them in their own character, are to be regarded as appertaining still to the constitution of nature. They are the sublimation of this indeed to its highest potency, its most ethereal quality and sense, and present it thus under a form where to be true to itself it *ought* to pass away in the presence of a higher and more enduring economy; but the sublimation itself, the taking up of the world of nature into the world of mind, is now in and of itself the subjection of it in this way, to the claims and purposes of every such economy above nature. The process may stop with the mere *intellectualization*, so to speak, of the present order of things, the world as it now stands; and then it matters not how far the activity of thought may seem to go, exploring the depths or scaling the heights of God's creation; it matters not with what flights of science or art it may appear even to pass over the boundaries of time and space, and to hold communion in its own way with what it is pleased to denominate the absolute and the eternal, all will remain in the end a revelation of the life of nature merely, and nothing more. The mind of Humboldt, regarded as a mirror simply of the outward world he describes, is of one order with *Cosmos*, whose image it serves so magnificently to reflect. Mirror, image, and object, belong alike to the sphere of nature, and have to do only with its organization as such. So deep and far-reaching is the relation, by which man belongs to the present world, stands in it, moves in it, finds in it his natural and congenial home. He is the consummation of nature. It unfolds the entire volume of its wealth; it comes to its full efflorescence, only in his person.

But with all this, or rather we may say for this very reason, the life which belongs to him in the order of nature, is for him

always something incomplete, a form of existence which manifestly does not find its full and proper end in itself, but needs and seeks this continually in some higher and different constitution of things. In this respect, man differs from the mere animal and the plant. Though the fulness of nature be in him, far more than it is in them, he cannot, like them, rest in it as the whole comprehension of his being. They do so, just because they are less than nature in its full sense. Their existence is rounded in by it on all sides, and made complete after its own kind, in the bosom of the general life by whose stream they are borne. But man is himself, as we have just seen, the end of nature, the point where its whole process reaches its ultimate destination. How then should he find in it his own destination or end? The universal constitution of the present world, viewed in its relation to man, carries in it thus a plain intimation that he is formed for a higher sphere of existence, that the life of nature is designed to be in him the beginning only and preparation of a life above nature, and that he can fulfill his destiny only by entering into felt communication with the powers of this *super-natural* life, and by proposing it to himself always as his last object and aim. The world, as a system of nature, completes itself in man, becomes in him a moral world, a world of intelligence and active will, in order simply that it may, through him, become linked, under such form, with another economy far more glorious than itself. Without such object and end, it must be regarded as an insupportable vanity. In itself, it is made up of perpetual revolution and change. The fashion of it is forever passing away. Its best realities are always like a dream or a shadow. It is everywhere an effort after that which is not, a type that labors to express its own sense, an unfulfilled prophecy which struggles towards its accomplishment in something beyond itself. To suppose such an order of things brought to its full conclusion in man's consciousness, made clear to itself here, as it were, in the full perfection of its vanity, without any farther promise or prospect, would be to turn this human consciousness, the high prerogative of reason, into the greatest vanity and most deplorable misery of all. That cannot be the meaning or end of God's natural creation. It looks upward towards man from all sides, not that it may stop there as an eternal irony upon itself, but that by him and through him it may be enabled, as it were, to transcend itself, and to make room thus for a new, higher creation, in which all its transitory show shall be brought

finally to an end. Nature reaches its chief purpose and ultimate destination in man, and, in doing so, refuses to be acknowledged as in any way *his* end, but shuts him up rather to the necessity of seeking this in some other order of existence altogether.

And is it necessary to add, that what is in this way continually proclaimed by the general constitution of the world, finds its full echo in the moral nature of man himself? Whatever relation his intelligence and will may bear to the present world as such, they carry in their very constitution at the same time, no less distinctly, a necessary reference also to something beyond this world, to a higher economy, which is felt to extend over it in the form of truth and law, and in which alone is to be sought and found its highest and last end. The human mind, while it forms the natural summit and necessary crown of the whole inferior creation, includes in itself also what surpasses entirely the measure of this creation, capacities, affinities, tendencies, inborn necessities and wants which it has no power to satisfy, and that call continually for that which it does not contain. It is only in virtue of such higher nature indeed, that man is set rightfully over the world, and appointed to rule it for the glory of God; the intelligence that qualifies him for this being in truth a superior order of existence, which places him above the world as well as in it, by reason of what it is in such more than simply natural view. It is only as made in the image of God, that mind in this case is commissioned to exercise dominion over nature and matter; which at once implies, that to be faithful to itself, and true to its high trust, it must hold itself steadily in union with God, and seek in Him always its last destination and end. Thus it is, accordingly, that the soul of man finds it forever impossible to be either wholly or finally satisfied with the present world, and so long as it seeks to be so is tormented continually with a sense of falsehood and vanity. Whatever it may be for inferior orders of life, the present world is not, in any true sense, an end for man, and the attempt to make it so must always be felt as the power of a perpetually living lie, which carries along with it its own damning punishment wherever and however it may prevail. There is no material difference here between one form and another of such a worldly life. It may be rude or refined, grossly sensual or eminently spiritual; all comes to the same thing at last, an overwhelming confirmation of that old experience: "Vanity of vanities—all is vanity and

vation of spirit!" The desires of the mind, as Paul terms them, have no advantage in this respect over the desires of the flesh. Nay, the greatest vanity of all, perhaps, is science, walking among the stars in its own way, and yet never, in fact, transcending the universe of nature, the order of the world as it now stands, by a single act of faith.

But it is in the sphere of religion and conscience, especially, that the necessary relation of man's life to an order of things which is above and beyond nature, so far as his own consciousness is concerned, comes most of all into view. Religion has no meaning except as it carries with it a reference always to some order of this sort, and without such reference there could be no place for it in the human spirit. Whether the religion be true or false is of no account as regards this point. What we are concerned with is simply the general idea of religion, the possibility of it in any form. This, of course, is something which lies back of all positive systems, to which the name may be applied. No outward teaching or tradition, no divine revelation, even, could cause religion to exist in any form among men if there were not in them previously a religious nature, a capacity for religion, needing to be called into exercise in this way. Now it is of this general capacity we say, lying, as it does, at the ground of all religions and making them possible, that it carries in it a necessary reference always to an economy which is beyond and above nature, and thus becomes an unanswerable argument, throughout the world, for the truth and importance of the thought we have in hand, namely, that the true end of man's life, his proper destiny, is to be sought in the world to come and not in that which is now present. For the sense of religion, in some form, is as universal as our human nature itself, and forms an inseparable part of its constitution; and it includes in itself everywhere, also, the assurance of its own legitimate authority, and its right to be regarded as a supreme power in the organization of our life. The want it expresses is felt to be the deepest, the end it seeks the most absolute, in the mysterious economy of our being. It is not hypothetically or problematically only, but with full categorical imperative, that the chief end of man is referred here to another world, and that he is required to subordinate to this all other ends as of merely secondary account. Such is the natural testimony of the soul, with regard to its own destination. No force of error or corruption can ever reduce it to silence. It speaks in the individual conscience of every

man. It is heard in the religious faith and worship of nations, handed forward as a sacred tradition from one generation to another, deep answering unto deep, as it were, in the vast and mighty abyss of the human spirit, and the voice of ages, like the sound of many waters, uttering itself forever in one and the same awfully solemn tone.

Infidels sometimes make it an argument against the whole idea of a revelation, and so of a strictly supernatural destiny for man, that the organization of nature is complete within itself, and that it offers no room directly for the apprehension or acknowledgment of any higher system. The supernatural as related to the natural must, of necessity, be miraculous; and the miraculous, according to the celebrated sophism of Hume, must ever meet an overwhelming contradiction from the universal experience of our present life, which is conditioned throughout by the constitution of the world as it now stands. In these circumstances, all positive systems of religion, falling back, as they do necessarily, on some supposed revelation, are to be regarded as visionary and false; and still further proof of which may be found in their contradictory character, as well as in the palpable absurdity and immorality by which most of them belie at once their own high claims. These manifold superstitions in the name of religion, monstrous abortions as they are of the human spirit, all pretending to rest on supernatural facts, show only how liable men are to deceive themselves in this direction, and how little weight is to be attached to any such pretension in any quarter. Thus runs, in brief, the sceptical argument. But its show of wisdom is entitled to small respect. It comes, at most, simply to this, that the order of nature is not itself the order of the supernatural, that the second absolutely transcends the first, and that there is no room, therefore, to conceive of the first as itself producing or demonstrating the second. Most certainly nature includes no provision in its own constitution, as nature merely, for the production or verification of that which is positively above nature. Such want of capacity, however, to go beyond or transcend itself, to be at one and the same time what it is and what it is not, is something very different from the supposition of its being actually at war with all that may be supposed to exist beyond its own sphere. Between the natural and the supernatural in this view, as we have now seen, no such antagonism in fact has place, but just the reverse. The world as it now stands, the cosmos whether of Humboldt or of Kant,

has no power, it is true, to affirm supernatural realities in their own proper form; they lie *over* its horizon; but it goes far to show negatively and indirectly their necessity, and to turn the eye of expectation and desire towards the region in which they are found. Time points always towards eternity. Nature cries aloud for that which is higher, greater, and more enduring than itself. The world that now is, with man in the centre of it, is a riddle whose burden can find no relief except in the thought of a world to come. The whole moral and religious side of man's life especially proclaims, with uncontrollable witness, his supernatural destiny, and leads him to acknowledge his relation to the invisible and eternal through all ages and times. It is not true, that the ideas of miracle and revelation do violence to his nature; on the contrary, he feels them to be in full harmony with its inmost wants, and, as it would appear, is unable to live without them indeed in any part of the world. False religions, in this way, are no argument against the truth of religion itself. They only show how deeply seated the idea of religion is in the very constitution of humanity; how irresistibly this looks and tends towards what is beyond the world of nature for its proper completion; and how natural and reasonable it is, therefore, to believe, that provision should be made for the satisfaction of so deep a want in some real way. This universal demand among men for religion in some form, both proves the reality of the supernatural relations on which the whole idea rests, and creates a presumption at the same time, not against, but powerfully in favor of any system which may present itself with the proper credentials of a true revelation.

Such a revelation, it is plain, the whole case requires. The voice of nature, and the testimony of the soul, refer man for the end of his being to another world; but they have no power to set before him the actual realities of this world in their own proper form; their utterances, as we have already seen, are negative rather than positive in their character; and, for this reason, even the truth which they proclaim may be said to be wanting in full security and force. To the solemn question: "Where shall wisdom be found; and where is the place of understanding?" the answer they return is: "Man knoweth not the price thereof; neither is it to be found in the land of the living. The depth saith, It is not in me; and the sea saith, It is not with me. It cannot be gotten for gold, neither shall silver be weighed for the price thereof. It cannot be

valued with the gold of Ophir, with the precious onyx, or the sapphire." In other words, the true destiny of man, the proper end of his life, is something which, according to the testimony of the world itself, is not to be found in all that it contains, nor to be represented for a moment by its richest forms of wealth. It belongs to another order of existence altogether. "Destruction and death say, We have heard the fame thereof with our ears." Natural religion points darkly to God, as comprehending in Himself in some way what the case is felt to require, and brings all to the momentous conclusion: "Behold the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom, and to depart from evil, that is understanding." But to give full effect to this conclusion, the voice of revelation must be added to the voice of nature. The supernatural must make itself known, not as a notion or thought merely, but as an actual reality, comprehending in it the very end itself for which man is thus required to live. This has been done, as we know, by the Gospel; which is to be regarded as a single revelation, shining more and more "as a light in a dark place" through the times of the Old Testament, till it burst forth finally with full effulgence in Him who is the "sun of righteousness," who, by the mystery of his incarnation, became himself among men the full manifestation of the truth under a living personal form; who, by his death and resurrection, "brought life and immortality to light," and who now reigns "Head over all things to the Church," a Prince and Saviour at the right hand of God, to give repentance and remission of sins, redemption and eternal salvation, to all who draw near to God in his name. "God, who, at sundry times and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son."

To say now that this glorious Gospel of the Blessed God places the chief end of man, the only true and proper destination of his life, in an order of things which is above and beyond the present world, is simply to declare what no one in his senses pretends to dispute. The only difficulty is, that the sense and meaning of it in this view are so common, so universally at hand, so much a matter of course, that the thought, by its very familiarity, fails to gain with most persons any distinct attention. Not only is it assumed throughout, that the constitution of nature is destined to pass away, and that the soul of man is formed for eternity; but the ground is everywhere taken, also, that the world, as it now stands, is

under a curse, that the relation men hold to it naturally in their present state is the result of an original universal apostasy or fall, by which they have lost their proper relation to God and their right to eternal life, that it is in these circumstances under the power of Satan, and subject to a law of sin and death, and that there is no room, therefore, to conceive of any harmony or agreement between its interests and purposes, in such view, and the true last object of man's creation. All this comes before us abundantly in the general teaching of the Bible; but most of all, with overwhelming emphasis, in the actual life of our Lord Jesus Christ. In him we see the truth itself, confronted in living form with the fallen world in the midst of which he moved without sin; and in no other way, certainly, could the full sense of what this world is in its relation to our human life generally be so effectually brought home to our minds. He came to seek and to save that which was lost, by conquering death and him that had the power of death, and by revealing or bringing to pass in and through his own person the kingdom of heaven, in which room is made for the complete fulfilment of man's destiny in a higher order of life that shall never come to an end. In calling us to such glory and honor and immortality, the Gospel, in the very nature of the case, requires us to enter into his spirit, to walk in his steps, to propose to ourselves the same supernatural end, and to aim at reaching it by renouncing and forsaking the present world. "Seek ye first," it is said, "the kingdom of God and his righteousness."—"He that seeketh his life, shall lose it."—"The kingdom of heaven is like unto treasure hid in a field, the which when a man hath found he hideth, and for joy thereof goeth and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth that field."—"Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do; but I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: Fear him, which after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear him."—"One thing is needful; and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her."—"Sell that ye have, and give alms: provide yourselves bags which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief approacheth, neither moth corrupteth. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."—"For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?"—"Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth

on him that sent me hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life."—"I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die."—"These things have I spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace. In the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world." These are specimens merely of the way, in which Christ continually enforces the thought, that men are formed for an eternal destiny, and that this is to be reached only through himself as "the way, the truth, and the life," by giving up this world and living supremely for another. And so throughout the New Testament, the idea of Christianity is made to consist, especially, just in this, that we are saved from the vanity and misery of a simply natural life, and placed in real, felt communication with a life that is supernatural, of which Christ is the source and the Holy Ghost the medium, and which carries in it thus the sure guaranty of an everlasting victory over all the powers of sin and death and hell.

The true destiny of man, the grand object and purpose of his existence, being thus not in the present world at all, but in an order of things which is out of it, above it and beyond it, and so in relation to it strictly supernatural, it becomes at once, of itself, plain, that no one can live to purpose, who does not know and acknowledge this end in its own proper character, so as to make it, in reality, the governing power of his life. It is not enough that we have been created for such end; nor yet that we may see and feel the necessity of it, as something beyond this world. The case calls for purpose and will, in view of an object which is known to be real. This comes before us here in the form of a supernatural revelation, brought to its full accomplishment in Christ; and the power by which we are set in actual communication with it, is what we denominate faith, "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." Only where the soul comes to understand its true destination in this way, and is led to regard and follow it with active resolution as a supreme end, can there be room to speak of it as fulfilling, in any measure, the object of its existence. Human life universally must be regarded as a failure, no matter what it may seem to accomplish in any other view, if it be not ordered in harmony thus with its own proper purpose and design, as something which is to be reached in another world and not in the present.

This, then, is the summit of all education, the perfection of knowledge and wisdom, that a man should comprehend and practically pursue the true end of his being, by seeking first the kingdom of God and his righteousness. It is so, not simply from the worth of the object, in itself considered, as weighed against all other interests, but still more immediately, also, because it serves to bring into the soul, at once, order, harmony, light, freedom, and strength, by setting it in right relation to the law of its own life. All things are beautiful and strong in their place, only as they obey the law of their nature, stand in their appointed sphere, and fulfill their original destination; and so man, as made at first in the image of God and formed for immortality, can never be true to himself in any stage of his existence, in any sphere or department of his life, except as he is brought to live supremely for this supernatural end and no other. This is for him emphatically the *truth*, the fundamental reality of things as they are and ought to be, in the apprehension of which as a living fact consists the idea of all *wisdom* rightly so called. For wisdom, as distinguished from mere knowledge or science, has to do with actual life, with truth in its practical relations to the will, as well as in its merely theoretic relations to the understanding; and it necessarily reaches its highest form, accordingly, where it comes to the perception and acknowledgment of what is in reality the chief end of our life. Hence it is said, that the fear of the Lord, which is only another name for religion, or the practical sense of our relations to God and another world, is the beginning of wisdom; for the simple reason, that here begins, in fact, for man, all apprehension of that which is for him the actual truth of his own nature, and so the true sense and meaning also of the universe to which he belongs. The living sense of this comprehension in an economy which is higher than nature, and the issues of which belong to eternity, carrying along with it the practical submission of the soul to its authority, is literally both the commencement and the perpetual foundation and ground of all right thinking, no less than all right acting, on the part of men, in any and every direction. This is to be in the truth, and so to possess it under its own highest and only complete form, instead of having only the notion or shadow of it in the understanding. Such right posture with regard to the actual order and end of our own being is of more account than any condition besides, for understanding whatever pertains to the welfare and dignity of our life,

whether in this world or in that which is to come. "If any man *will* to do my will," our Saviour says,—if it be his mind and purpose to be thus in the truth—"he shall *know* of the doctrine, whether it be of God." And of the same import is that most significant word: "The light of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, the whole body shall be full of light; but if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness." All depends on the inward bent and habit of the soul with regard to its own proper destination, whether it be itself in conformity thus with the law of truth, or under the power of a lie. In this last case, the condemnation is, we are told, "that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil." Their unbelief is simply the result of their wish and determination to make the present world their end and portion. To men of this sort Christ says: "*Because* I tell you the truth, ye believe me not.—He that is of God, heareth God's words; ye *therefore* hear them not, because ye are not of God." The minds of such, according to St. Paul, are blinded by the god of this world, "lest the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them;" for which reason the reigning course of this world is said also, in another place, to be "according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience." St. John abounds in the same thought. Truth with him is always life. "We know that we are of God," he writes, "and the whole world lieth in wickedness. And we know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true; and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life." To be on the outside of this supernatural system of grace, in which is comprehended the highest relations and interests, and so the highest realities, of the proper life of man, is to be by that very fact involved in all falsehood and error. The error is not a false proposition simply, for the understanding; nor yet a partial mistake only of purpose and practice at some particular point; it embraces the entire man, mind, soul, and body, we may say, and turns his whole existence into a falsehood. He becomes by means of it, and remains continually, a *living personal lie*. What room can there be in a case so dreadful as this, to speak rationally of knowledge, learning, wisdom, under any different form? How can any amount of

science and culture avail to redeem from vanity, a life which is thus false throughout to its constitution, and which is itself no better than a hollow dream, and for which in this state the whole world must prove to be at last but shadow and sham? With what depth of meaning the Bible applies to every one, who is under the power of such a false life, the emphatic title *Fool!* All other forms of folly are in truth small, compared with this.

Here indeed is wisdom, the crowning excellency of all education, and of all knowledge and art besides, that a man should be in the truth, and know that which is for him in reality the deepest meaning of the universe, by having it for the very form of his own life. How easy it is to see, that the smallest measure of understanding in this form is of infinitely more worth, than the largest stores of learning or skill in any different view. What shall it profit a man, we may say, though he should know the whole world besides, and have no true knowledge of himself? What truth can there be in any other science or art for him, to whom the "light of life" is wanting in his own soul? We have no right to undervalue education and learning in any direction; and I have no disposition to do so certainly on the present occasion; but we must not shrink still from seeing and owning here what is after all, but the simple truth, namely, that no conceivable amount of such culture can deserve to be placed for one moment in comparison with the inward habit of piety which consists in fearing God and keeping his commandments. Without this, the greatest philosopher is less wise in fact than the unlettered rustic to whom it may belong. The science of the saints is something far more high and glorious than any mere learning of the schools. It has to do with vastly superior objects, moves in loftier and wider regions of thought, and brings into the soul an immeasurably clearer illumination. "The entrance of thy words giveth light," says the Psalmist, "it giveth understanding unto the simple." The revelation of the *Logos*, the Divine Word, by the mystery of the incarnation, "in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge," the most pure and perfect manifestation of truth in the world, was not to teach men the hidden secrets of nature, the laws of matter, the principles of government, or any other knowledge of this sort belonging merely to the present life, but to set them in right relation to God and their eternal destiny; something which for this very reason must be accounted of more consequence than any other kind of knowledge

which it is possible for them to possess. "In him was life"—not theory, merely, or outward doctrine—"and the life was the *light* of men," served to bring them into the truth itself under its highest form. "I am the light of the world," our Saviour says accordingly; "he that followeth me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." Such illumination is, of course, practical. There is no separation here between the understanding and the will. Knowledge is at the same time charity; without which, all gifts and accomplishments are pronounced by the apostle Paul to be of no worth whatever. With this comes also true freedom and strength. "If ye continue in my word," Christ says, "ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." To know, in this case, is to *be* at the same time in what is known; and it is easy enough to see, how such living union with the truth, such settlement and consolidation of the mind, on the true last ground of its own being, where it is set in harmony also with the will of God and the actual order of things, must prove at the same time, its happy emancipation, so far as this right order prevails, from all false authority and power; and how utterly impossible it is, I may add, that liberty should exist at all, or be anything more than an empty chimera, under any other imaginable character and form. And to be thus in the truth, is to be strong also in the only proper and full sense of the word. We often hear it said, that knowledge is power; and this is true to a certain extent, no doubt, of all merely secular knowledge, as related to the ends of the present life. It is more in this respect than money, which is power also in a very high degree. In our own day especially, science rules the earth, and is fast subduing it to the service of secular purposes and ends. But it is after all only where knowledge takes its highest form, in the character of that practical, heavenly wisdom, which consists in understanding and acknowledging the true end of life as something to be found only in God and the eternal world, that it comes to be, at the same time, what is truly comprehended in the idea of power for man. Short of this, all science and art are at best but triumphs of mind over matter, in the sphere of nature itself. What is really needed, however, is that the soul should be brought to surmount the life of nature altogether, to acquire the mastery of itself, and to overcome the world, in the prosecution of its own proper destiny beyond the grave. For every purpose of this sort, all such secular science and art are perfectly powerless. But here

precisely comes into view, the true nature and dignity of the power that is comprehended in a practical obedience to the truth as it is in Jesus Christ. Paul is beyond comparison greater than Alexander or Julius Cæsar. "He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty ; and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city." To walk in the Spirit, so as not to fulfil the lusts of the flesh, is more a great deal than to tunnel mountains and bridge vallies, curb the lightning and imprison steam, for the transitory uses of trade. "This is the victory that overcometh the world," says St. John, "even our faith. Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?"

No wonder, that this heavenly wisdom, carrying in it thus the highest perfection of man's life, should be so commended to our regard as it is in the Holy Scriptures, and that such glowing terms should be employed to set forth its praise. The price of it is indeed above rubies. The topaz of Ethiopia cannot equal it, neither may it be valued with pure gold. "Happy is the man that findeth wisdom, and the man that getteth understanding : For the merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold. She is more precious than rubies ; and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her. Length of days is in her right hand ; and in her left hand riches and honor. Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace. She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her ; and happy is every one that retaineth her."

The whole subject reveals to us the nature, necessity, and value of *Faith*. The chief end of man, the last meaning of his life, is not comprehended in the present order of things, the passing diorama in the midst of which he is here carried forward continually to the grave. It lies in another world, in a system of things which is beyond and above nature, and so beyond the range and reach also of all merely natural understanding and knowledge. To be known and felt at all then, this supernatural economy must be exhibited to us in the form of a Divine revelation ; which we are required to accept simply in this character, in order that we may make full proof of its power. Opinion, speculation, dreamy sentiment, in the case, are not enough. The world in question is not made up of negatives simply and abstractions, but of facts, realities, and actual living relations, which need to be apprehended as they are, that we may be saved by the sense of them from the vanity of our present life ; and this precisely is what is accomplished for

us by faith. Through the word of God, and especially through this word presented to us bodily in the person of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, it sets us in real communication with things unseen and eternal, and makes it possible for us to have such regard to them as we ought, in working out the fearfully solemn problem of life. It is not the product in any way of reason or logic. These so far as they are concerned with natural things, or with the order only of the present world, have no power to reach the supernatural; and so far as they may be capable of being exercised upon this also, *when known*, have no power ever to originate any such knowledge. Facts here, as always, must go before intelligence and thought; and knowledge consequently must follow faith. We see then the nature of this faculty. It is the power of being firmly assured, on the testimony of God who cannot lie, that there is such a world of grace and glory as is set before us by the Gospel, not to be seen by mortal eyes, but yet surrounding us at all points, and continually near at hand, in which, and in which only, is to be accomplished the true object and end of our existence. It is the power of acknowledging the supernatural, the miraculous, the real presence of possibilities, and powers, and actual operations, that go beyond all the resources of nature and surmount all its laws, in a new order of life which is made to be actually at hand in the mystery of the Church, through the death, and resurrection, and glorification of the Son of God. On the necessity and importance of this sublime capacity, this faculty of believing realities which transcend and confound sense, more need not be said. The case speaks for itself. If the true end of our life, and so its universal significance and worth, lie not in the present world but in another; and if all wisdom for us be comprehended in the practical perception and acknowledgment of our proper destination in such view; what terms shall sufficiently express the value of faith, the only power on our side by which it is possible for us to burst the confines of time and sense, so as to communicate with what is beyond in a real and not simply imaginary and notional way. In the nature of the case, it is the gift of God; and well does it deserve the title *precious*, applied to it by St. Peter; for it lies at the foundation of all that wisdom, whose price we have already seen to be above comparison, and is the source, in a certain sense, of every grace and perfection for the human soul. Without faith, it is impossible to please God, and in vain also to think of using life to good purpose in any other way. In such

condition, man appears necessarily incomplete always, his nature shorn of its proper glory, his mind looking forth upon us at best in dismal and dim eclipse. Let this thought sink deeply into your hearts. It is something greater really and truly to believe the articles of the Apostles' Creed, every one of which is a mystery transcending the whole order of nature, than to know all that is taught in the best colleges and universities of the land. No literary diploma can ever match in honor that word to Peter: "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven!" Of the same glorious distinction our Saviour speaks, when he says: "I thank thee Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes!" Well might that great student of Nature, the late Sir Humphry Davy, tired out with her same everlasting response to all the questionings of science, *It is not in me! It is not with me!* make the memorable declaration towards the close of his life, that he envied no man any other possession whatever, such as wealth, learning, or worldly distinction, but would cheerfully give all for the one simple privilege of being able to believe firmly and steadily the realities of another world. That indeed is something better than all knowledge, and power, and riches, and glory besides.

You need this habitual, practical sense of the supernatural, that you may not walk in darkness and miss the true end of life, regarded as a purely private and personal interest. But you need it no less, in order that you may be able rightly to understand the living world around you, and so be prepared to act a right part in it in your generation. No man is at liberty to live simply and only for himself. Least of all, we may say, is he at liberty to do so, on whom God, in his providence, has been pleased to bestow special gifts and powers, especially in the way of education. You have not been educated for yourselves alone, nor mainly, but for the use and service of others. The very idea of a liberal education forbids the thought of its being devoted merely to selfish purposes and ends, under the low base form particularly which these carry with them for the most part in the present world. It is degraded, profaned, and made grossly vulgar and illiberal, by every association of this sort. But to live for the world really and to purpose, we must have clearly before our minds its true constitution, the actual meaning of it, the fundamental law of its being, its absolute

destination and end ; just what we need, in one word, in the case of our separate personal life, that it may be ordered wisely and with effect. Self-knowledge here, and the knowledge of the world, condition each other, and go hand in hand together. If we look at the human world simply as a natural organization, a system of existence whose meaning and end hold mainly in the present life, our interest in it, our care for it, our devotion to its service, will assume necessarily a corresponding form. We shall lose our thoughts and calculations altogether in the sense of its temporal relations, and can hardly fail to make all at last of simply material interests. But if this hypothesis be in itself completely false, as we know that it must be in fact if Christianity be more than a dream ; if it be certain that the chief end and last destination of the human race, collectively taken, as well of the single man, is *not* in the order of nature at all, but in a strictly supernatural economy which holds above and beyond this ; then must all such thinking and acting as are conditioned by that other false and wrong supposition be themselves false also, not according to the actual truth of things, and so of comparatively no worth in the end. We must have firm faith in the invisible and eternal world, in the grand and glorious mysteries of the Christian creed, in order that we may have any firm position, or any sure and safe judgment, or any power of right speech and action, in our relations to the present world.

And especially may this be regarded as necessary, Young Gentlemen, for the particular period and time, in which you are called to live.

We hear much said, in glorification of the present age. It is fashionable in certain quarters, to speak of it as the perfection of all ages, and to magnify the spirit of it as better and greater than the spirit of any other period that has ever yet been known in the world. It is glorified as an age of knowledge, of freedom, of rapidly advancing civilization. It is an age of vast action and talk ; an age of astonishing discoveries and inventions ; an age in which the arts of peace are everywhere successfully cultivated, giving rise to visions of outward prosperity that never entered formerly into the human mind. It is an age of progress and reform, big with the idea of its own mission to rehabilitate man in the possession of his natural rights, and to bring to an end all sorts of political oppression and abuse. In no part of the world, moreover, may it be said to be more at home, than just here in America. The genius of

the age is emphatically the genius of this rising republic. Here it reigns on all sides with a power that seems to carry all before it, and which it is considered for the most part, a privilege to honor and obey. Happy, as the song runs, is the young man, who enters upon life, on American soil, in the middle of the nineteenth century! He has only to yield himself to the genius of the country, and the spirit of the age, that he may live to purpose and do well. Let him only spread out his canvass boldly and broadly to these favoring gales; they will waft his bark happily over the sea of life, and bring it finally to its right end.

Never was there, however, under such plausible form, a more perfect delusion. The age is *not* thus infallible and safe. On the contrary, it is made up, to a terrible extent, beyond most ages that have been, of falsehood and error, sophistry and sham. This becomes evident, just as soon as we bring the strong light of eternity to bear upon it, by making earnest with the thought, that man is formed for a supernatural destiny, and for the accomplishment of this requires a real redemption, that shall deliver him from the power of this present evil world, and engage him to follow after life and immortality in another. The spirit of the age is always at war in reality with the actual truth of things, as we find this exhibited in the Gospel and in the Church; there is a necessary contradiction between this world (*ο αἰών τῆς κοίτης τούτου*—the present *seculum*), and the kingdom of God; the course of the world is in and of itself “according to the Prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience”—in all those, namely, who do not submit themselves with the *obedience of Faith* to the mystery of salvation in Christ. But it is peculiar in some measure to our time, that the world in its own order affects to be itself now the very form in which the true ends and purposes of Christianity are to be reached. The spirit of the age, directly or indirectly, seeks to pass itself off as an angel of light, “flying in the midst of heaven, and having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people.” In its general character, however, it remains just what the same power has always been over against the true kingdom of Christ. It has no faith in the supernatural; except as this may be brought to resolve itself into some sort of gnostic abstraction or dream; in which form it professes to hold it in high account, taking credit to itself in so doing for its own

spirituality. But its spirituality, alas, ends always in mere spiritualism, the working of the simply natural mind pretending to soar above its own sphere of the flesh, but never getting out of it in fact. For the *Spirit*, in the sense of the Gospel, the supernatural under a real form, the mystery of the creed and of the Church, this eminently spiritualistic spirit of the age has no sense or organ whatever. It eschews all that, and holds it in abomination. This notion of the real presence of supernatural powers in the Christian Church for supernatural ends, involving as it does, necessarily, the subordination of the whole order of nature to a higher economy that can be apprehended only by faith, is precisely that which it has no power to endure; and the presence of which, wherever it may come seriously into view, proves always to be for it like the touch of Ithuriel's spear, causing it to start up instantly in its true antichristian shape. However bland, liberal, and sweet, it can show itself towards the Christian profession, so long as this may be content to walk arm in arm with it in the fellowship of merely secular interests and aims, such as useful knowledge, general education, good government, humanitarian philanthropy, and all sorts of moral reform, the whole case is at once changed the moment it is presumed in any quarter to make earnest with realities, which are supposed to reach into another world. Then your bland liberal is at once converted into an intolerant fanatic. If it were Mohammedanism, Mormonism, anything else under the sun, he could bear it and have some patience with it; but to be confronted in such style with what claims to be the actual presence of the supernatural as a real force in the world, having to do with the last and highest destination of men in another life, is more than he finds it possible for a wise man to endure—especially in the middle of the nineteenth century. It is to revive the superstition of the Middle Ages; to turn religion into mechanism and mummery; to open the door for priestcraft and spiritual despotism; to own a power on earth above civil government and the sovereignty of the State, which in this case, moreover, is generally taken to resolve itself finally into the sovereignty of the people. It is at once treason thus to the sacred cause of freedom, popular rights, political economy, and modern civilization generally; and so far as it prevails must serve to keep back the millennium of the world's regeneration under this temporal and natural order, God only can tell how long. Does not the spirit of the age do well to be angry with pretensions, which thus

stultify its highest wisdom and turn the whole pride of its life into open shame? If there be any truth in these pretensions, it stands convicted of being a wholesale universal lie; and to save itself from this, being secretly conscious in fact of its own falsehood, it has no alternative but to retort the charge on the source from which it proceeds, and then to rage and storm, calumniate and misrepresent, as it best can, for the purpose of giving it effect.

Tried in this way, the spirit of the present period is easily enough found to be predominantly set on natural interests and ends, as the chief purpose of man's life, to the exclusion of such as are supernatural. It is rationalistic, humanitarian, politico-economical. Religion itself is required by it to officiate in the service of the flesh, and eternity is made to stoop obsequiously to the behests of time. For the realities of faith are substituted the spectral phantoms of opinion—or the dismal *irony*, shall we call it, of demoniacal delusions. Materialism bears rampant rule on all sides. The true victory over the world for man, is held to be more and more, not by any such supernatural process of the Spirit as was dreamed of by saints and martyrs of the olden time, but by mastering the elements of nature, multiplying machinery, promoting the facilities of commerce and trade, and making the earth to serve, as widely as possible, the comfort and well-being simply of the present life. Man is held practically, if not in set theory, to be sufficient for his own ends, without the intervention of any higher help than that which is offered to him in his natural constitution. What he is supposed to need, is education, general knowledge, proper room for the exercise of his rights, the benefit especially of republican institutions, and the practice of the natural virtues in the name of religion. Secular ends, temporal interests, the judgments of the merely natural mind in the form of reigning fashion and opinion, are made the standard of truth, and applied as a measure even to the contents of revelation itself. In all directions the most solemn points of faith and duty are settled by principles and maxims, which overthrow the idea altogether of any positive authority in the world that is higher than the world itself. Religion ceases thus to be the daughter of the skies, and loses her holy mission in what must be considered at best, enthusiasm for a simply earthly ideal.

Striking and most truly instructive exemplification of this was presented not long since, when the spirit of the age seemed

to find for a moment among us a fit *avatar* in the form of LOUIS KOSSUTH, who appeared on our shores as a martyr of the Hungarian rebellion, and a representative of the general cause of revolutionary liberty throughout Europe. It is still but as it were the other day, since the ears of the whole nation were stunned with the noise of his presence, as he passed from one part of the country to another, in a sort of grand triumphal procession, the cynosure, seemingly, of all eyes and the idol of all hearts. Seldom indeed has the delirium of man-worship been carried to a more ridiculous and fulsome extent. His words were received as oracles of wisdom; his oriental bombast was taken for the inspiration of a prophet. To speak against him, or even to be ominously silent in his praise, was held to be little less than blasphemy towards God and treason to the dearest rights and interests of man. For was *he* not the incarnation of the holy cause of freedom, a full living personification of the glorious conception of man's destiny, which forms the very life and soul of the modern revolutionary spirit throughout the world? And did he not invoke besides the authority of the Bible, the genius of Christianity itself, as in full unison with his own mission and cause? Was he not a preacher of righteousness to the nations, and a new Messiah sent forth for their redemption and salvation? Why then should he not be worshipped and glorified, like Diana of the Ephesians, or the colossal image set up by Nebuchadnezzar on the plain of Dura! So for a time, as we all know, the furor ran. It was a perfect *stampede*, not of dumb cattle, but of rational and civilized men; which, however, like all stampedes, was doomed soon to come to an end. The practical tact, and sound common sense, of the nation, acted upon by a quick apprehension also, no doubt, of its own material interests, came in due time to its relief, and gave it power to see, finally, that it had been playing the fool. Then its idol was suffered to fall silently into contempt; and before the end of a single year took its departure, under the metamorphosis of "Mr. Alexander Smith," without so much of a *Good bye sirs!* as even to pay its landlady's bill. But after all, the main significance of humbug, regarded as a mirror of the reigning mind of the age, cannot be said to be overthrown by this explosion; for the explosion was not the result properly of any insight into the essential falsehood of the idea which Kossuth represented, but came to pass rather through considerations of expediency and interest which were connected with it only in an accidental way. It was

Yankee cunning, more than Christian principle, that turned the scale at last in favor of conservatism and common sense. His doctrine of "intervention" was found to be practically impolitic and unsafe; and so it was voted out of good company, and may be considered, for the present, as having gone its way. But the principle of it, the pretended Divine right of rebellion and revolution, the demoniacal idea that the people may upset all governments at their pleasure which do not happen to square with their own notions of liberty, has not been denounced as a general thing even by those who have taken most credit to themselves for opposing the use which it has been attempted to make of it in this way; and what is worst of all, the true relation of the whole affair to Christianity, would seem to remain still as much as ever out of view.

This is indeed deplorable. The political nonsense of the demonstration was as nothing, in comparison with the wrong it did to the religion of Jesus Christ; and until this be generally seen and felt, we have full right to refer to it as a picture, which is still of force to illustrate the subject now in hand—the wrong position, namely, and false spirit of the age, as tried by the supernatural standard of the Gospel.

It will be borne in mind, that a very active disposition was shown, on the part of the Protestant religious press generally and of the so called *evangelical* ministry in our leading cities, to identify the cause and spirit of the Hungarian chief with the very soul of Christianity itself. His notion of liberty was taken to be of one and the same order precisely with the freedom that is preached in the New Testament. His "brotherhood of nations" and "solidarity of humanity," were allowed to represent in good earnest the last aim of Christianity in the present world, as well as to overshadow completely its higher regards to another. Nothing could be clearer than the fact, that with him all faith in the invisible and eternal was the merest naturalism, and nothing more; that he saw in the Bible at best but a code of high moral maxims, capable of being turned to good account by the natural reason of men for social and particular ends; that socialistic or humanitarian philanthropism made up his whole conception of Christian charity; and that he was of one mind substantially, in his view of man's destiny, and of the problem of the world, with Ledru Rollin, Mazzini, and the leaders generally of the Red Republican movement in Europe.* In no one of his speeches, was there

* It would seem to need only the most ordinary spiritual discernment, to

expressed a particle of reverence for the Word made Flesh or for the mystery of the Holy Catholic Church. And yet in spite of all this, nay it might seem on the very strength of it, he was urged and encouraged from all sides to claim for his cause the special sympathy of heaven, and to consider himself a sort of living commentary on the inmost sense of the Gospel, as well as a martyr and confessor for its truth before the eyes of the whole civilized world. A little clap-trap in glorification of the Bible and Private Judgment, some show of respect for the Sabbath, (too thin to wear any time,) the compliment of attending church occasionally, (where he was not unlikely to have his ears tickled with something preached or *prayed* in his own praise) all joined with everlasting changes rung on the hackneyed and unmeaning themes of liberty, human rights, universal brotherhood, and the power of the world, if it were only let alone to govern and save itself, was enough, it seemed, and more than enough, to steal away the senses of his undiscerning religious admirers, and to gull them into the belief that he was a sort of hero and saint combined, who had been raised up specially by God to usher in a new era for Protestantism and *Evangelical* Christianity on both sides of the Atlantic. His interpretations of Scripture, generally flat enough, were listened to as though they were felt to drop from the skies. He was able, it appeared, to teach our divines theology, as well

see and feel the truth of this general charge in all his speeches. They are animated throughout by a spirit of Paganism, without the slightest tinge of Christianity. His memorable prayer, at the grave of the Magyar heroes who fell in the battle of Rapoynna, may stand as a fit monument of his mind in this respect. It runs thus:—"Almighty Lord! God of the warriors of Arpad! look down from thy starry throne upon thy imploring servant, from whose lips the prayer of millions ascends to thy heaven, praising the unsearchable power of thine Omnipotence. O God, over me shines thy sun, and beneath me repose the relics of my fallen heroic brethren; above my head the sky is blue, and under my feet the earth is dyed red with the holy blood of the children of our ancestors. Let the animating beams of thy sun fall here, that flowers may spring up from the blood, so that these hells of departed beings may not moulder undorned. God of our fathers, and God of the nations! hear and bless the voice of our warriors, and let the arm and the soul of brave nations thunder to break the iron hand of tyranny, as it forges its chains. As a freeman I kneel on these fresh graves: by the remains of my brothers. By such a sacrifice as theirs, thy earth would be consecrated, were it all stained with sin. O God! on this holy soil, above these graves, no race of slaves can live. O Father! Father of our fathers! mighty over myriads! Almighty God of the heaven, the earth, and the seas! from these bones springs a glory whose radiance is on the brow of my people. Hallow their dust with thy grace, that the ashes of my fallen heroic brethren may rest in peace! Leave us not, great God of battles! In the holy name of the nations, praised be Thy Omnipotence! Amen."

as our senators wisdom. Sayings and sentences from his lips on the subject of religion, now happily forgotten, were caught up as apothegms or gnomes pregnant with celestial wisdom, and sent whizzing and blazing like so many fire-balls through the length of the land. It was not enough for the religious papers to praise, laud, and bless his name, from week to week. Pulpits, in many cases, became profane and churches were desecrated, for the same end. Clerical delegations, in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington City, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, press into his presence for the very purpose of flattering his vanity, assuring him of their hearty sympathy, and bidding him God-speed in his revolutionary counsels and designs; and he is allowed, on the other hand, openly to accept these congratulatory addresses, as a formal sanction given in the name of religion, by its supposed authorized exponents, to his whole character and mission and doctrine, (*intervention* hobby and all,) as being in full accordance with the genius of Christianity, and in all respects true to the mind of its glorious and adorable Founder. Doctors of Divinity, and grave Professors of Theology figured, among others, in these demonstrations, and helped as they could, to give them solemnity and eclat. If Kossuth was not convinced of his own title to be regarded as an apostle of the last and deepest sense of Christianity for the men of the Nineteenth Century, it was not the fault, certainly, of those who thus threw themselves as the representatives of American piety in his way. They did all that could be well asked, to help him to this conclusion.

Now the misery of all this is, not just that so vast a blunder should have been committed in the name of religion, but that our religion should have been capable at all of being deceived, to so great an extent, in such gross way—and still more, that there should seem to be, even to this hour, so little sense of the true nature of the mistake. It is with the *ideal* which Kossuth was made for the moment to enshrine, far more than with the passing form of the shrine itself, that we are here concerned; and looking at this, we find occasion enough in the case for the most painful and gloomy reflection. What must we think of a Christianity, arrogating to itself the highest character of evangelical purity and truth, which could so easily and readily find what it took for its own image in the principles and pretensions of such a man! It was bad enough that he should be compared with Washington. But to make him a representative of the doctrine and spirit of Jesus Christ, to ac-

cept his rhodomontade about liberty, and philanthropy, and human rights, for the faith and charity which were preached by St. Paul, the lofty morals of St. Peter, or the divine breathings of St. John; to see in the *Gospel according to Kossuth* the likeness, to hear in it the echo of that glorious creed for which the martyrs and confessors suffered in ancient times: how shall we rightly characterize an infatuation so monstrous as this, or how shall we explain it so as to save the honor and credit of the cause that could be carried away by it to so lamentable an extent! Alas, the religious spirit of the age, as it reigns generally in our evangelical sects, could not have been thus egregiously imposed upon by so transparent a falsehood, (the demon of radicalism in such gossamer guise,) if it were not itself deeply and sadly infected with the power of the same lie. This is the portentous meaning of the transaction, which it well becomes every thoughtful mind to lay seriously to heart; and it is for the lesson it carries in it under such view, that I have considered it proper to hold it up for contemplation on the present occasion. May you be able to understand it well, and to bear it hereafter properly in recollection.

If you would understand your duty to the world, and be able to live for it to any purpose in your generation, it is necessary, first of all, that you should cultivate a firm and steady faith in the reality of its supernatural relations, and have regard continually to the destiny of man as formed for a higher state of existence. The great error of the age consists just in this, that it is not willing to acknowledge these relations except in a simply nominal way, and is led thus to ascribe to merely natural interests and secular ends, as connected with human life, an importance which does not belong to them in fact. This is done to a great extent in the name of religion itself; which is then always confounded more or less with zeal for such subordinate purposes and aims, while its own proper ends are in the same degree thrown into the shade. But no estimation of interests which belong only to this world, can ever be according to truth, or deserve to be relied upon practically, which is not conditioned by an active regard at the same time to the eternal destiny of men as that which is for them of supreme account. Nay, such lower interests, we may say, thus dissociated in thought from man's chief end, become in fact themselves false, take the form not unfrequently of demoniacal delusions, and are entitled to no enthusiasm whatever. Nothing can be more hollow and fallacious, for this reason, than

much of the declamation we hear about education, useful knowledge, liberty, free institutions, and the right of self-government, as though such privileges in the order of nature were to be regarded as in and of themselves the first thing needful for humanity, or might be allowed to rule and control the idea of its destiny in every higher view. Learn to hold all such declamation at its true value. Learn to distinguish well here, between the wisdom which comes from above, and that which is only from beneath. Have courage to see and own the truth. Socialism is not Christianity. It is not the design of the Gospel to subvert thrones and create republics. Secular ends are of just and right force, only as they are held in practical subordination to such as are supernatural and eternal; and they fall over necessarily to the dominion of Satan, the god of this world and the father of lies, wherever this proportion ceases to be observed. The smallest measure of faith is of more value, than any amount of useful knowledge. Education is no blessing, but only a curse to society, if it be not based upon religion, and animated throughout by the sense of its supreme authority in some positive form. Godless schools and colleges, Godless arts and sciences, as well as Godless political and social institutions generally, carrying in them a relation simply to the present world and its wants, and virtually ignoring the claims of another, deserve the abhorrence, and should excite the apprehension and fear of all good men. Not to see and feel all this, is itself a species of infidelity, which opens the way for the very worst disorders and mistakes. It is to set the natural practically above the supernatural; which is to deny in fact the reality of the last altogether. It is to make humanity in and of itself, as it now stands, sufficient for its own ends; which is such a lie as overthrows the whole Gospel, and necessarily turns into caricature all truth besides, by forcing it into false relations and proportions. Hence the universal affinity in which this style of thinking is found to stand with all sorts of rationalistic speculation, sectarian fanaticism, radicalism, socialism, and wild revolutionary republicanism of the most openly anti-christian stamp. Here we have in truth the veritable *Antichrist* of the present age. Learn to know him, and to be aware of his devices. If you are to live wisely for your generation, it will depend much, very much, on this one counsel well kept in mind.

Finally, to return again in conclusion, to what is more directly personal in the application of our theme, let me exhort

you all to be true to your own proper destination, by seeking first, each one of you, for himself, the kingdom of God and his righteousness. As it was said once by a distinguished artist, to account for the pains he took with his work, *I paint for eternity*; so let it be your care also, to live seriously and earnestly, not for the world, which is now rapidly passing away, but for that which is to come. Look not at things which are seen and temporal, but at things which are not seen and eternal. Lay yourselves out to know God, to serve Him in the Gospel of his Son Jesus Christ, and to enter at last into the rewards of his heavenly kingdom. Do not count yourselves unworthy of eternal life. Let no man take from you your crown—the crown of glory and immortality to which you are called by the Gospel, and which has been purchased for you by the death and resurrection of the Son of God. Here is an object worthy of your highest ambition and most active zeal, in comparison with which the most dazzling visions of glory in this world are of as little worth as so much dust or chaff. Let it not be to you as a tale only that is told, or as an empty dream. Seek to have firm faith in the grand and glorious mysteries of the Christian Creed, as realities which are to you of infinitely greater account than all events and facts besides. Be not satisfied, in a case of such unutterable consequence, with faint impressions and feeble purposes and aims. Meditate on your own supernatural destiny. Think much of the vanity of the world, the shortness of life, the certainty of death, and the solemn retributions of the world to come. It has been well said, that the thought of eternity, brought home to the soul from day to day, is for every man the thought of all thoughts, which, if it do not make him wise, must show him to be mad. It is a whole volume of wisdom compressed into a single word. Read it much, I charge you, and study it well. Read it especially in the light of the simple, but unspeakably sublime annunciation: "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." Read it through the living commentary of that illustrious cloud of witnesses, apostles, prophets, martyrs, confessors, saints of all ages and climes, whose faith has already received its reward and who now from their heavenly seats look down upon you with unceasing interest, and kindly beckon you to follow them in the path by which they have been themselves conducted to eternal glory. Read it above all at the foot of the Cross, where in the person of

Him who is the Truth and the Life, nailed upon it, crowned with thorns, covered with his own blood, and overwhelmed with reproach and contempt, the true sense of this world and the true sense of the next, the nothingness of the one and the infinite importance of the other, are brought into view as they could be by no representative besides. "Consider him that endured such contradiction of sinners" and "arm yourselves likewise with the same mind," that you may run the race of life with faith and patience to its proper goal, and receive at last the victor's palm and crown. "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap: for he that soweth to his flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting."

ART. III.—A VISIT TO THE DESERT AND THE DEAD SEA.

The whole land thereof is brimstone, and salt, and burning, that it is not sown, nor beareth, nor any grass groweth therein, like the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeböim, which the Lord overthrew in his anger and in his wrath.—*Deut. xxix. 23.*

Having spent the Easter week at Jerusalem, and the ensuing fortnight in visiting the antiquities of the Holy City and its environs, we were informed that a large party of travelers and pilgrims was forming with the intention of making an excursion to the Dead Sea and Jericho.

We gladly accepted the offer to join company with the American Missionaries, Rev. Dr. Lanneau, Dr. John B. Adger, of Charleston, S. C., Dr. de Forrest and their families, embracing thus the opportunity to visit, in perfect safety and pleasant society, those celebrated and highly interesting regions. We therefore instantly ordered saddle-horses and sumpter-mules, and made the necessary preparations for departure.

Wednesday, April 17th, 1844, the caravan assembled at noon, outside the Yafa-gate, where, on our arrival at the place of rendezvous, we met with a troop of twenty Turkish horsemen, whom the Pasha had sent as an escort. Their dress and arms were those of the Bedouins, and they were mounted on

fine and powerful steeds. A multitude of the Arab population of Jerusalem, had quartered themselves around us, to be present at the departure of the Frank pilgrims. At one o'clock, P. M., our party being assembled, and a large number of other pilgrims, horsemen as well as pedestrians, having joined us, we at last departed for the desert.

Passing along the valley of Gihon, we turned beneath Mount Zion into the valley of Ben Hinnom, and, leaving the fountain of Siloam on our left, soon reached the Ain-Rogel in the valley of the Kidron, through which we now continued our course in a southern direction. It was a beautiful, clear day, but very warm in the deep, narrow dell, surrounded by steep hills. The vineyards ceased suddenly below Ain-Rogel; but green corn-fields were still found in the valley and the rocks on both sides had artificial terraces covered with wheat and barley. Soon the mountains became totally barren, and but a few patches of cultivated land were seen now and then along the dry and stony bed of the Kidron.

Turning eastward and leaving the valley behind us, we ascended the mountains in the desert of Judah, from which we had a distant view of Jerusalem, thence appearing in all its desolation as "the city of the wilderness."

On the narrow path winding along the barren rocks, the straggling line of our caravan offered a very picturesque sight. Some Arab horsemen and the Frank travelers with their dragomans formed the van-guard, then came the *mukharieh* or muleteers, with the sumpter-mules and the pedestrian pilgrims, and another troop of Turks closed up the rear. We descended a second time to the valley of the Kidron, which, after taking a southern bend, turns eastward towards the Dead Sea; and suddenly we found ourselves in a pass encompassed by high and steep mountains, at one hour's ride from the Convent of Mar Sabas. On the southern ridge we discovered numbers of Bedouins riding to and fro; they set up a shout or yell, and dismounting and leading their horses by the bridle, they, to our utter astonishment, clattering and rattling among the loose stones, descended, or rather slid down along the apparently very steep side of the mountain toward the pass. Shots were now fired in all directions and a very lively scene began.

The Turkish troopers in the rear spurred their horses and hurried full gallop to the van; the travelers kept close together and loaded their pistols and guns, while the muleteers brought up the mules with great alacrity in order to keep pace with us.

As soon as the Bedouins arrived at the bottom of the valley, they mounted their horses, united with their companions on foot, who came springing down the rocks like goats, from all sides, and began the fire.

But it proved to be only a sham-fight and no serious attack. The seventy or eighty armed Arabs, who attempted to stop us in the pass, belonged to the tribe Taamirah, who at the time had pitched their camp on the hills eastward of Bethlehem. They were at peace with the Turkish government at the time; and came in this war-like style to demand a present or bakhshish for the unmolested passage, and to offer their services to the travelers. In case we had been few and unarmed, we should certainly have lost our tents and baggage. But as they found us with an escort and well prepared to receive them, a short parly soon settled the affair, and the whole caravan, with the Bedouins hovering around it, slowly advanced toward the Convent. On turning round a precipitous rock, we had before us a road in good repair, with a stone parapet on the left, toward the steep descent to the valley of Kidron; and at the distance of half a mile we beheld a high tower on the southern ridge, and soon another massive turret made its appearance on the steep brink above the valley, forming the *keep* or stronghold of the convent, the walls of which descend from one terrace to another along the offsets of the mountain down to the dell. The whole mass of castellated walls with towers and battlements, presents the picture of an old baronial castle of the middle ages. The Bedouins hurrying forward, set up their usual clamor: *Ateni el-chabs*, "give us some bread," and squatted down crosslegged on the rocks opposite the convent, with their fire-locks resting on their laps.

We descended a winding road to the low iron gate of the upper range of the walls; but the Greek monks from the battlements called out to us in Arabic, to continue our descent to the lower terrace, where we dismounted and the English gentlemen sent their dragoman with letters of introduction from the Greek vicar in Jerusalem to parley with the friars and ask admittance for the night; still the Greeks refused to let in the travelers, fearing the presence of the Bedouins. The violent gesticulations of the *Kalogeri* from the battlements, and the angry expostulations of the gentlemen below having continued for a while without any satisfactory result, I went to the wall and accosting the Cenobites in their own modern Greek language, told them: that nowhere in Europe or in Asia the Greek

Kalogeri, so well known for their hospitality, ever used to shut their doors against Christian pilgrims, assuring them at the same time that our guard was strong enough to repel any attack of the Bedouins.

The fathers, hearing that Greeks were in the party speaking their own native tongue, instantly offered to open the gate for the "Milordi," but obstinately refused to admit the ladies of the party and the Turkish troopers. In vain I remonstrated with them that ladies and female pilgrims often had obtained permission to occupy the strong square tower lying opposite on the southern hill, and that in consequence it was termed *gynaicopyrgos*, or ladies tower; but the bearded gentlemen opening a trap-board on a pinnacle of the battlements lowered a basket with the letter of the vicar of the Greek convent at Jerusalem, that I might be convinced of the categorical prohibition to lodge women in the convent or yonder tower.

The order was indeed peremptory and we were thus obliged to rest satisfied with the offer made. The English officers and some French pilgrims then entered with their dragomans and left the rest of the party outside. We were now obliged to take care of the ladies, and began to pitch the tents on the lower terrace, close to the walls, while the Turks formed their bivouac at a greater distance.

Evening was setting in; the sun sank behind the western mountains, for a moment illuminating the dark and frowning cliffs around us with a purple glare which soon was followed by the profound obscurity of the night. The Turks and muleteers had lighted their watch fires along the terrace; and sitting around in their striped garments, with their yellow head-gear (*kefieh*) hanging down over their wild and sun-burnt faces, and their glittering arms, their appearance was striking, and formed groups well adapted to the pencil of the painter. We then sat down to supper before the tents; and having engaged four or five Bedouins to accompany us next day to the Dead Sea, the rest of them returned to the mountains, and we passed the night in perfect safety.

Early next morning I visited the convent. It is built on the southern brink of a deep glen, at the bottom of which lies the dry, stony bed of the Kidron. This mossy old structure is surrounded by high battlemented and turretted walls with buttresses of immense strength projecting toward the steep brow of the precipice, which overhangs the valley, while the only avenue to the convent is the winding path descending

from one terrace to another to the above-mentioned iron-grated doors.

Through the upper gate we entered a court-yard, which serves as a stable for the horses and mules of the pilgrims, whence we descended by a flight of broad stairs to the small, neatly paved square below, in the middle of which stands a chapel, containing the tomb of St. Sabas. It is richly ornamented in the Byzantine style. The interior vault of the cupola has a fine ancient mosaic representing the Saviour. The altar, lamps and sepulchre, are kept with a neatness seldom met with in the convents of Greece. Opposite the chapel stands the large church of St. John of Damascus, which has been rebuilt within a few years with great splendor, and we were highly astonished, here in the midst of the dreary desert, to find a magnificent Greek church, adorned with gilt mosaics, Byzantine paintings, silver lamps and vari-colored marbles. The monks led us to the most ancient oratory in the grotto of St. Sabas, where, in a deep niche, behind a lattice, are seen heaps of mouldering skulls and human skeletons, belonging to some hundreds of monks and hermits, who, according to the tradition of the convent, were murdered by the Saracens, in their dwellings in the Kidron valley, several centuries ago.

We then returned to the inner court and paid a visit to our companions, the English gentlemen, who had left us so abruptly the evening before to pass a comfortable night at the convent. We found them at breakfast in the snug little parlor carpeted and cushioned in the manner of the orient, where guests of distinction are lodged. From the window, we had a wide and most dreary view of the high, frowning rocks and innumerable grottoes of the valley of the Kidron; the eye follows all the sinuosities of the gloomy dell, but distant ridges cut off the prospect of the Dead Sea.

Among the Greek friars attending the British pilgrims at the table, I met with a handsome young priest, Papa Karalambos by name, who spoke his native language more correctly than is generally the case with the Greek monks in Palestine, and who took a good deal of interest in the recent political movements of Greece, of which he appeared to be well informed. He was a Macedonian, who had been educated in one of the numerous monasteries of Mount Athos—*Agion Oras*—and afterwards passed several years in the convent of Mar Sabas. He accompanied me to the eastern terrace, whence we descended by a flight of stairs to the cave, wherein, according to tra-

dition, St. Saba, during his meditations, was surprised by a gigantic lion, who suddenly made its appearance, but retired without molesting the holy man. No fountain is to be met with, neither in the convent nor in the environs, but it is copiously provided with large and deep cisterns, which with extraordinary expense, have been sunk in the rocks and carefully vaulted over; the water is cool and salubrious. At the time of our visit, only thirty-six Kalogeri inhabited the convent, but more than two hundred might be quartered and provided for. Numerous cells are cut in the rock and flights of stairs lead from one story to another. The monks of St. Sabas distinguish themselves by order and cleanliness; they have a certain exterior dignity and a grave deportment, which will be sought for in vain in other monasteries in Greece. They likewise seem to be rather industrious in their seclusion. With the earth from the valley beneath they fill their artificial terraces on the rocks, and thus form garden-beds which are daily watered and cultivated with different beautiful flowers and shrubs, such as *Melia Azedarah*, whose fine violet flowers we saw in full bloom, and a variety of vegetables, constituting the principle dish on the table of Greek monks, who, according to their rule, never eat meat. They offered us a breakfast *a la grecque*, consisting of salad (*maruli*), onions and other herbage, white bread and the strong wine from the valley of St. John in the desert.

A terrace leads up to a slender wooden tower used as a bell-fry,* from the top of which, I had a melancholy view of the sombre, phantastical rocks, on all sides encompassing this abode of the desert. The stony valley of the Kidron forms a brook only during the rainy season in winter. It lies more than two hundred feet below the convent. The caverns and grottoes along the steep northern ridge were inhabited by thousands of hermits during the fifth and sixth centuries of our era. On the South and West are seen the watch-tower and the walls with immense buttresses edging the precipices—and within, the irregular terraces, courts, cells, chapels and the church of St. John form a view which is as picturesque as it is singular, and beyond the power of description.

It was a gray, lowering morning; the Eastern winds had

* The Christian churches and convents in Turkey have no bells, but use instead of them metal plates (*simantra*.) The only monasteries, which enjoy the privilege to toll with clocks, are the Greek convents on the promontory of Athos in Macedonia and the Syrian convent Canobin, on Mount Lebanon, where the patriarch resides. *

brought up the mists of the Asphaltic lake, which were now hanging on the surrounding peaks and enveloped the horizon with a dim, hazy veil. I never beheld a more dismal and colorless landscape, than the dark brown rocks, the fallow walls and buildings, the gloomy glen and the lead-colored sky here presented. Neither trees nor bushes are seen, except a lonely palm-tree rearing its beautiful crown near the bellfry. Nor was there any trace of animal life, save an eagle sailing high above the valley, and spying the numerous pigeons, now inhabiting the caves of the ancient martyrs.

The poor Kalogeri live in a continual feud with the Bedouins of the desert, and are often exposed to their attacks. Even as late as 1834, during the insurrection against Ibrahim-Pasha, the Arabs found an opportunity of surprising the monastery, where they pillaged the stores, and committed many depredations. Since then greater care is taken, and a sentinel, continually relieved from among the fathers, has his stand on the high watch-tower in the South West, whence the view extends over the surrounding wilderness. The opposite tower in the South East, standing on a high rock, (where female pilgrims sometimes are quartered,) was formerly considered as a strong out-work, defending the principal entrance of the convent. When the Arabs, driven by hunger, besiege the cloister, loaves of a coarse bread, kept in store for the purpose, are thrown out to them from the battlements.

Deir Mar Sabas is often mentioned in the earlier times of ecclesiastical history. Towards the middle of the fourth century, the monk Hilarion from Egypt introduced the monastic rule in Palestine, where the enthusiasm for the secluded, ascetic life soon became general, and began to people the wilderness with Anchorites. St. Sabas was the first recluse in the valley of the Kidron. He was born in the village Mutalascas, near Cæsarea in Cappadocia, A. D. 438.† His father, Conon, having a command in the Isaurian troops, went in service to Alexandria, and the young Sabas retired early to a monastery, where he distinguished himself by his religious studies and the austerity of his discipline. As a youth he came to Jerusalem and lived afterwards in a cave in this valley, where a multitude of pilgrims soon settled around him, attracted by his unblemished character and the virtuous course of his life. Having been ordained presbyter by the patriarch of Jerusalem in the year 491, he united the hermits in the *Laura* or communion,

† Cyrill. Scyth. Vita Sabæ in Cotelerii Monum. Eccles. Græc. vol. ii.

which still bears his name.† Sabas was very active ; on a hill in the North East, where he discovered ancient vaults, he instituted a convent and a church, and acquired corn-fields and vineyards at Jericho. He extended and fortified his Laura in the valley of Kidron with walls and towers, built, with the assistance of his two brothers, who were clever architects, the ancient church of our Lady, in the grotto, excavated tanks and reservoirs, established a hospital for pilgrims, near the castle of David, in Jerusalem, and received a great number of Syrian and Armenian monks. But he did not long enjoy the benefit of his indefatigable activity. The spirit in the oriental monasteries during that age, where Syrians, Greeks and Armenians lived together, was turbulent and seditious. Violent dissensions arose and an open rebellion broke out in the Laura against the energetical and austere Sabas. He yielded to the storm and withdrew to the valley of Hieromax, near Gadara, where he dwelt some time as a hermit, and a report was spread that he had been devoured by the lions. On his being reinstated in his monastery by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Elias, sixty of the most turbulent monks, destroying his tower and oratory and committing many acts of violence, retired to the hill Tekoa, S. E. of Bethlehem, where they built a new Laura; but the feuds and religious controversies among the monks of the desert, continued for many years after the death of Sabas. He died in A. D. 532, during the reign of Justinian the I., and was interred at the chapel in the cloister-alley, where, according to tradition, he had the vision of a fire-column descending from heaven. His sepulchre, however, is a cenotaph for his bones which were afterwards transported to Rome.

The impulse being thus given to his excrescence of religious life in the east, monachism spread like wild-fire over all Syria and Palestine. In the gloomy valley of the Kidron many thousands of coenobites lived together in the grottoes on the precipitous mountains which extend down to the Dead Sea. Dangerous mountain-paths, or steps, cut out in the smooth lime-stone rock, lead up to them. The interior often contains niches or by-rooms and other traces of earlier inhabitance, like the troglodytic dwellings in the Waddy Hamam near Tiberias and in the Val d'Ispica on Sicily.

† *Laura* signifies properly a lane or alley, where the hermits dwelled in the caves and grottoes around. In a later period, living together in the same dwelling according to a strict monachal discipline, it was called coenoby or monastery. These monasteries were introduced during the reign of Theodosius the II. by Pachymius.

Neither the seclusion nor the poverty of those harmless solitaries could protect them against the depredations of the roving Saracens. During the war between the Persian king Cosroes the II., and Byzantine emperor Heraclius, while the Persian army besieged Jerusalem in the year 614, the convent of St. Sabas was surprised and pillaged by a swarm of Saracens.* The greatest part of the monks saved themselves by flight; but forty-four of the more devout, who could not be persuaded to abandon the sanctuary, were tortured and then slaughtered by the Arabs, and their relics were afterwards solemnly interred by the patriarch Modestus. The festival of the forty-four martyrs is still celebrated through all the Orient on the 15th of May.

At eight o'clock in the morning, April 11th, our large company again assembled on the terrace before the convent, while our dragomans struck the tents and made everything ready for departure. The Monks had told us, that there were two different roads from Deir Mar Sabas to the Dead Sea and Jericho. The one continues for a while through the valley of the Kidron, then following along the western cliffs, it descends on the north of the promontory el-Feshkah to the fountain of the same appellation, Ain el-Feshkah on the N. W. coast of the Dead Sea. This path, though the most picturesque, is longer and more rough than the second through the pass of Kuneiterah, generally used by the monks and pilgrims. The muleteers, therefore, declared it to be impossible, with so heavy a baggage and so large a company, to undertake this dangerous roundabout way, which was chosen only by the light Bedouin horsemen. I then proposed that some gentlemen, who were well mounted, accompanied by a few Turks, might undertake the interesting excursion along the cliffs, and the rest of the party with the mules, strike into the more commodious road North, through the mountains; in the afternoon we might unite again on the shores of the Dead Sea, and thence return to our night quarters at Jericho. But this was objected to by the Turkish troopers, who asserted that the marauding Bedouins rendering the road unsafe, the company could not be permitted to separate, and they had been ordered by the Pasha in Jerusalem to take us along the pilgrim-road to Jericho. The proposition was

* Ismaelitae ad nostrum accesserunt monasterium, una septimana antequam sancta civitas fuisset occupata; vide: *le Quien Oriens Christ.* Vol. iii. page 259. The church of Ascension on Mount Olivet, which had been burnt down by the Persians, was restored by the patriarch Modestus in A. D. 615.

thus abandoned and the whole caravan, now consisting of some eighty persons, passed for a while up the Kidron, then crossing its dry bed we ascended the hills in a N. E. direction. These mountains, undulating like the waves of the ocean, are intersected by deep gullies, which we passed on horseback without any difficulty; but a lady of our party, who being afraid of mounting a pony, had preferred a litter swinging on a mule, suffered very much from the alternate rapid ascents and descents along the ravines and the fearful prospects of the precipice from the narrow path; though the pace of the mules in that country is so sure, that no real danger could be apprehended. This mountainous tract, the desert of Juda, is bare, bleak and dreary, presenting everywhere yellow rocks and gray sand; no trees are seen, a few shrubs grow here and there on the slopes, and the intervening dells, are covered with arid grass and some green bushes of cistus. We stopped at an ancient well walled up with stones, an hour's ride from the convent, where the mukkarieh drawing water with their leather-buckets and filling a stone trough at the mouth of the well, watered our thirsty horses. The Arabs called this well Bir-Mousa or the well of Moses, and as there is no well to be found in the valley of Kidron far and near of the convent of Mar Sabas, it occurred to me that it might be the Heptastomon or seven-mouthed well, mentioned in the life of Sabas by Cyrillos, being fifteen stadia from the Laura on the Kidron, and that the convent be built on the hill Kastellion might have been situated in the neighborhood, on the direct road to Jericho.

Another conjecture I will venture, is, that this Bir-Mousa may be the En-Shemesh, (Well of the Sun) mentioned in the Scriptures. The border between Benjamin and Juda went up north toward Gilgal and south to En-Shemesh, whence it was continued to Ain-Rogel. In another place it is stated, that the border in a contrary direction, from West to East, through the valley of Ben Hinnom to Ain-Rogel, "was drawn from the North (running southward) and went forth to En-Shemesh."* Thus it appears to be evident that the border of the tribes of Benjamin and Juda left Gilgal (S. E. from Jericho) in the North and went along the western mountains of the Ghor on the ancient road, which is still used between Jericho and St. Sabas, to the Bir-Mousa, and then followed the valley of the Kidron to Ain-Rogel and the valley of Ben Hinnom.

* Josh. 15: 7. *cf.* 18: 16-17.

This elucidation of the Hebrew text, in perfect conformity with the topography of the valley of the Kidron and of the Bir-Mousa, has been approved of by one of the ablest commentators on Scriptural antiquities, Professor Hermanson, of the University of Copenhagen, and is corroborated by the opinion of Rev. Dr. E. Robinson, who, in his classical work on Palestine supposes the En-Shemesh to have been either the fountain of the Apostles below Bethany or the fountain near the convent of St. Sabas.*

From the heights above Bir-Mousa, we for the first time had a distant view of the Dead Sea and the towering mountain ridge beyond it in el-Belka, the ancient Moab. Beneath us a level table-land extended eastward, sinking down toward the steep, precipitate cliffs, skirting the western shore of the lake, the highest of which is the prominent Ras el-Feshka. The sky had been clouded in the morning, but now it began suddenly to clear up and the warm and glowing coloring diffused a marvellous splendor over the dusky rocks around us, while the deep mirror of the Dead Sea lay glittering in the East. On the northern hills toward Jericho we distinguished the white cupola of the Veli Neby-Mousa or sepulchral chapel of the prophet Moses, where, according to a curious Moslem tradition, Moses is supposed to be buried. Not far off on the East a heap of ruins was visible on a conical hill, but we had no time to divert from our course for their examination. From the lower terrace of the dreary table land, we now descended to the pass of Kureiterah. This defile winds along a mile or two, encompassed by high chalky hills, partly covered with arid grass and stunted bushes, having a deep glen on the left of the path and opens upon the plain of the Jordan. All at once the mountains recede and the most beautiful view presents itself upon the northern coast of the Dead Sea, bounded by the high mountains of Moab, upon the broad *Ghor*, or valley of the Jordan and the river, which at this distance is discernible by the green stripe of thickets and groves, overgrowing its banks down to its discharge in the lake.

The pilgrim-road runs North along the western mountains toward Jericho and Jordan; we therefore dispatched the muleteers with the baggage, accompanied by some Turkish troopers, directly for the famous fountain of Elisha, where we intended to encamp for the night, while the whole mounted party, ladies

* Biblical Researches in Palestine. Boston: 1841; Vol. I, page 493.

and gentlemen, turned their horses' heads in a south-easterly direction and gaily spurred away for the Dead Sea. Descending from the pass along the broad slope toward the shore, the huge wild crags of the precipitous Ras el-Feshkah rose more than a thousand feet above the lake and though the eye of the wanderer does not discern any habitation, nor any human being within its ken, still the plain now assumes a less wild and dreary appearance. We passed through thickets of accasias, tamarisks, and a low tufted tree with a fruit like the sorb apple of Italy and Greece, which afforded a momentary refreshment to the fatigued travelers, who had now been more than five hours on horseback beneath an almost burning sun. In these groves we remarked the beautiful fruit of the *Solanum sanctum*, which by the Swedish naturalist, Mr. Berggren, and others, is supposed to be the apples of Sodom, about which Josephus the historian, in his poetical and exaggerated description, says: "that resembling eatable fruits in color, on being gathered with the hands, they are dissolved into smoke and ashes." This fruit resembles a small round apple: it has a delicate lemon-colored peel and is filled with small black kernels.*

The part of the plain through which we were riding, is often mentioned in Scripture and termed "the wilderness of Judah," which extended along the western shore of the Dead Sea, the plain of Jordan and the mountains of Judah toward Jerusalem and Jericho. During the rebellion of Absalom, David on his flight from Jerusalem crossed the Kidron and withdrew to the banks of the Jordan and said: "I will tarry in the plain of the wilderness;" but not being secure there he passed over Jordan to gather his army in Gilead.† From the description of Josephus, it appears that this region between Jericho and the Asphaltic lake was then as stony and barren as it is now.

At one o'clock, P. M., we arrived on the North shore of the lake, one hour's ride West of the mouth of Jordan, and we plainly recognized the long, low tongue of land, that runs out into the Sea on the western side of its embouchure. All along the eastern coast rises an uninterrupted table-land, the mountain-ridge, termed Pisgah in the Scriptures. This, as seen here from the sea shore does not present any detached peak,

* Berggrens Resor, Stockholm: 1826-28, vol. ii. append. page 69. Different opinions prevail about the apples of Sodom, vide: *Biblical Researches* of Rev. Dr. Robinson, vol. ii., page 285 et seq.

† II. Sam. 15: 23, 28. 16: 2. 17: 16, 22.

projecting from the nearly level line of the highland, that might be considered as "Mount Nebo, the top of Pisgah over against Jericho," where Moses died. The general coloring of the landscape was a ruddy brown or violet, relieved by dark blue streaks, the reflection of the azure sky, indicating the deep dells or chasms, overgrown with a rich and exuberant vegetation, running down to the shore. The height of this eastern chain of mountains exceeds two thousand feet. Quite different and much wilder and sterner is the character of the western cliffs from a height of 1500 feet overhanging or sinking precipitously down into the sea and running out into far projecting capes. The nearest of the promontories is the above mentioned Ras el-Feshkah. More distant appears Ras el-Mersed, behind which is situated Ain-Jidy. Southward the unbounded level of the sea lay expanded before us, as the southern coast is very low and the more distant mountains, receding toward the Idumæan desert, could not be seen from our point of view, being hid by the promontory of el-Mersed.

The shores are sandy and strewn over with pebbles, and gravel. Every where are seen blackened trunks and branches of trees, which the Jordan has carried down into the sea and the waves washed up on the sands. Along the strand extends a thicket of tamarisks, willows and high cane-brake, forming dense hedges around the fountains, which take rise near the coast.

The dark-green lake, the distant violet mountains and the clear, deep-blue sky combined together in a most romantic and highly colored picture, and it was but the heavy dash of the sluggish waves on the beach and the disagreeably bitter saltiness of the water, that reminded us of our gazing on the Sea of Malediction and of Death.*

From the times of remote antiquity down through the middle ages, so many wonders have been fabled about the wild, inanimate scenery of this lake, about its uninhabitable shores, its dangerous exhalations, and the sulphurous vapors, wherein this infernal pool was supposed eternally to be enveloped, that the traveler might well be willing to imagine it to be situated in the profound crater of an immense volcano, surrounded by all the horrors of nature. He will, therefore, feel a pleasant disappointment, when from the tamarisk grove on the northern

* During the middle ages the Salt Sea was termed *mare maledictum*, and *mare diaboli*. The Arabs still call it Bah'r el-Lut: the sea of Lot.

shore he contemplates a magnificent lake, the scenery of which, as to the variety of its colors and the grandeur of its outlines presents one of the finest views he ever saw.

At the time of our visit no exact admeasurements of the sea had been published, though it appears that English engineers in 1841 had taken a military survey of all Palestine. The length of the sea is generally given approximately at forty miles and its breadth from ten to twelve miles, which it retains for the greater part of its length. On the North West it is somewhat narrowed by the projecting promontory el-Feshkah; and on the South East the chalky mountains of Moab form a large peninsula having twelve miles in length and eight in breadth. This peninsula and the southern coast, the salt-plain, is inhabited by an Arab tribe, which has other settlements on the eastern coast and in the valley of the Jordan on the North. On the precipitous western shore, was situated in ancient times the city of En-Gaddi, mentioned by St. Jerome as a large borough in his days, and the Arabs still possess gardens and cultivated fields around the copious fountain Ain-Jidi, (the goat spring,) which bursts forth beneath the picturesque and historically interesting defile of Ziz. Farther North are several fountains surrounded by a luxuriant vegetation. The banks of the Jordan are covered with thickets of trees and reeds, nor do the glens of the Moabite mountains on the East appear to be less verdant, though the shores are almost unknown. These facts plainly demonstrate, that the coasts of the Dead Sea, are inhabited and not devoid of all vegetable life. Fishes do not live in it; snails, muscles and other shell-fish are brought down by the Jordan, and the great distance at which they are found from the edge of the water, denotes the extraordinary vehemence of the storms that convulse the sea during the winter season. Numerous flights of birds lodge in the crags near the springs and in the tamarisk grove on the northern coast, and fly boldly across the lake; swarms of locusts from the plain attempt it in vain and sometimes find their death in the waves. The few insects we saw appeared languid and crept feebly along among the jungles.

The two mountain chains, that on the East and West encompass the Dead Sea, are of a calcareous formation. On the Bazar before the church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem, an American merchant showed me, among other curiosities from the Sea, some pretty goblets of a black basalt, which he said came from the rocks of En-Gaddi, but this was perhaps an in-

vention, in order to attach higher importance to his merchandize, no modern traveler having yet found basaltic stones in the environs of the lake. At many places is seen an ash-colored lime, mixed with salt and nitre, stones covered with a white salt-crust, and large heaps of stones with layers of bitumen chalk and flint, covered over with crystalized salt; near these grow patches of salt-plants, such as *salsola* and *solicornia*. At the Tank of Abraham (Birket el Khulil) on a shallow bay, beneath the western precipices the brine from the lake evaporates and deposits a solid surface of salt, which the Arabs collect, load on their camels, and transport to the tribes of the desert. On the southern salt-plain rises the interesting mountain-ridge of Uzdum, with beautiful precipices of pure crystalized fossil salt. Large lumps of sulphur are found along the coast, particularly in the neighborhood of the fountains. On the eastern bank, north of the peninsula, the ancient hot sulphur springs of Kallirrhoe are still used by the Arabs, who call them the baths of Moses, David and Solomon. Bitumen (asphaltum) from the sub-marine slime-pits, rises in huge masses, on the surface of the southern parts of the lake, particularly after earthquakes, and is cut up and sold by the Bedouins at the ports of the Mediterranean.*

In the valley of the Jordan, and on the shores of the Dead Sea, a tropical climate prevails, which, during the heat of summer, is very unhealthy, and causes frequent fevers; in consequence of which, the Arabs inhabiting the environs of the lake, look pale and sickly. The deep depression of the lake, walled up by high, parched cliffs, in so torrid a climate, must necessarily occasion an extraordinary ebullition and exhalation of vapors; still we find a great deal of exaggeration in the marvellous reports of the ancient pilgrims and crusaders about the pestiferous evaporations of the sea. From the Mount of Olives I have often beheld the sea enveloped in mists, particularly dense during the morning, and the Greek monks at the convent of St. Sabas likewise declared the light clouds that hung over the valley on the morning of our visit, as rising from the salt sea, adding at the same time, that these morning mists, though frequent during spring and summer, do not carry any pernicious vapors along with them, and therefore, in the abstract, do not exercise any detrimental influence on the atmosphere of these regions.

* See the interesting particulars in Rev. Dr. Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, vol. ii. page 228 et seq.

The traveler, in his descent of seven hours, from the height of Jerusalem, to the shores of the Dead Sea, is astonished at the steep declivity of the mountains, and the sudden change of the temperature in the plain. It has, therefore, long been admitted, that the Valley of the Jordan and the Sea lay deeply depressed between the two mountain-ridges, emerging from Mount Hermon on the Anti-Lebanon; but it was not until the year 1837, that English and German naturalists, by repeated thermometrical and barometrical observations made the important discovery of the *deep depression of this region beneath the level of the Mediterranean*. This was confirmed the following year by the Austrian geologist Russegger, who found the depression of the Dead Sea to be 1300 Parisian feet, and by the exact trigonometrical measurement of the English engineer, Lieutenant Symonds, in 1842, the depression of the Dead Sea has been fixed at 1337, and that of the Lake of Tiberias at 84 feet below the level of the Mediterranean.

The great difference of 1253 feet here stated, which, as it appears, has been ascertained by actual admeasurement of the relative levels of the lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea, and consequently the extraordinarily rapid descent of the Jordan in the short distance of one degree, or about 70 miles, without exhibiting any cataract or fall, is still doubtful and requires farther elucidation.

From the letters of Lieut. Lynch, quoted by Lieut. Maury, we transcribe the following interesting facts elicited by the exploration:

"The bottom of the northern half of this sea is almost *an entire plain*. Its meridional lines at a short distance from the shore scarce vary in depth. The deepest soundings thus far 188 fathoms (1128 feet.) Near the shore the bottom is generally an incrustation of salt, but the intermediate one is soft mud with many rectangular crystals—mostly cubes—of pure salt. At one time Stellwager's lead brought up nothing but crystals. The southern half of the sea is as shallow as the northern is deep, and for about one fourth of its entire length the depth does not exceed three fathoms, (18 feet.) Its southern bed has presented no crystals, but the shores are lined with incrustations of salt, and when we landed at Uzdom, in the space of an hour, our foot-prints were coated with crystallization. The opposite shores of the peninsula and the west coast present evident marks of disruption. There are unquestionably birds and insects upon the shores, and ducks are some-

times upon the sea, for we have seen them—but cannot detect any living thing within it; although the salt streams flowing into it contain salt fish. I feel sure that the results of this survey will fully sustain the scriptural account of the cities of the plain.”

He thus speaks of Jordan: “The Jordan, although rapid and impetuous, is graceful in its windings and fringed with luxuriance, while its waters are sweet, clear, cool, and refreshing.”

After the survey of the sea, the party proceeded to determine the height of mountains on its shores, and to run a level thence via Jerusalem to the Mediterranean. They found the summit of the west bank of the Dead Sea more than 1000 feet above its surface, and very nearly on a level with the Mediterranean.

“It is a curious fact,” says Lieut. Maury, “that the distance from the top to the bottom of the Dead Sea should measure the height of its banks, the elevation of the Mediterranean, and the difference of level between the bottom of the two seas, and that the depth of the Dead Sea should be also an exact multiple of the height of Jerusalem above it.”

Another not less singular fact, in the opinion of Lieut. Lynch, “is that the bottom of the Dead Sea forms two submerged plains, an elevated and a depressed one. The first, its southern part, of slimy mud covered by a shallow bay; the last, its northern and largest portion, of mud and incrustations and rectangular crystals of salt—at a great depth with a narrow ravine running through it, corresponding with the bed of the river Jordan at one extremity, and the Wady ‘el Jeib,’ or wady within a wady at the other.”

It has been a favorite hypothesis, often repeated, that the bed of the Salt Sea in the days of the Prophet Abraham formed the fertile plain of Siddim, through which the Jordan flowed, taking its course southward along the large valley el-Arabah, and discharging itself in the Atlantic gulf of the Red Sea. Furthermore, that the Salt lake was formed in consequence of the sinking of the vale of Siddim at the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. The latest discoveries, however, demonstrate not only, that the Jordan and the Dead Sea lie considerably deeper than the Arabic gulf, but that the great valley el-Arabah rises high above the Dead Sea by a chain of chalky mountains, which extend from the eastern highland of Edom across the valley westward to the Desert et-Tih, in such a manner,

that only the southern part of the valley el-Arabah and its collateral dales send down their streams to the Red Sea, while the larger northern part of it has steep declivity toward the salt plain on the southern shore of the Dead Sea.

Modern travelers, therefore, have supposed that the Jordan, as far back as the present formation of the surface of the earth, must have formed an inland-sea between the mountains surrounding it, but that the lake in that period might have been less extensive, and only reached to the peninsula; that the vale of Siddim with its populous cities and exuberant pasturages occupied the shallow southern coast of the present Salt Sea and the adjacent Ghor, until the Lord in his wrath "rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire—and overthrew those cities, and all the plain and all the inhabitants of the cities and that which grew upon the ground,"* whereby the slime-pits which had undermined the soil were set on fire, a general conflagration ensued, the valley sunk, and the lake breaking forth, covered the whole region with its waters.

Nevertheless there are still more important arguments which prove that this catastrophe was produced by a tremendous *volcanic revolution*, which has given the valley of the Jordan its deep depression below the surface of the Mediterranean, and probably by the same concussions, that lowered the plain, might have raised the precipitous chalk-hills which now run across the southern desert. Many phenomena in this tract point at such a Plutonic overthrow. The extinct volcano near the city of Safed on the north west of the lake of Tiberias, the Basaltic rocks and hot-springs on its borders, the salt-mountain, the springs of sulphur, naptha and asphaltum on the Dead Sea, the overhanging precipices and deep chasms of the rocks toward the lake, and finally the frequent and terrible earthquakes throughout the whole length of the Ghor, sufficiently evince the volcanic nature of this region and produce the clearest evidence of the recorded fact, that this magnificent plain in conformance with the words of the Scriptures, has been submerged beneath the level of the sea.†

A similar phenomenon, which although of less extent and consequence, still illustrates the natural revolution in Palestine, occurred in the year 1819 at Cutch on the Delta of the Indus, where several towns were destroyed, the fortress and

* Gen. 19: 24, 25.

† The cities of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim and Zoar "were joined together in the vale of Siddim, which is the salt sea." Gen. 14: 2, 8.

borough of Sindree submerged, and the plain was transformed into an extensive lake, while a hilly ridge, by the natives termed Ullah-Bund or Mound of God, suddenly rose extending for fifty miles in length from East to West across the eastern mouth of the Indus.* The appearance of the salt-mountain of Uzdim (Sodom) on the southwest of the valley, likewise satisfactorily explains not only the Plutonic operation of that event, but also the transmutation of this tract of the Ghor from a fertile plain to a desert and a salt sea.

As to the earlier course of the Jordan, and the formation and natural condition of the southern chalk-hills, different theories have been proposed, which cannot be brought to a conclusive result, until geologists, with perfect personal safety and furnished with all the means for thorough investigations, have traveled over the whole ground from the sources of the Jordan on the Antilibanon through the Ghor in its full extent to Akabah on the Arabic gulf.

On the other hand the supposition, that the submersion of the vale of Siddim might have been produced by *the setting on fire* of the slime-pits or springs of asphaltum and the consequent subterranean conflagration, appears to be contrary to all the observations of the geologists on the nature and condition of the pits of bitumen. These are eminently *water springs*, which carry along with them a quantity of bitumen or fossil pitch very insignificant in proportion to the mass of the water, and though it be combustible, it never can have occasioned those devastating effects. Such is the nature of all the slime-pits hitherto known near Bakoo, and on islands of Zante, Sicily and Trinidad.

Among the five cities embellishing the fine plain of Siddim "well watered like the land of Egypt," Gomorrah—and Sodom, the residence of Lot, must have been situated in the southern part of the present lake; and near to them on the slope of the eastern mountains lay Zoar. Abraham ascending the hills of Hebron looked "toward Sodom and Gomorrah and toward *all the land* of the plain and beheld the smoke of the country arise as the smoke of a furnace."† Lot fled to the neighboring Zoar,‡ where he found a refuge, and his sons became the

* Principles of Geology, by Lyell: London, 1834; vol. ii. page 183, et seq. American edition: Philadelphia, 1837; page 382, et seq.

† Gen. 19: 28

‡ "Behold this city is near to flee unto: O let me escape thither!" And the protecting angel answered: "I will not overthrow this city for the which thou hast spoken." Gen. 19: 20, 21.

progenitors of the Ammonites and Moabites of the East-Jordanic kingdoms. The site of Zoar on the peninsula, near the embouchure of the Kerak river, is known with historical certitude, being a garrisoned fortress during the Roman Empire, and afterwards in the times of the crusaders it is often mentioned as *Segor* and *Villa Palmarum*, from the beautiful palm groves surrounding it. §

Our company having dispersed, and for more than an hour wandered along the coast recalling to the memory these recollections of this celebrated sea, we at last sat down on the trunks of the drift-wood, which the waves had washed on shore, and partook of a welcome repast. The water in our leathern bottles being luke-warm and hardly palatable, a basket filled with the odorous oranges of Yafa, which one of our attentive companions now produced, offered us a most excellent refreshment, and it is just here in the desert, far from any fountain, beneath a parching sun, that the traveler fully values the inestimable gift of this delicious fruit. Our Turkish Spahides, in the mean time, began to get impatient of our stay, as we had still a long ride to the Jordan and back to our encampment at Jericho. They spurred to and fro, and brandishing their long carbines they called together the pilgrims with the far-echoing, *yallah, yallah*, (make haste!) We were thus obliged sooner than we intended to leave this interesting spot, and now deeply regretted, that we had not ordered our camp to be pitched on the strand, in order to pass the remaining hours of the day near the sea, and fully to enjoy the admirable sunset and the still more magnificent morning-dawn on its picturesque shores. A bustling scene ensued, and in a few minutes being all in the saddle again, we cantered briskly along the plain, for some distance covered over with a white nitrous crust, that gave way beneath the hoofs of our horses. At half an hour's ride from the sea, we passed through a straggling copse-wood of acacias and other southern trees, descending from the western hills toward the Jordan. Then another level region followed, arid, sandy, and only enlivened by clusters of tamarisks and viter agnus castus, growing scantily from out the sandy soil.

At a short distance on the West we discovered a ruin, by the Arabs called the tower of Hajla, from the fine copious fountain which bursts forth in the neighborhood, and calling

§ Vide the elaborate and highly interesting researches of Rev. Dr. Robinson; vol. II. page 648, et seq.

into life far-spreading verdure and bushes, forms an oasis in the wilderness. The situation of this fountain, south of the ancient Gilaal, and its present name, Ain-Hajla, reminds the traveler of the scriptural Beth-Hoglah, placed on the boundary line between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, which, from the plain of the Jordan, ran south-westward along the mountains to the above mentioned fountain of the Sun (En-Shemesh.) Though the heat was overpowering, we quickened our course, and, in an hour and a half, reached the ruinous monastery of St. John, situated on the upper banks of the Jordan, due East of Jericho. This large and wealthy convent was built before the sixth century, in commemoration of the place where, according to tradition, our Saviour was baptized by St. John. Thousands of pilgrims, through the course of the middle ages, repaired to the hallowed spot, and bathed in the Jordan. The convent was then inhabited by Greek Kalogeri. It withstood all the storms and vicissitudes of the crusading wars, but was burnt and demolished by the Mamelukes in the fifteenth century, and now only a few relics of the outer walls are standing on the high brink overlooking the lower valley of the river. We here descended some thirty or forty feet to the outer bank, covered with straggling poplars, willows, tamarisks, and the fragrant *rishrash* or *vitex agnus castus*, more and more condensing as we approached the river, and at last forming a thick and almost impenetrable wood on its margin, where we dismounted. This lower border of the river, according to the observations of Professor Russegger, lies 1269 Paris feet below the level of the Mediterranean; and here the Latin pilgrims celebrate their mass and bathe on the Tuesday of the Holy Week, while the Greeks and Armenians move farther down towards the Dead Sea.

The Jordan has here a breadth of from eighty to an hundred feet. Its depth was said to be twelve feet, and the nearest ford lies four miles North above Jericho. The current was silent but rapid, and filled the immediate banks to the very brim. In order to facilitate and secure the access to the river, the nearest trees had been felled and the trunks laid across, forming a causeway which proved dangerous to pass on horseback, but was commodious for the pilgrims who might thus fearlessly approach to the edge of the stream.

I felt singularly pleased on finding myself so suddenly reposing in the shade of a fine thick-set forest of high-grown, magnificent trees of the most refreshing verdure, whose boughs

projected far over the river or bathed in its waters, while I formerly had supposed, according to the relations of Chateaubriand and other travelers, that the banks of the Jordan were either sandy and bare, or beset only with reeds and copee. Still the days of Josephus are no more, when beautiful groves of palm-trees "covered the banks of the holy river, and were the more luxuriant and frugiferous the nearer they grew to the water." All the palm-groves are now vanished; they have suffered the same fate with the cities of the plain, having been thrown down and destroyed during the wars, or neglected during the long abandonment of this unhappy region to the roving and lawless tribes of the desert. In the whole wide plain, only one single palm tree rears its melancholy crown over the miserable huts of the modern Jericho.

The grove consists of poplars, tamarisks, and many fine southern trees which were unknown to me. Creepers swinging from one tree to another formed a dense hedge along the river side, above which, at a distance of five miles, rose the violet mountains of el-Belka. This wood-scenery, skirting the borders of the Jordan all along the Ghor, was a remarkable feature, particularly interesting to our American friends, as it reminded them of the still more extensive and impenetrable forests on the banks of their native rivers. The picturesque nerium oleander, by the Arabs called *defle*, with its rosy flowers embellishing all the vallies and water-courses of the Lebanon, we sought for in vain, though other travelers have seen it higher up the river toward the Lake of Tiberias. The heavy showers of the preceding days had occasioned a transient overflowing of the river, which was still visible by the deep loamy mud covering the dike and the lower parts of the adjoining wood. Through this we waded cautiously to the edge of the stream, and filled our leather buckets in the river. It had a yellow clayish color, and did not seem very inviting, but the water was cool and exceedingly refreshing after the sufferings of the day. Our company now dispersed in the wood, and several pilgrims went deeper into the thicket, to bathe in the river.

When Joshua, at the time of harvest, led the army of the Hebrews across the Jordan, the river was full to its banks, such as we found it now.* Whether the passage of the Israelites took place four or five miles higher up at the ford, as some authors have supposed, or at this spot, "right against Jericho,"

* Joshua 3: 15.

as the Scriptures say, does not diminish the deep interest which the wanderer needs must take near the spot celebrated by an event of so great importance in remote antiquity. The Christian tradition has transferred the baptism of our Saviour to this place, though John the Evangelist says, that "it was done at Bethabara, beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing."† From the earliest times of Christianity, therefore, it has been visited by the Pilgrims, and in the seventh century a church was built and the Twelve Stones erected four miles from the river, toward Jericho, on the ruins of the ancient Gilgal, where the Israelites, after their passage, pitched their camp in the land of Canaan.

The Arabs call the Jordan *Sheriah el-Kebir*, "the great water course," and the valley through which it flows from the lake of Tiberias to the Dead Sea and the southern valley beyond it, *el-Ghor*, "the deeply sunk vale between high mountains." The length of the Ghor between the two lakes is nearly seventy miles, the upper part of which, as far as Beisan (*Scythopolis*), has only four miles in breadth, but further down it widens, and near Jericho, where the mountains recede, it forms a plain of nearly twelve miles in width. The river runs along a lower valley situated thirty or forty feet beneath the upper Ghor; it has a meandering course, and is frequently confined to a narrow channel by the boldly projecting western mountains. Though it receives several rivers such as the *Yarmuk* and the *Zerka*, from the eastern high-land, it does not considerably augment the mass of its waters. The mountain torrents and scanty fountains all disappear in the Ghor, and do not reach the Jordan, except during the heavy showers of the rainy season. The lower valley, and the immediate banks of the river, are clothed with lofty trees and luxuriant vegetation through its whole length. The different fords are well known to the Arabs, and two bridges cross the river near the lake of Tiberias. Its depth varies considerable during the different seasons, and is sometimes in summer so shallow that travelers in the month of July have found the water only three feet deep. *El Ghor* is confined by two parallel chains of barren, chalky mountains, which on the West attain the height of fifteen hundred feet above the valley, while on the East they recede further back, forming the *Moabitic highland* to a height

† John 1 : 28. *Bethbara trans Jordanem, ubi Johannes ad poenitentiam Baptizabat.* Hieronymi *Onomasticon*.

of two thousand five hundred feet. The western border of the Jordan, between Berian and Jericho, being but imperfectly known, because the great caravan-route and consequently all communication from Damascus and the Hauran passes along the eastern bank in el-Belka, Rev. Dr. Eli Smith and Rev. Mr. Calhoun, attempted nearly at the same time of our visit to the Ghor, from Jericho to pass along the western side of the valley as far as the lake of Tiberias; but apprehending an attack from the marauding Bedouins, they were obliged to quit it and strike into the Samaritan mountains by the road of Nabulus. Nevertheless, Lord Eastnor and a French traveler, Mr. de Gauchaud, accompanied by a strong detachment of Bedouins, succeeded, a month later, in traversing the river and visiting the beautiful ruins of the ancient city of Gerasa, (Jerash) in Gilead, though they were exposed to the danger of being eye witnesses of a battle between hostile tribes of Bedouins.

The climate of the Ghor is hotter than in any other part of Syria, on account of its deep depression, the steep and barren cliffs compressing and reflecting the heat and cutting off the refreshing breeze from the Mediterranean, which renders the atmosphere so pleasant in the western part of Palestine. The sudden transition from the oppressive summer heat of the Ghor to the cold and unsettled weather on the table-land of Judah, we felt most disagreeably on our return to Jerusalem. For the same reason, the harvest in the Ghor falls nearly a month earlier than on the mountains, the wheat harvest being there in April, while even on the plain of Sharon, near Romleh and Yafa, the grain was hardly ripe on our descent to the Mediterranean in the beginning of May.

The evening was now setting in, and we had still two hours' ride to our night quarters at Jericho. As the whole company could not be united in a hurry, part of us departed, leaving some troopers behind for the security of the absentees. Returning to the upper Ghor, and passing the ruins of the ancient convent of St. John, we continued our course in a western direction toward Jericho. Every trace of the desert soon disappeared. Beautiful groves of vitex agnus castus, acacia, and the thorny nubk (*rhamnus napeca*) succeeded, intermingled with fields of corn and wheat, while the soil was covered with a carpet of sweet-scented flowers. We passed the purling brook descending from the head fountain Ain es-Sultan (the fountain of Elisha,) beneath the hills of Jericho. It separates in several water courses, and fertilizes this charming region in

a circumference of many miles. The poorly dressed and miserable looking inhabitants, men and women from the village of Riha, were working in the fields. Somewhere here in the neighborhood, ten stadia from Jericho, lay the ancient Gilgal, where the Israelites encamped and erected their tabernacle for six years prior to its removal to Shiloh. In Gilgal they celebrated the passover and renewed the covenant of their forefathers with the Lord, and from here Joshua undertook the glorious conquest of the promised land.

The gentlemen we had left behind on the banks of the Jordan now coming up in haste, the Bedouin cavaliers presented us with an imitation of the warlike exercises of the desert. Running full gallop against each other, then firing their carbines or throwing their lances, they quickly wheeled about their steeds and started off as in a flight, but instantly brandishing their scymiters, they returned with the same velocity to renew the attack. This lively and picturesque scene is often seen in the Orient; the Turks throw the jereed with great dexterity, and the skillful horsemanship of the riders, and extraordinary impetuosity and rapid evolutions of the beautiful Arabian steeds are alike admirable, by this imitation of the ancient warfare of the Saracens, which so often proved fatal to the mail-clad Crusaders of the middle ages.

The sun had set, but the mountains in Moab still blazed with the rosy tints of evening, when we approached the village and castle of Riha, embosomed in a grove of fine olive, fig and pomegranate trees, and hemmed in by the impenetrable hedges of nubk and prickly pear. We followed the course of the rivulet and arrived in a quarter of an hour to a delightful meadow, bounded on the West by the precipitous Jebel-Kuruntul, where our men near to the fountain of Elisha, had pitched the tents in a circle beneath the high and shady trees. They had lighted several fires; and the Arab women from the village bringing milk and eggs, our supper was soon ready. I remember this camp scenery near Jericho as one of the most pleasant in Palestine. We took our tea before the tents during a lively conversation about past and present times. It was a warm, quiet evening beneath the serene and starry sky; our horses grazed on the banks of the rivulet; the Arabs sat in groups around the fires, while the Turks were on guard at a greater distance.

At break of day, next morning, I left the camp and followed the course of the rivulet through the wood for a quarter of an

hour, to the castle of Riha. The village lies seven hundred and seventy-four feet beneath the level of the Mediterranean,* on the North of Wady Kelt, from the western mountains running down toward the Jordan. Eriha or Riha, as the Arabs call it, by a perversion of the ancient name Jericho, consists only of some twenty miserable, filthy huts, coarsely heaped together of ancient stones with low thatched roofs, strown over with gravel to hold the straw. They are hemmed in by thick hedges of the thorned napeca-tree, wherein the cattle find shelter during the night. The gaunt and sickly villagers, at the time nearly two hundred souls, belong to the Arab tribe inhabiting the eastern and southern shore of the Dead Sea. Their indolence or infirmity does not permit them by their own exertions, to cultivate the fertile country around, and they are obliged to call to their assistance the mountaineers from the hills of Judah, with whom they divide the profit of the harvest. Above the hovels rises an ancient square tower, from the time of the crusades, which the monks of Jerusalem call the House of Zacchæus, where our Saviour found a hospitable reception. The destination of this fortress appears to have been to protect the fine gardens, corn-fields and vineyards of the plain, which was well cultivated during the twelfth century, and yielded an annual revenue of five thousand ducats to the convent of Black nuns at Bethany, to whom Fulco, the Latin king of Jerusalem, granted Jericho in the year 1188.† Pilgrims visiting the plain after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Sultan Salaheddin, in 1187, found the castle in a ruinous state and inhabited by Saracens.

Before the tower I met a guard of armed Albanians. On greeting them with the usual salutation: "Besa dia besa" (truce be with you!) I was well received by the wild-looking warriors. Being Mahommedan Scypetars from Scodra in Upper Albania, they wore the loose white camese or kilt (fustanella) and the curious high peaked leathern helmet ornamented with *looking glasses* and plated bandelets, which gives them such a strange appearance. They had just arrived from Beirut. On our arrival at Jerusalem the city was garrisoned by a Turkish foot regiment of the askeri muhammoudieh, or regular army. Soon after, a report being spread of a tumult at Halep in northern Syria, where the inhabitants, dissatisfied with the Turkish governor, and particularly with the new regulations

* According to the observations of Professor Russegger in 1838.

† Vide Gesta Dei per Francos. Vill. Tyr. xi. 15.

for a general conscription of the young men called to serve in the army, had revolted and expelled the Turks from the city, the Pasha marched off at the head of the regulars, leaving the gates of the city in the custody of a troop of light-horse and a ridiculous militia of Arab inhabitants, poorly dressed and worse armed. But on a morning in April the city was startled at the appearance of a camp of four hundred Albanian highlanders, pitched on the western hill, near the Yafa gate, like the Roman army of Pompey in the olden time. The peaceable tradesmen of the bazars, fearing the roving habits of the Arnauts, who brought a very bad reputation with them from Beirut, instantly closing their shops, deserted the market place and the Turkish kaimakam or governor of the city, had some difficulty in appeasing them and maintaining the tranquility of the town.

Near a reservoir in the court-yard of the castle, I found the old Albanian captain, smoking his morning pipe. He spoke the *romaiska* or modern Greek dialect, and told me that he was a Moreote from the Albanian settlement at Lala (in the ancient Ellis of western Peloponnese,) that he had fought against the Greeks, but being expelled during the revolutionary war, had since served in the Turkish army. The garrison consisted of some twenty Albanians, who were sent down to the plain during the harvest to protect the inhabitants and take care of the interest of the Turkish government. The old Pallikar accompanied me to the terrace of the tower, whence I enjoyed a highly gratifying prospect over the valley of the Jordan to the distant mountains and the Dead Sea. Jericho is in the Scriptures often called "the city of the palm-trees," and its surrounding plain has always been considered as the most productive in all Palestine, while Josephus never alludes to it without praising its excellence. "The waters of the fountain," says he, "fertilize the plain, seventy stadia in length and twenty in breadth, and call forth rich and shadowy gardens and palm groves with fruits distilling a juice sweet as honey, of which this country has a great abundance. It produces opobalsam, cyprus, and a variety of noble and rare trees and shrubs. The genial temperature of the air, and the refreshing humidity of the soil, covers the earth with flowers and verdure, fresh and vigorous even during the heat of summer. Winter with its snows never descends on this happy vale, which well deserves to be termed an earthly paradise."* The roses and

* Joseph. Bell. Jud. 4, 8, 3.

sycamore trees of Jericho are likewise mentioned in the Scriptures,* but of all this beauty few traces now remain. I saw a solitary palm tree rising above the dense grove of thorny nubk-trees. The pomegranate and fig trees grow luxuriantly as in other parts of Palestine, and from the fruit of the *segum* (*elaginus angustifolia*) the Arabs are said to press an oil, which on the bazar at Jerusalem is highly appreciated by the pilgrims as the balm of Jericho, and used as a medicine.

Taking leave of the Moreots warrior, I hurried back and found our company comfortably encamped on the glade beneath the shadowy trees of the fountain, busily occupied with their breakfast. It would perhaps have been difficult to have chosen a more delightful spot. Sir Walter Scott, in his *Talisman*, has transferred the lively scene between Salaheddin and the Scottish knight, and afterwards the interview between Richard Cœur-de-Lion and the Sultan, to this "Diamon of the Desert," as it was appropriately called by the Saracens. If the inimitable romancer had anticipated its cool and pleasant site, its lofty trees and precipitous mountain, he would perhaps have enhanced the dramatic effect he knew so well how to impart to his heroes, by a faithful picture of the magnificent environs. The copious fountain gushes forth on the east side of a mound forming the last offset of a succession of hills descending from the high and steep Jebel Kuruntul toward the plain. The stream is clear, but not cold; it is collected in an ancient tank built up with hewn stones in a semicircular form with niches, few traces of which are now visible. The leafy trees have thrust their mighty trunks and branches through the crevices of the wall and project over the fountain. The brook purls through the forest, separates into many streamlets and covers its banks with a cheerful verdure. Ain es Sultan is the ancient renowned fountain of Elisha, about which the Scriptures say, that "the men of Jericho came to the prophet and said: Behold, the situation of this city is pleasant, but the water is nought and the ground barren." Elisha then went to the fountain, threw salt into it and said: "Thus said the Lord, I have healed these waters; there shall not be from them any more death or barren land. So the waters were healed unto this day."† From Josephus we learn, moreover, that the old Canaanitic Jericho was situated near the fountain, probably on

*I am tall as a palm of En-Gaddi and as the rose tree of Jericho. *Sirach*. 24: 15 fr. *Luc.* 19: 4.

† 2 Kings 2: 19, 20.

the mounds which, like artificial tumuli, arise at the West, strewn over and covered with rubbish and stones.*

Within a short period after the destruction of Jericho by the Israelites, this fertile region appears to have become inhabited again. So early as the days of the Judges, Eglom the king of Moab, "smote Israel and possessed the city of the palm-trees." It was rebuilt during the reign of King Jehoakaphat, and formed the school of the prophets. During the Roman sway Jericho was a splendid city, and its environs highly cultivated, but being situated southward on the road to Jerusalem, I shall mention its ruins farther on.

On ascending the barren hills above the fountain of Elisha, the traveler is astonished in viewing, at a distance, quite a number of ruins, which at the first glance might well be supposed to have belonged to the ancient Jericho. Westward, on the slope of Mount Quarantana, lies a ruinous castle; farther north several vaulted buildings, and an aqueduct on high arches runs off in a southern direction to Wady Kelt. But this illusion soon vanishes on a nearer examination of the ruins. The Arabs call them Tawahin es-Sukkar, or the sugar mills. They have the character of Saracenic constructions with pointed arches, which like a piazza or corridor encompass a large oblong court-yard. The crusaders, on their advance along the coast of Syria in 1099, found the plains of Tripolis and Tyre cultivated with the sugar cane, a plant at that time unknown in the western world. The Latin historians of the period likewise mention the great abundance of sugar produced in the fertile plain of the Jordan, and the many aqueducts, mills and other structures still testify the industry, which then must have imparted life and activity to this now neglected and desolate region.

The head spring nourishing these aqueducts is Ain-Dak, a copious fountain issuing from a dell on the northern base of Mount Kuruntul, at half an hour's distance from the hills. The water is led along the flank of the mountain in an artificially excavated channel across the hills on the west of Jericho. There the current divides; an aqueduct carries part of it eastward through the Saracenic sugar mills, lying on terraces the one above the other, down to the plain. They are all in a state of dilapidation; from the open arches the water every where

* Joseph. Bell. Jud. l. c. From the Greek text may be inferred that the later Jericho, on account of the curse of Joshua resting on the more ancient city, did not lie on the same spot.

gushes forth, and the most luxuriant vegetation of flowers and shrubs now overshadow those ancient relics of Saracen industry. Only here and there beneath the arches the indolent inhabitants of Riha have laid out some gardens for melons, onions, and other vegetables. The principal aqueduct, however, as before stated, runs in a southern direction, on high, well preserved arches, across Wady Kelt, and still irrigates the plain on the south of the village. I suppose that the artificial channel cut out in the rock, which carries the water from Ain-Duk to the aqueducts on the hill, and even part of these, are a work of antiquity. A few miles north of the hills are found substructions and walls of hewn stones, probably remains of the borough of Neara, (Naaratha,) five Roman miles from Jericho. Josephus, relating the splendid rebuilding of the royal palace at Jericho by the Ethnarch Archelaus, the son of Herod, says that he led part of the waters, passing through the borough of Neara, to irrigate the large palm groves he had planted in the plain below.*

We now stood at the foot of the Quarantana, towering steeply above us, with its indented peaks and deep, precipitous chasms. It is a picturesque mountain of richly tinged hues, like variegated marble, and rises to a height of fifteen hundred feet above the valley. A later Christian tradition has regarded it as the Mount of Temptation, where our Saviour dwelt during the forty days' fast in the wilderness.†

On the eastern and southern side of the mountain are seen a number of grottoes and caverns, where, as in the desert about the valley of the Kidron, and all along the western ridge of the Jordan valley toward the lake of Tiberias, numberless anchorites dwelt during the earlier centuries of the Byzantine empire. Cyrillos relates, among other curious legends of the time, that St. Sabas once, accompanied by his friend Agapetos, wandered from his Laura in the glen of the Kidron through the plain, in order to visit the sanctuaries on the lake of Tiberias. He ascended the western mountains, and in a solitary recess of the cliffs, far away from the dwellings of men, met with a hermit who during thirty-eight years had not seen a single human being! On his return from the lake he again visited the holy man. He found him kneeling before the altar in his cave, absorbed in deep meditation. St. Sabas tarried,

* Josephus' *Antiq.* 17, 8, 1.

† On account of the forty days' temptation the mountain was called Quarantana in the middle ages, from which the Arabs formed their *Jebel Kurantal*.

that he might terminate his prayers, but time passing on and the hermit neither rising nor answering to his call, he approached and found him—a corpse. They then buried the deceased beneath a heap of stones and returned to the Laura.*

Even to the present day, the Mount Quarantana is inhabited by pilgrims, principally Abyssinians, who spend the Lent in the grottoes and live on roots and berries, which they gather in the clefts of the mountain. The caverns are still employed by the Bedouins as granaries, where they hide their wheat and barley. It happened a few years ago, that the French historian M. de Poujoulat, was attacked here on ascending the mountain, by a band of Bedouins, who suspected his Arab companions of having an intention to plunder their corn stores.

We ascended the mountain on a path partly cut in the rock, which along the terrific precipice, carried us round the steep eastern flank to the different hermitages. In a huge vaulted grotto commanding an extensive view of the plain, we found a church, where the Greek pilgrims perform the divine service during Lent. Another chapel crowns the summit of the mountain. The ascent is fatiguing and even dangerous, but our exertions were rewarded by an incomparable panorama of the whole surrounding country, brilliantly illuminated by the rich and glowing hues of a southern atmosphere. On the north of our station the mountains recede, forming a bow, but farther on they boldly advance toward the Jordan, and at a distance of eight miles out off the view to the upper Ghor. This northern tract of the plain is likewise fertile, being sufficiently watered by two copious fountains, the Ain-Duk and another arising near a conical hill el-Aujeh, that we distinguish at some distance in the vale, the still existing ruins of which are supposed to belong to the ancient castle Phasselis, built by Herod the tyrant, to the memory of his valiant brother. Far beneath us on the east, rose the tower and huts of modern Jericho, the dwellings of wretchedness and poverty, from out the exuberant groves and corn fields, which farther on were bounded by the parched desert and the sandy outer-banks of the Jordan. The river itself is not seen, but its broad dark green belt marks its course down to the Dead Sea. Beyond, the high level line of Jebel es-Salt extends without a single soaring peak all along toward the eastern coast of the sea, as far as the eye reaches. Three vallies descend from the highland

* Cyrill. Scythopol. Vita Sabæ in Cotelieri Monum. Eccles. Græc. Vol. III, page 252.

to the plain, on the northeast of Jericho the deep and narrow Wady Shaib, farther in the interior of which, but not seen from our point of view, is situated es-Salt, the ancient Ramath in Gilead, at the present time the only inhabited city of el-Belka. Nearer and directly opposite to Jericho on the east descends Wady Seir, and farther south toward the Dead Sea, the broad, shallow Wady Hesban, on the height of which, several miles in the interior the travelers still admire the extensive ruins of Heshbon, the ancient capital of the Amorites. Here from the Mount of Temptation, I took my last view of the Dead Sea. Yonder it extended before me on the south, glittering in the beams of the morning sun like an immense golden mirror, with the mountains of the desert for its frame. In the whole picture there hardly appeared a single trace of human life or of human industry to gladden the eye. But when I take into view the grandeur of the landscape, the brilliancy of its colors, and the significant importance of its history, it presented to mine eye one of the most beautiful and memorable scenes, which will be deeply and indelibly impressed on my mind as one of my dearest recollections of the Orient.

The sun was nearly in its meridian before our large party re-assembled near the Saracenic ruins, where our horses were grazing. Early in the morning we had ordered our dragomans to strike the tents, and, escorted by some Turkish horsemen, beforehand to take the direct road over the hills to Jerusalem. The young lady in her litter had been so fatigued from the long and toilsome ride the day before, that she, to shorten her sufferings, had resolved rather to go along with the baggage train, than to accompany the rest of the party to the Mount of Temptation, and some polite British gentlemen had likewise preferred the shorter route, in order to offer her their company.

We mounted again and followed in a southern direction the aqueduct to Wady Kelt, being an eastern prolongation of the Wady es-Luveinis, which we had crossed at an earlier period, on our approach to Jerusalem from Nabalus. This valley descending on the steep south side of Mount Quarantana toward the plain, forms a large brook during the rainy season, which unites all the waters of the collateral dales, and carries them down to the Jordan. But on our passage in April the torrent had already ceased to flow, and its bed was dry. The monks in Jerusalem held it to be the rivulet Cherith, mentioned in the Scriptures, on the banks of which the prophet Elijah, during

his flight from the persecution of King Ahab, found a refuge, and was fed by the ravens.*

On the southern bank we found various indications of the site of an ancient city. On the right of the Jerusalem road I remarked a large square building, on the very edge of the bank, erected in the Roman style of construction, so often seen in Italy and called *opus reticulatum*, and not far off an artificial mound with ancient substructions. We found several mosaic pavements, fragments of columns, and on the south of the path, beneath the western hill, a large reservoir partly excavated in the rock. The direction of the aqueduct southward through the valley to this place, the Roman style of construction of the ruins, and their extent, show that a large city once was situated on these hills, and it thus appears probable that it was the Roman Jericho, where Herodes the Tyrant built a strong fortress, a splendid royal residence, many palaces, and the hippodrome or course, where he ordered the principal men of his empire to assemble, and with death on his lips gave his sister Salome his last cruel command to cause them all to be slaughtered as soon as he had expired; an order which the prudent princess did not execute. With this view we were impressed on the spot, adopting the opinion of a distinguished writer, though our hasty survey of the ruins did not permit us to make farther inquiries. Perhaps a future traveler, who may have more leisure and a better opportunity for taking an exact sketch of the environs of Jericho, may prove the truth of our conjecture.

The direct road to Jerusalem ascends the steep western mountains south of Wady Kelt. It is an ancient deeply hollowed path, which in several turns has been beaten through the white chalky hills, and in the Scriptures is termed "the going up to Adummin, which is on the south side of the river."† From the height of this pass we had the last view of the Jordan valley, and rode on a while on the precipitous brink of Wady Kelt, opposite to the gigantic Quarantana, which, rugged and barren as it is, presented an image of fast and famine itself. Here on the bank stands a large ruinous castle already mentioned by St. Jerome as having been built during the Roman empire for the protection of the travelers, who in this dreary wilderness, the perpetual haunt of the roving Bedouins, from the time of our Lord to the present day, were exposed to depredation and murder. Acts of violence are still often perpe-

* 1 Kings 17: 8-7.

† Joshua 16: 7.

trated here in the "valley of blood," the Adummin, where the Christian tradition has placed the fine parable of the compassionate Samaritan, who finding the wounded traveler, "bound up his wounds, set him on his beast, and brought him to the inn, where he took care of him."† From the Adummin the road ran over a succession of steep and desolate heights, whence we had a distant prospect to the blue mountains in Moab, and before us, on the west, a mournful, bleak, and quite colorless desert, hills towering on hills to the stony table-land of Jeba. The road being more easy on the chalky ridge, and both riders and horses alike impatient of clearing the wilderness and arriving at Jerusalem, we set up a rapid gallop, and did not stop until we met with the vanguard of our party, taking some repose in the shade of the olive trees near a well beneath Bethany, called the fountain of the Apostles. During this passage of four hours' ride we did not see any other trace of living beings than some flocks of sheep on the distant slopes, browsing around the black tents of the shepherds. All danger of an assault being now past, we left the baggage-train behind, and hurried on to Bethany. On the eastern ascent of Mount Olivet we suddenly felt a change in the temperature, a penetrating, chilly wind blowing down from the mountain; and being lightly dressed in the Ghor, in order to ascend the Quarantana, this sudden transition from heat to cold proved highly disagreeable, and caused some of us to catch a cold, which kept us indisposed for a few days in Jerusalem.

Having on a former visit seen the tomb of Lazarus in Bethany, we now continued our course over the Mount of Olives, through the valley of Jehoshaphat, to the gate of St. Stephen, where we arrived at five o'clock in the afternoon. We then dismissed our Turkish escort and passing through the *via dolorosa*, the company dispersed at the Latin convent. Thus we accomplished our visit to the Desert, and the following day made our preparations for leaving the Holy City, perhaps forever.

† Luke 10: 30-35.

ART. IV.—NEVIN ON CYPRIAN.*

MY attention has been called to a series of articles, entitled Cyprian, which have appeared in the *Mercersburg Review*, over the signature of J. W. N., one of its frequent and most able contributors. The deep fund of research and the far-reaching grasp of thought and vigor of mind that characterize his articles, cannot fail to impress all unprejudiced readers, with admiration of the talents and attainments, as well as reverence for the character of the distinguished author. Although an entire stranger to his person, no one has shared more largely in those sentiments of consideration and respect than myself. I trust, therefore, I shall not be considered as indulging an unfriendly or antagonistic spirit, in offering a few strictures on the second article of the series alluded to above, which appeared in the July number of the Review.

There are many, and sometimes conflicting inferences, not always openly avowed, but which, perhaps unconsciously to himself, influence the Reviewer's mind, that do not, we think, legitimately follow from the teaching of Cyprian.

Some of these we shall endeavor to point out. Our attention, however, will be directed chiefly to the closing paragraph on pages 386 and 387.

"The Church question, (says the Reviewer,) as forced upon us by the writings of Cyprian, it is plain to see, is something a good deal deeper and more solemn than the controversy between Anglican Episcopacy and the rest of the Protestant world. We do not deny at all the importance of this controversy in its proper place; and for Episcopalianism, as a system, it is hardly necessary for us to say, we entertain no small amount of veneration and regard. We do not deny too that Cyprian, who has been called the Ignatius of the West, bears ample testimony, like his predecessor of this name in the East, to the existence of Episcopacy as an institution held to be of Apostolic origin, in the early Church. But it is most plain at the same time that we are not carried by it as a separate interest, in any way to the last ground of

* This article was written for the January number, but was received only in time for insertion in the present one.

"the system to which it originally belonged. Mere Episcopacy was not enough by any means, in the judgment of these ancient times, to uphold a true Church succession; it must be the office in unity with itself under a Catholic form; the office as representing the undivided and indivisible Apostolical commission, on which as a rock centering in Peter, the Church was to be built to the end of time. Along with this go corresponding apprehensions of the attributes and powers of the Church, which our modern Protestant Episcopacy either rejects altogether or turns into affectation and sham. The two systems are of altogether different constitution; and it is perfectly idle to think of establishing an identity between them, on the ground simply of their having in common the office of Bishops. What charm can there be in an Episcopate, that this rather than any other fragment of Peter's ship, as it originally sailed towards heaven, should be taken to carry away with it now, as a fragment, the power of a true Church life? No. Anglicanism is not Cyprianic Christianity. The question of Episcopacy is in truth of only secondary and very subordinate account. The grand issue always, is that which lies between Protestantism and Romanism. This we are bound to look solemnly in the face."

J. W. N. is not aware, perhaps, that this conclusion of his well labored article, contains within it, what to any tolerably informed Anglican churchman, appears to be a most palpable and glaring "*petitio puncti*;" a mere assumption of the whole question between him and sectarian Christianity, based upon a loose and careless estimate, if not total misapprehension of the distinctive principles of the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church in America. Has the Reviewer of Cyprian yet to learn, that no well informed Anglican churchman, ever pretends, that "*mere Episcopacy*," is "enough to uphold a true Church succession?" or that he would ever think of maintaining an identity between modern Anglicanism and primitive Christianity, "on the ground simply of their having in common the office of Bishops?" O! no! that is not the ground on which Anglicanism rests its claims to the reality of a true Church growth, and "the power of a true Church life." Episcopacy indeed as a salient angle in our Ecclesiastical fortress, jutting out and strongly buttressed by all tradition and all historic record, has been singled out both by friend and foe, as a point of attack and defence, which to common observation, presents the most marked distinction between the

Church and the sect system which surrounds it. Thus isolated and pushed forward in every popular controversy with sectarianism, it is not at all surprising that even the most clear and discriminating minds should sometimes fall into the error of supposing, that all the claims of the Anglican Church, as opposed to the rest of the Protestant world, were narrowed down into the single question of the Apostolical succession of her Episcopacy. That this supposition is very wide of the truth, will, we trust, sufficiently appear, from the facts which must necessarily come into view, in our examination of the article before us. Even J. W. N. has fallen into this common mistake; as too plainly appears from his closing assertions: "No. Anglicanism is not Cyprianic Christianity. The question of Episcopacy, is in truth of only secondary and very subordinate account. The grand issue always, is that which lies between Protestantism and Romanism." Perhaps unconsciously to himself, the Reviewer, here makes Episcopacy equivalent to Anglicanism; as grave a mistake, as to make Puritanism the sam and substance of Protestantism.

There seems also a latent persuasion in the mind of the Reviewer, that Cyprianic Christianity, must have been the same as the Catholic Christianity of his day. But this is as far from the truth, as it would be to assume, that the mind and writings of any single Bishop in either the Anglican or Roman communions, may be safely taken as a full and reliable exponent of their respective views of Catholic Christianity. This will more fully appear as we proceed to consider what the Reviewer calls "the grand issue between Protestantism and Romanism." As we are not informed what we are to understand by the term Protestantism, in this connection, we cannot compare its claims with those of Romanism to an identity with "Cyprianic Christianity." Anglicanism, on the contrary, is a well defined and well known form of modern Christianity, which can, therefore, be readily contrasted with modern Romanism and the doctrines of Cyprian. Although assertion, unsupported by testimony, is of little value in this *all-things-proving age*, yet in order that we may start from the same common ground with the Reviewer, we will for once follow his example, and by way of offset to his assumption that "Anglicanism is not Cyprianic Christianity," we will as broadly assert that modern *Romanism is not Cyprianic Christianity*.

And now with mere assertion in equilibrio, let us compare the two modern systems with that of Cyprian. Is either sys-

tem identical with Cyprianism? If not, which most nearly approximates it? And further, if irreconcilable variations from Cyprianism should be discovered, are they in accordance or at variance with the authorized and avowed doctrines of the Catholic Church of that early age? These are the questions which the Reviewer has fairly forced upon us, and which justice to ourselves and fidelity to the cause of Christianity, require that we should as fairly meet.

The doctrine of the identity and unity of the Church lies at the foundation of Cyprian's theory. This is clearly and forcibly shown by the Reviewer, (on pages 348, 349 and 350) where, according to Cyprian's teaching, "there is from Christ one Church divided throughout the world into many members, likewise one Episcopate, spread abroad by a concordant multitude of many Bishops"—again on page 352, this unity includes also the *oneness* of the whole Episcopal order: "the Episcopate is one, the parts of which hold severally from the whole. The Church also is one, which is extended into multitude by the force of its own fecundity; just as there are many rays of the sun, but only one light, &c.," and page 353: "so the Church of the Lord also irradiated with light, sends out her rays over all the earth, still there is but one light, which is everywhere diffused and the unity of the body is not divided." * * * "one head, one origin, one mother of continually prolific grace."

The Reviewer also shows, that Cyprian rests the entire structure of the Church on the Apostolic commission and makes the unity of the Church consist in the unity of the whole Episcopate with itself, and of the members of the Church with the Episcopate. This unity is consistent also with a perfect equality in the Episcopal office, "the other apostles were also indeed what Peter was, endowed with like partnership both of honor and power," and yet Cyprian further maintains a *Primacy* vested in the Roman See, without any apparent consciousness of its conflicting in any way, with the doctrine of a perfect equality and concordant unity, in the entire Episcopate of the Catholic Church. The Reviewer further shows that according to Cyprian, "this unity (of the Church) the Bishops especially are bound firmly to assert and maintain, so as to show clearly that the Episcopate itself also is one and indivisible."

This doctrine of the entireness, or indivisible unity of the Church, is held as firmly now, both at Rome and Canterbury,

as it was at Carthage in the days of Cyprian. But when we seek for the peculiar and characteristic marks of this unity, we find that Cyprian and *modern Anglicanism* unite in making them consist in a consentient Episcopate, in harmony and unity with itself; and each Bishop the centre and bond of union with all the other members of the Church, within his own diocese. Modern Rome, on the other hand, maintains that the Papal Supremacy is the great bond and centre of unity in the Church; that "the Bishops of Rome, according to God's institution and by original right derived therefrom, should have an universal supremacy and jurisdiction over the whole of Christ's Church." They claim the right to nominate, and appoint, to order and confirm the consecration of all Bishops; and even the right to annul and vacate the office after consecration, as may best suit their own sovereign will and pleasure. It would be an exceedingly difficult matter to read such doctrines and powers as these into Cyprian's teaching respecting the *Primacy of the Roman Patriarch*, as will more fully appear when we come to discuss its character.

But on the single point of Church unity, as grounded upon the Saviour's commission to the Apostles to teach and baptize, and on the inherent equality and unity of all the members of the Episcopate throughout the world, each being the common centre of unity in his own Diocese, we find a very near and marked resemblance between the doctrines of Cyprian and modern Anglicanism, but not the remotest likeness to those of modern Rome.

A still more striking resemblance, amounting almost to a positive identity, will be found in the teaching of Cyprian and the modern Anglican Church, respecting the origin, inherent powers and jurisdiction of Bishops.

Does Cyprian teach, that Bishops hold their office by Divine right as constituted by Christ? that, *the only true order of the constitution of the Church*, "and so of the derivation of its functions and powers was; Christ first, the head of the universal organism, then the Apostolate continued by regular succession in the Episcopate; then the ministry in its lower orders, and finally the body of the people held in connection with the head through the medium of this hierarchy, which is thus Divinely ordained to be the one only channel of all descending communications of life and grace?" (page 361.) The Anglican Church maintains substantially the same doctrine, as may be learned from nearly all her writers on Ecclesiastical

Polity, and especially from the judicious Hooker, (Bk. V :) who is received as authority by all parties in the Church.

But will modern Romanism subscribe to this Cyprianic theory of the Church which makes Christ, and not the Pope, as his vicegerent, the universal headship of the Episcopate? And which, moreover, looks to each Bishop as the centre of unity for both clergy and laity in his own Diocese? Here again Anglicanism, both in letter and spirit is almost a fac simile of Cyprianism, whilst Cyprian and modern Rome are as wide as the poles asunder.

Does Cyprian maintain, that the Episcopal office derived through an unbroken line of successive ordinations from the Apostles is essential to the integrity and perfect organization of the Church? So does the Anglican Church assert, that "from the Apostle's time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, &c."

. . . . And . . . "to the intent that these orders may be continued and reverently used and esteemed in this Church, no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest or Deacon, in this Church, or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he be called, tried, examined and admitted thereunto according to the form hereafter following, or hath had Episcopal consecration or ordination." (Pref. to Ord. Serv.) The 28rd article forbids any one to minister to any congregation, "before he be lawfully called and sent" . . . "by those who have public authority given unto them in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard." . . . The first canon of the Church in these United States, ordains that "In this Church there shall always be three orders in the ministry, Bishops, Priests and Deacons:" and canon 86: that "no person shall be permitted to officiate in any congregation of this Church, without first producing the evidences of his being a minister thereof, &c." The statute law of England decrees that "no man can be a lawful Priest or Deacon, unless he be ordained by a Bishop." (Stat. 13, Eliz. and Act of uniformity 14: Car. II.)

Does Cyprian (page 850) distinguish between the office of a Bishop, the powers imparted in ordination and consecration, and the right of exercising "true jurisdiction and lawful power?" This is a distinction perfectly familiar to the Anglican Church both in the Old and New world. At this moment there are Bishops in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, without jurisdiction. The Episcopal Office is received

from the hands of at least three Bishops and with the concurrence of a majority of the whole Episcopal order : but jurisdiction is given by the whole Church, expressed in General Convention, or in case of the recess of that body by the expressed consent of a majority of the Bishops of the Church, and also of the Dioceses, through their standing committees ; the call or nomination both to office and jurisdiction, always originating with the Diocese over which the Bishop is to preside. Should jurisdiction be relinquished or abandoned ; still the inherent powers of the office will remain, until for sufficient reason they be taken away by degradation from the ministry, which must always be the concurrent act, or with the sanction of a majority of the whole Episcopal order. It follows, therefore, that in the *Anglican Church*, as organized in these States, "only in the unity of the office universally taken, can any single Bishop have *true jurisdiction or lawful power*." (Page 350.) He must be in communion with the whole Episcopate.

Here again we find the Anglican Church in harmony with Cyprian ; for he clearly shows that whilst consecration to the Episcopate was received from the Bishops, jurisdiction was given by the Church, in her corporate capacity ; nomination or election being first made by the vacant Diocese. The Reviewer indeed has shown us that Cyprian himself, had jurisdiction almost forced upon him by the popular will. But can modern Rome claim here any affinity with Cyprian ? Would she permit jurisdiction or consecration to be given in this way ? On the contrary, has not the Papacy notoriously spoiled both Bishops and Dioceses of all those powers which they fully exercised in the days of Cyprian ?

Again, we shall find that the Primacy of St. Peter as acknowledged by Cyprian, differs widely from the doctrine of Papal *Supremacy* maintained by modern Rome.

Take the strongest language of Cyprian, as quoted by the Reviewer on page 352, admitting even the clauses in brackets, although we think there is a great preponderance of critical authority against their genuineness, and to what does it amount ? "The other Apostles were also indeed what Peter was endowed with like partnership both of honor and power, but the beginning proceeds from unity, (and the primacy is given to Peter, that there might be shown to be one Church of Christ and one Cathedra. They are all pastors, and there is shown to be one flock, which is fed by all the Apostles with unanimous consent,) that the Church of Christ may be demonstrated one."

..... "Will he, who withstands and resists the Church, (who deserts the Cathedra of Peter on which the Church is founded,) presume still that he is in the Church, &c., &c." . . . In the first place, we have here explicitly asserted, the doctrine of equality in the Episcopal Order; "partnership both of honor and power:" *all are pastors over one flock which is fed by all with unanimous consent.* The same doctrine is maintained (on page 366) in Cyprian's letter to Stephen, Bishop of Rome: "For although we are many Pastors "we feed nevertheless one flock and are bound to look after all the sheep which Christ hath purchased by his blood, . . . &c." Here is the fullest assertion of equality, a joint and equal participation of all the powers and honors of the Apostolic office: but as the Reviewer has noticed there is nothing here nor elsewhere in Cyprian, which savors at all of "a strict independency in the jurisdiction of Bishops." The Reviewer was obviously led to notice this distinction between the equality and independency of Bishops from an erroneous opinion, which he has imbibed, that the Anglican Church asserts the absolute independency of the Episcopal office. This is plain we think, from his assertion, that Cyprian "is often appealed to by modern Episcopalians, accordingly, as a powerful witness for what is sometimes called the independency of the common Episcopal office over against the pretensions of the See of Rome." . . . And again in the note on page 367. "Our American Episcopacy is Congregational."

This is a grave mistake of the Reviewer; and one which evidently in his view, distorts and deforms the whole theory of the Anglican Church. And well it may; for such doctrine practically carried out would indeed be, as he justly characterizes it, a "suicidal anomaly." But we can assure the Reviewer that he is under an entire misapprehension in this matter; such an anomaly does not exist. The evidence that it does not, is full, clear and widely spread throughout our entire country, in the unhappy cases of discipline which have occurred in the American branch of the Church. Would New York with nearly a fourth part of all the clergy, and perhaps one half of all the wealth of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these States, have submitted to the humiliation, and as she claimed, the injustice and indignity heaped upon her, could she have planted herself on the unassailable ground of *absolute independency*? From such an impregnable position, New Jersey might but yesterday, have expelled the *whole bench* of

Bishops from her borders, and sent them home to their own Dioceses. But no; it is because the Church receives both in its spirit and its letter, the Cyprianic doctrine of equality in unity, a concordant oneness of the whole body, in which *all the parts are equal in honor and power*, but each subordinate and obedient to the legitimate voice of the whole, when legitimately expressed, that every Bishop and every Diocese bows submissively to the canonical and judicial decisions of the Church. Her voice is law. She knows nothing of absolute independency on the part of either Clergy or Laity, nor yet in her corporate Diocesan capacity; nothing of the Congregational, "suicidal" principle of nullification; and nothing of the newly coined doctrine of sectarian theology, that schism may without sin be used as a safety valve, to let off the discordant and explosive influences that may from time to time be generated within the bosom of the Church.

So entirely accordant on this point are the doctrines of Cyprian with the Anglican Church, that his very language might readily be taken for that of one of her standard writers. With Cyprian, the Episcopal Church magnifies the office of a Bishop, "as one directly representing among men the supreme authority of Christ," and we may safely assert, that with her, as well as for him, "in this respect all Bishops are of like dignity and co-ordinate power."

The Reviewer concedes, "that all this it must be allowed is not answerable exactly to the order of the Papal system as we find it established in later times." Answerable exactly? is it *at all* answerable to the modern Papal system? Dare a modern Bishop of the Roman communion write to the Pope, as Cyprian did "to Stephen, Bishop of Rome, in the tone of a colleague, possessing the same rank with himself?" No indeed. "The supremacy of the Pope was not in Cyprian's mind, or at least is not in his writings, as it rules, for instance, in our day the thinking of Wiseman or Hughes." (Page 366.) No, no; with them, the Pope is not merely *primus inter pares*, "a colleague of like dignity and co-ordinate power," with all other Bishops of the Church Catholic; but he is the sole vicar of Christ, the Bishop over all Bishops, the supreme and absolutely independent head of the Church militant and God's vicegerent upon earth.

But although "the supremacy of the Pope was not in Cyprian's mind," the *Primacy* of the Roman See was most clearly recognized by him. That his *Primacy* was not supremacy, is

sufficiently evident from his views of Episcopal equality. His *Primacy* was not autocratic. It claimed not absolute power and authority over the other Bishops of the Church. With him the inherent dignity and power of the Episcopal office was the same at Carthage as at Rome. Yet, Cyprian's Primacy was evidently a mark of distinction and rank, that was well understood by the Church at large. The very manner in which he alludes and appeals to it, proves this. He speaks of it as affording an easy test, whereby all schismatics and heretics might be tried. Non communion with this common centre of unity, was, in his view, an open and palpable act of self condemnation, whereby all separatists of whatever name or grade, cut themselves off from the Catholic Church. This, with him, was a convenient captandum argument, easily apprehended by the vulgar mind, and Cyprian evidently makes the most of it; even stretching it beyond the ruled decisions of the Church in Council; for she would never deliberately sanction the hasty judgment of those, who, in the heat of controversy, might mercilessly cast out of the Church all who fell into heresy or schism. In her judgment they were still members of Christ's fold, who, though erring and wandering, might yet be reclaimed and restored, and over whose recovery there would be more rejoicing than over *ninety and nine that went not astray*.

We must, therefore, take his language with some grains of allowance and caution, when used in the hot blood of earnest disputation. We can readily perceive, that he would, under such circumstances, unconsciously magnify and even exaggerate the powers and honors of the Primacy, in order to render the argument more forcible and convincing. He does not, therefore, cautiously guard his language; for he is in no fear of its being misunderstood when taken in connection with his oft asserted doctrine of parity in the Episcopal office. In what then did that Primacy consist, if it was not answerable to the modern doctrine of Papal supremacy?

Although Cyprian does not define or describe it, the Church in her canonical Scriptures and in the acts and canons of her Synods, sufficiently indicates *what it was* and *what it was not*.

The Scriptures show that it was not a grant of power and authority to St. Peter, over the other apostles, to be transmitted perpetually to his successors in the Roman See. We have already seen that the commission was the same to all the Apostles. As the Father sent Christ, so He sent the eleven. All had like power to teach and baptize, to open and shut the king-

dom of heaven. The keys were given to all; all alike were to use them. The only distinction granted to St. Peter, was the privilege of first opening the kingdom of heaven to all believers; to the Jews, home-born and strangers, on the day of Pentecost, and afterwards to the Gentiles, in the person of Cornelius and his household. Here indeed was a personal distinction, but not a distinction that could be transmitted to his successors. This foundation of the Church could be laid but once by Peter and not afterwards again by his successors. In this sense, we behold in him personally, the Rock on which the Church was built, because he first preached the Gospel to Jew and Gentile. But even in this he shared the honor with others; for on the day of Pentecost the eleven stood up with him. All was done with unanimous consent, and probably all preached to different parts of the assembled multitude.

That Peter exercised no peculiar power or authority in thus laying the foundations of the Church, is manifest from St. Paul's teaching, that believers "are built upon *the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets*, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone." (Eph. 2: 20.) This doctrine is also confirmed by St. John (Rev. 20: 14,) in vision, in which the wall of the heavenly city "had *twelve foundations*, and in them the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb."

Hence it appears that St. Paul and St. John, speaking by the Holy Ghost, rest the foundations, not on Peter exclusively, but on the twelve Apostles.

That St. Peter had no supremacy over the other Apostles, involving a superiority of power or jurisdiction, will further appear from St. Paul, (1 Cor. 12: 27,) "now ye are the body of Christ and members in particular. And God hath set some in the Church, first Apostles, secondarily Prophets, &c." Here it is evident, that St. Paul knew nothing of the supreme earthly headship of St. Peter; for with such knowledge, he could hardly say that God had set the Apostles first in the Church; but first Peter and then Apostles. And furthermore, it is marvellous indeed, that there should not be a single hint or intimation of any kind in the Apostolic writings, not even in Peter's Epistles, of the existence or exercise of the extraordinary power, which is now claimed for him.

Christ himself, has, on several occasions, declared against any primacy of power or authority.

When the Holy Supper was instituted, "there was also a strife among them which should be accounted the greatest."

(Luke 22 : 24.) Our Lord did not quiet the dissension by assuring them that Peter should have the supremacy or primacy of honor and power, but said expressly, that they should not exercise lordship one over another : " the kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them," " but ye shall not be so ;"

. . . . " he that is greater (or older) among you, let him be as the younger, &c." Peter was the oldest of all the Apostles ; there can, therefore, be but little doubt that it was he and James and John, the two sons of Zebedee, who chiefly contended for precedence, and hence the solemn and affectionate caution of our Lord : " Simon ! Simon ! behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat, &c." Our Lord had before this, rejected the suit of James and John, through their mother, showing that the only superiority among them would consist in their humble and faithful service. (Math. 20 : 27. Mark 10 : 37.)

On yet another occasion, they contended who should be the greatest, and our Lord then also refused to give any one authority over the rest, saying, " If any man desire to be first, the same shall be last of all and servant of all." (Math. 18 : 1, Mark 9 : 34, and Luke 9 : 46.) Now in all these instances, how easy to settle all further dispute, by simply saying, *Let Peter be chiefest amongst you, and let his Episcopate always have the pre-eminence, both in honor and power.* But the Saviour said no such thing. On the contrary He expressly declares, that there shall be no such primacy ; and much less did he countenance the kind of supremacy claimed by modern Rome.

In view of these positive declarations of Christ against any kind of supremacy or lordship in the Apostolic college, and in the absence of all recognition in the Apostolic writings of any primacy among the Apostles, save that which St. Paul attained, a primacy of labors and sufferings for the cause of Christ, we may safely aver that no such supremacy as is now claimed, was instituted by the Saviour or his Apostles, and therefore, that the primacy acknowledged by Cyprian was not *jure Divino*, but a primacy of order and precedence, at first tacitly yielded by the Church to the Bishop of the great metropolis of the Roman Empire, and afterwards confirmed by Synodical action. The subsequent growth of power and authority in the Roman See, can be distinctly traced from this small beginning, which had its origin in the weight of influence, which, the number of its clergy and people, its wealth and charity,

its steadfastness in the faith, the dignity of the city and the reputation of its founders, St. Paul and St. Peter, easily and naturally acquired for it. A condensed view of this subject may be found in "Palmer on the Church," sustained by primitive as well as Protestant and Roman ecclesiastical authorities. It would lead us too far away from our principal subject, to present it in extenso here.

We proceed to show, that what was at first tacitly yielded as a matter of deference to numbers, wealth and influence, was afterwards confirmed by Synodical action.

The Council of Nice, of 318 Bishops, called by the Emperor Constantine, A. D. 325, confirms the ancient usages respecting the Patriarchal authority of the most noted metropolitan Sees. Canon VI. enjoins, "Let the ancient customs be maintained which are in Egypt and Lybia and Pentapolis, according to which the Bishop of Alexandria has authority over all those places. For this is also customary to the Bishop of Rome. In like manner in Antioch and in the other Provinces, the privileges are to be preserved to the Churches."

This canon appears to have been made with particular reference to discussions in the Church in Alexandria, and against Meletius, who had invaded the privileges of the Bishop of that See. It confirms also the privileges of all metropolitans; but grants no more authority to Rome than to any other Patriarchal Church.

The VII canon of Nice, was also enacted to settle a question of rank or precedence. "Since a custom and ancient tradition has prevailed, that the Bishop of Ælia should be honored, let him have the second place of honor saving to the metropolis the authority which is due to it." This canon shows the usage of the Church at and before the year A. D., 325. Ælia had been honored by ancient custom, because it was on the site of the ancient Jerusalem which had been destroyed by Titus; but Ælius Hadrianus, had rebuilt the city, calling it by his own name; yet the Council decreed that the general usage should prevail even in this case, whereby the first rank was assigned to Cæsarea, then the metropolis of the Roman Province embracing Judea. These canons show the usage of the Church, which was to assign rank and precedence to Bishops in accordance with the rank or importance of the chief cities or provinces that constituted their Sees.

The second oecumenical council of one hundred and fifty Oriental Bishops, called by the Emperor Theodosius the elder,

also enacted two canons on this subject, the II and III. The second canon was passed in consequence of some irregular proceedings on the part of the Bishop of Alexandria, who, after Gregory Nazianzum had been ordained Bishop of Constantinople, sent some Bishops from Egypt to ordain another, Maximus the Cynic, over the same See. The canon accordingly decrees, *first*, "that Bishops must not go beyond their own Dioceses;" *second*, "that the Bishop of Alexandria must have sole administration of the affairs of Egypt;" *third*, that the Bishops of the East must administer in the East only;" *fourth*, "that the privileges which were assigned to the Church at Antioch, by the canons made at Nice, be preserved;" *fifth*, "that the Bishops of the Asian Diocese must administer the affairs of the Asian only;" *sixth*, "and those of the Pontic Diocese, those of the Pontic only;" *seventh*, "and those of Thrace, the affairs of Thrace only;" *eighth*, Bishops may not, without being called; "go beyond the bounds of their diocese for the purpose of ordaining, or any other ecclesiastical function."

This canon shows, that in the judgment of the Council, the usage of the Church in assigning precedence or rank, according to the importance of the See, gave no authority to exercise jurisdiction over other dioceses.

The conduct of the Bishop of Alexandria, must, therefore, have excited the general indignation of the Church, which this Council seems intentionally to have visited upon him by enacting the III canon, as follows: "The Bishop of Constantinople shall have the primacy of *honor* after the Bishop of Rome, because that Constantinople is new Rome."

Here we find, that the precedence of *honor*, next after Rome, was taken from Alexandria, which had previously enjoyed it and given to Constantinople, because that had now become new Rome, the Imperial city. This shows very clearly also, the nature of the primacy enjoyed by old Rome; a primacy of rank or honor, and not of jurisdiction and power.

The third general Council of two hundred Bishops, held at Ephesus, A. D., 431, passed no new canons on the subject of order or primacy in the Church, but shows by its first canon that the assembled Council of the Church had undoubted power and authority over all Bishops and metropolitans of the provinces. The Synods of the Church and not the Bishop of Rome, had in that age jurisdiction over all the Bishops of the Church.

The Council of Chalcedon composed of three hundred and thirty Bishops, was called by the Emperor Marcian, A. D. 451,

on account of the Eutychian heresy. This was the fourth general Council: it passed thirty canons, which throw much light on the usages of the Church at that time. The first canon confirmed the canons of former Synods, and consequently endorses their views of the *primacy* of Rome and other Patriarchal cities. The twelfth canon shows, that whenever any city by *Royal letters*, "has been honored with the name of Metropolis, the Bishop who has charge of the Church of such a city, shall enjoy the honorary title only," when there is another city in the same province, which had previously enjoyed the title and privileges of metropolitan. This recognizes as a settled principle, that rank and precedence among the Bishops in the Church was determined by the rank and honor conferred by the Empire on its cities and provinces. The ecclesiastical followed, in this respect, the civil regulations of the Empire as may be learned from the seventeenth canon of this Council, which orders, that if any city has been newly erected by Royal authority, or shall hereafter be erected, let the order of the ecclesiastical parishes follow the political and public forms." This shows that the rules of ecclesiastical precedence were as well understood and as much insisted on, as laws of precedence in the State. And it shows also, that the principle on which the rules of precedence were based, was the same both in Church and State, viz: the dignity of the city or Province represented. Now with this clue to guide us, it is easy to understand why the whole Church should concede to the Bishop of Rome a primacy of rank over all other Bishops. He represented the Imperial city, and ranked accordingly. This is a fair inference from the canons already quoted, and ought of itself to be conclusive.

But we are not left to deduce this fact by inference from general usage: the Fathers of Chalcedon, as if to provide against the monstrous pretensions of later times, have left on record the reason why Rome enjoyed any primacy at all. The twenty-eighth canon declares, that "*the Fathers properly gave the Primacy to the throne of the elder Rome, because that was the Imperial city.*" Nothing can be plainer. The Council asserts that the *Fathers* gave the Primacy to the throne of old Rome, and that on account of the dignity of the city. There is no intimation of any Primacy, much less supremacy being derived from St. Peter, by special appointment of Christ: and yet it could hardly have been omitted by this and the preceding Councils, if any Primacy had been acknowledged by the

Church as *jure Divino*. Nay, more, if such claims in behalf of Rome, had, at that early day, been seriously put forth, this very Council at Chalcedon, must either have affirmed or denied them. But the Fathers then assembled, only affirmed a Primacy of rank founded on the Imperial dignity of the city. The whole drift of the canon, which was warmly opposed by the Roman influence, was to elevate the See of Constantinople to Patriarchal dignity, and give it a certain defined authority and jurisdiction over several other metropolitan Provinces. This Rome objected to, not because jurisdiction belonged, *jure Divino*, to the See of St. Peter, but because it sanctioned a most unjust usurpation, on the part of the Bishop of Constantinople, of the long acknowledged rights and privileges of the metropolitan Sees of Antioch and Alexandria, which ranked next to Rome; and also because it encroached upon the rights of many other Bishops. Surely in such a contest Rome would have asserted her highest prerogative, and the Council, in self-defence, must have affirmed or denied her claims. Hence, it seems perfectly evident, that no such claims were ever made. The dispute at this Council ran so high, that an appeal was made by the Romans to the Imperial judges, who, after due investigation, gave their decision, "that the *primacy and chief honor* should by all means be preserved according to the canons, to the Archbishop of old Rome, and that the Archbishop of the Imperial city of Constantinople, new Rome, should enjoy the same privilege of honor." The decision goes on to confirm also to the Bishop of Constantinople the Patriarchal powers set forth in the canons.

Thus, the several Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon, express the same common sentiment of the Church respecting the Roman Primacy, bringing us down through a period of full two-hundred years after Cyprian, and nowhere do we find more conceded to Rome, than a Primacy of rank and order, and never a Supremacy *jure Divino*, of jurisdiction and power.

If such were the Primacy acknowledged by the Church in the days of Cyprian, we must suppose that such was his doctrine also; for he does not appear conscious of setting forth any novelty. Such a Primacy, moreover, renders Cyprian consistent with himself, and it is the only view that will harmonise, with his loudly asserted doctrine of parity in the Episcopate, and with his own "high sense of the prerogatives and rights of each Bishop in his own See."

Hence, when writing to Stephen, Bishop of Rome, he may well assume the tone of a colleague, of equal rank, and of equal inherent power, derived from the common commission of Christ; and even go so far as to dispute with him, respecting the Baptism of heretics, and "take ground openly against him, as Paul withstood Peter face to face, charging him with error and overbearing presumption." (Page 366.)

Here we may pause and ask, what resemblance to the Primacy, acknowledged by Cyprian, can be found, in the modern Roman doctrine of Papal supremacy? Nicer optics than ours, will be required, to discover the remotest likeness.

The Anglican Church, on the other hand, it will be found, always acknowledged, with the Church of the second and third centuries, a Primacy of *rank and honor* in the Roman See, but not a supremacy of *jurisdiction and power*. None of the legitimate rights of the Bishop of Rome, as settled by the canons of the early Church, were ever disputed by the Anglican Church, but his usurped jurisdiction, and his blasphemous assumption of titles and powers which belong to God alone, she did disown and reject, at the Reformation.

Thus we have shown the close resemblance of Anglicanism, on many prominent points, to the doctrines of Cyprian. Let us briefly recapitulate. We have seen :

I. That the unity of the Church, as grounded on the Saviour's commission, involves and embraces within itself, as one of the leading and indispensable elements, the divine institution of Episcopacy.

II. That the unity of the Church implies also the unity of the whole Episcopate with itself and the paramount authority of each Bishop in his own diocese, as the common centre and bond of union for both clergy and laity.

III. That the inherent powers of the office, being derived by uninterrupted succession, from the divine commission, through Episcopal ordination, are separate and distinct from jurisdiction, which is assigned by the Church in her corporate capacity.

IV. That the Anglican Church agrees with Cyprian in maintaining a concordant unity of the whole Episcopate, in which all the parts are equal in honor and power, but each subordinate and obedient to the legitimate voice of the whole; and that she has never maintained nor countenanced the doctrine of absolute independency.

V. That the Saviour did not grant to St. Peter a Primacy

or supremacy of honor, power and jurisdiction, to be transmitted through all time, to the incumbents of his Episcopal See; but expressly declared that there should be no such Primacy.

VI. And lastly, from the canons and Synodical action of the early Church, that the Primacy conceded to Rome was one of honor and rank only, and not of jurisdiction and power; and that such was the Primacy acknowledged by Cyprian.

In all these points we find Anglicanism in harmony with the teaching of Cyprian; and we may add, with the Catholic Christianity, also, of the first four centuries. We might extend the parallel still further, and show that Cyprian's doctrine of the *Sacraments* is substantially the same as that set forth in the formularies, Articles, and standard writers of the Anglican Church. All is based upon the principle, that there is in a sacrament, with the outward or visible sign or form, an inward, spiritual grace. It is not merely a token or sign, but a means for the transmission of grace to the recipient, and a pledge to assure him thereof. All this may be foreign to the general spirit of sectarian theology in our day, but it is perfectly familiar to the Anglican churchman. For him there is one Lord, one faith, one Baptism for the remission of sins, one divinely instituted and organized Church. For him that Church is "the organ and medium of grace," not merely by proclaiming salvation, but, as the divinely appointed organism for the transmission of grace to mankind, in the use of all the appointed means, each for its peculiar end; as prayer, reading and hearing the word, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord. These, he believes, are the ordinary means of grace, appointed of God to be used in and by the Church, which, in this way, becomes the instrumental channel of salvation. In a word, he believes that both divine grace and final salvation are assured to the faithful in the Church, whilst there is no promise, or appointed way, of salvation outside of the Church. The promises are to those within, and not to those who remain without. These are views common to Cyprian and the modern Anglican. But modern Rome endeavors to impose upon the Church doctrines which Cyprian never heard of, and which the Anglican wholly rejects. Cyprian knew nothing of the doctrine, that "in the mass is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead. And that in the Holy Eucharist is truly, really, and *substantially* the body and blood, with the soul and Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is made a conversion of the *whole substance* of the bread into his body

and of the *whole substance* of the wine into his blood, which conversion the Catholic Church calls transubstantiation."

. . . That "under *one kind only*, all and whole Christ, and the true sacrament is received." . . . That "*there is a purgatory*, and the souls detained there are holpen by the suffrages of the faithful." . . . That "the saints reigning with Christ are to be worshipped and prayed unto." . . . That "their relics are to be worshipped." . . . That "the Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church is the *mother and mistress* of all Churches." (See creed of Pope Pius IV, first published by authority, A. D., 1564.)

These, with the practical abuses of *image* worship, with set formulas for prayer and praise to the Virgin Mary, are monstrous innovations upon the Catholic faith and worship of the days of Cyprian.

But we need not extend our comparison. Enough has been shown to satisfy any unprejudiced mind, that Cyprian, could he return to earth, would find in the Anglican system, a near approach to the doctrines of Carthage; whilst at Rome, he would be branded as a heretic and an apostate from the faith.

Our strictures have already so far exceeded the limits which we originally assigned them, that we must notice but few of the erroneous inferences of the Reviewer.

Those on page 367, respecting the *primacy* of Rome as a real centre of unity for the *universal Episcopal College*, must be limited by the attributes of that *primacy*. The one acknowledged by Cyprian would render Rome the centre of unity only so far as rank and precedence are concerned, but not a centre by right of jurisdiction and supreme authority in matters of faith and practice.

The Arch-Episcopal See of Canterbury bears much the same relation to the Anglican Church throughout the British Empire, that the See of Rome did in the age of Cyprian to the Church in the Roman Empire. The city, with the suburban Provinces of Italy and the adjacent Islands, limited the *jurisdiction* of the one, as the Province of Canterbury does the other; but their influence alike pervaded and pervades the limits of their respective Empires.

The *assertion* on the same page, that, "as the Church at large must be held together by a real bond in the Episcopate, so this again must be bound like an orb or sphere to some single centre that shall be the principle or beginning of its unity in a like actual view;" is a *mere assumption* of the Reviewer,

which can neither be justly chargeable to Cyprian, nor to the authorized teaching of the Church in his day.

On page 869, also, we must object, that Cyprian does not deserve the imputation, that "he may have led the way in asserting the full sense of the Church system at some points," &c., &c. Cyprian, in our view, was no teacher of novelties. He was, indeed, what, at the present day, would be termed a "high churchman;" and often in the heat of controversy, pushed an argument to conclusions which the doctrines and practice of the Church would not warrant. We have an instance of this in the controversy respecting Baptism by those in a state of schism and heresy, in which he was entirely overruled by the Synodical decisions of the Church. But Cyprian certainly did not lead the way, in asserting what the Reviewer seems to consider "the full sense of the Church system," in the High-Roman doctrine of Papal supremacy. His Primacy was not Autocracy. "The full sense of the Church system" had already been asserted long before the time of Cyprian. The full growth of the Church, indeed, is not yet completed; but like the oak first bursting from its acorn shell, the Church, in the hands of the Apostles, developed all the characteristics of its system; its fullest sense was then brought out to human view as a divine organization and appointment for the salvation of mankind. It was perfect in its kind; it needed nothing but growth and increase: no other *development* is consistent with its origin and object, as a divine creation and not a mere human institution.

So again on the same page: "All goes to show that Stephen was known to claim such central relation to the universal Episcopal college, by right of *succession from Peter*, and that this right was sustained by the general consent and tradition of the Church." Now, we have sufficiently shown, not by overstrained inferences, drawn from what we must be excused for calling *loose and careless generalizations*, but from reliable historic records, that Stephen *did not claim*, and that the Church *did not concede*, even a primacy of order and rank, on the ground, or "by right of succession from Peter;" but simply on the ground that Rome was the imperial city. The inference of the Reviewer, therefore, falls at once like every other baseless fabric.

Similar inferences will also be found on page 870, based on the same mistaken views of the Primacy, which, therefore, will not require further notice here.

We trust that the Reviewer, on a fuller consideration of the entire subject, will discover that the teaching of Cyprian bears no resemblance to that of modern Rome; and that although "Anglicanism is not Cyprianic Christianity," it bears to it so strong a resemblance, that the "grand issue which always lies between Protestantism and Romanism," may safely be, in time to come, as it has been mainly in times past, entrusted to the care and guardianship of the Anglican Church.

We trust, also, that it will be seen and felt, that "the Church question, forced upon us by the writings of Cyprian," is neither *deeper*, nor *more solemn*, is in reality nothing more nor less, than "the controversy between Anglican Episcopacy and the rest of the Protestant world."

We trust, too, that it will be sufficiently evident from what has been advanced, that *Anglicanism* is something more than "mere Episcopacy;" and that it includes in its system higher apprehensions of the attributes and powers of the Church, which, in practice, it does not "reject altogether, or turn into affectation and sham." And, moreover, it has been sufficiently shown, we fondly trust, that there are no good grounds for the assertion, that "the two systems are of *altogether* different constitution;" and, also, that it is an entire misapprehension of the whole subject to suppose, that "the having in common the office of Bishops," is the only ground on which to establish an identity between them. Nor have we learned, as yet, either from the teaching of antiquity, or the light which the Reviewer has shed upon the writings of Cyprian, to call the *spouse of Christ and Church of the living God*, "Peter's Ship." Neither can we accustom ourselves to look upon the Church as broken into fragments and scattered to the winds. This is no part of the Anglican's theory. With him, the Church is one; the Episcopate is inherent in the Church and consequently, there is for him, no perfect Church organization without a Bishop.

The Anglican Church claims mission *jure Divino*. Her's is ordinary mission, received by right of succession, from the Apostles, and she asks all who have not this *ordinary* mission, to show, as did Moses and Christ, by miraculous powers, that they have extraordinary mission, before she can acknowledge their authority to baptize and admit into Christ's fold; for she inquires with St. Paul, "How can they preach except they be sent?" sent by those who have authority to send. She claims also independent jurisdiction, on the undeniable ground that the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Rome, as acknowledged by

the early Councils of the Church and confirmed by the civil power, never extended beyond the Suburban provinces around the city and the adjacent Islands. He, therefore, had not primitive jurisdiction in Britain, and consequently could not claim lawful mission there. Nor did he ever exercise any there until about the A. D. 600, when Augustine extorted from the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the southern part of the Island a reluctant submission to the See of Rome, involving a limited jurisdiction; a grant which was afterwards revoked at the time of the Reformation, by the same authorities that had given it.

With these undeniable facts of history before us; viewed in connection with the further truth, that the Anglican Church, had always been acknowledged, from the remotest antiquity down to the Reformation, as a true branch of the Church Catholic, having the same Apostolic origin, holding the same faith and exercising the same discipline and government; we must confess that we can see nothing but the highest injustice and the deepest injury to historic truth, in classing *Anglicanism* with Novatianism, as on page 367, "it can never generate or uphold a true and valid Church life, in the form of Novatianism say, or Anglicanism."

Is there the remotest similarity between the English Reformation and the Novatian Schism? An impudent attempt to supplant and drive out from the Roman See its lawful Bishop and thrust the unscrupulous author of the schism into his place? The English Reformation was not a work of this kind. It was the act of the whole Church; Bishops, Clergy and Laity, with the Primate at their head. It was, therefore, not schism, but reform: not secession from the Church Catholic, nor rejection of its authorized creeds and ancient teachings; but a reform of corruptions and abuses, and a return to the spirit and substance of early Christianity as exemplified in the faith and practice of the Chrysostoms and Augustines, the Cyrills and Cyprians of the first four centuries.

Thus Rome's usurpations were fearlessly repelled and her thunders despised, as childish imitations of the bolts of heaven, because she never *had* possessed *lawful* mission, nor jurisdiction in England.

A. V * * * * N.

Meadville, Pa.

ART. V.—NEW THEMES FOR THE PROTESTANT CLERGY.

Creeds without Charity, Theology without Humanity and Protestantism without Christianity. With notes by the Editor on the Literature of Charity, Population, Pauperism, Political Economy and Protestantism. Philadelphia: Lippencott, Grambo & Co. 1851. pp. 383.

THE author of this work is a stranger to the public, before which he appears in the volume with the above title. Though a stranger, his book has, notwithstanding, been read, and called forth some reviews, as far as we know, favorable. The subject which the author discusses is Charity, which he conceives has been wholly overlooked in the system of Protestantism. It would be of some service, in order to understand this work, if we knew the spiritual home of the Author, for this would enable us to see more into the interior of the system which he is endeavoring to uphold and carry forward. This, however, has been denied us in the title page, and we must endeavor to discover his home from the general spirit of his book and some portions which may have a bearing upon it.*

In every system, whether philosophy or theology, it is necessary, in order to understand it, to enter into the animus of it; for only by so doing, can it be apprehended and judged. So in every new work which comes before the public, the author occupies a particular "stand point," which must be understood in order that a proper understanding may have place—the merits of it held up, and the demerits criticised and exposed. So now with the book before us. The author was brought up under a system of religion which moulded his thinking and which governs his logic, and under its power he reaches certain ends, in harmony with his own theory. It is seldom, indeed

* Since this article was written, it having been prepared for an earlier number of the Review, a new edition of the work here noticed has been issued, in which Stephen Colwell, Esq., of Philadelphia, is announced as the author.

that we find the powers of mind so developed and drawn out that the individual can break away from the old paths and become, what may well be denominated an independent thinker, and thus originate a new system of philosophy, or of thought. Such minds are rare, and where they are found they are regarded as attaching to themselves, what by many is justly called genius, and then very frequently, draw upon them the suspicions of the narrow minded and bigoted. Whether this is the case with the author of this volume, we doubt, and we will not attribute to him genius, neither will we take away one single laurel he has gained from the manner in which he has presented his subject.

The subject which furnishes matter for this book is one, unquestionably, of great moment. In the view of the author it has been forgotten in Protestantism, and he hesitates not to affix to his title page, "Protestantism without Christianity," using charity in the sense of the apostle Paul. As such an interest, the subject commends itself at once to the earnest consideration of every intelligent mind, with the solemn determination to investigate the charges made against the system which professes to have charity, as the chief of the graces, and if found true, to set about and assist in wiping out the stain and reproach holding against it.

In the preface of this book, the author tells us, that it is not his intention to furnish a complete treatise on any of the topics embraced. The subject, we are told, was long upon his mind, and upon a further acquaintance with it he became satisfied that it was grievously neglected, and that the time had come to invoke special attention to its demands. This is the object of the book. He proceeds to justify himself to some extent, as to the manner in which he speaks of classes of individuals, which, however, will come forward in the main body of the work. He disclaims serving any party, and hence he denounces none, but seeks to stimulate Protestants to come forward and assist in carrying out the precepts of the Gospel which we are told sum themselves up in "Charity."

In entering upon the discussion of the subject he starts out by propounding the solemn question: "Why is it that Christianity has made so little progress in the world?" There can scarcely be a question more momentous than this, and with all earnestness the author proceeds to answer. After having made the admissions which are required in the case, with a firm reliance on the inherent power of truth, when properly present-

ed, he comes to the appalling conclusion, that only one reply can be given to the question, namely: "that aside from the accountability of each individual for himself, the responsibility for the slow progress of Christianity lies at the door of those who profess to be the friends of Christ." This is certainly a startling conclusion. To have it said, that even the very friends of the Saviour, are standing in the way of the progress of the great system he came into the world to establish, which is summed up in the small, yet comprehensive word of *Love*, is certainly a serious charge. In order to make good and substantiate his charge, he proceeds to inquire into the object of the Saviour's mission into the world. This he finds to be the redemption of humanity, by his life, suffering and death upon the cross, and by vanquishing and defeating the powers of the infernal world, and asserting his authority over the same, by his triumphant resurrection, and his ascension into heaven. He thus became a *Saviour*. He instituted a Kingdom, of which he is the foundation, with which he ever abides, according to his own glorious promise. "Lo I am with you always, even to the end of the world," and having planted upon its very front, the three graces, Faith, Hope, Charity, these three, but the greatest of these is Charity. To carry forward and fully plant this spiritual kingdom upon the earth, was the object of the apostolic mission, and after them their immediate followers even unto this present time without any interruption. On this point, however, we conceive the book to fall in with our common infidelity, as we will endeavor to show in the proper place. For the sake of distinctness and convenience, the author quotes from the New Testament, about fifteen pages, intending thereby to show what the Saviour has taught upon the great subject of Charity, making his extracts especially from Christ's sermon on the Mount, and the sublime declarations of the beloved apostle John. No one can read them without being struck how little it tallies with the spirit we have manifested in our day, on every hand, around us. It is sufficient to justify suspicion against any system which makes loud boasts, but produces no fruit. Its constant exclamation now is, in the language of Phariseeism, "Stand back, for I am holier than thou." "We are right, you are wrong." How little does this comport with the Christian system, as represented by the inspired apostle John, "Little children, love one another." From the teachings of the Bible, it is true, as the author says, that the grand truths of the Gospel are to be

received not merely by the ear, but by every avenue which the heart opens up, when hearts are drawn by the silent, yet powerful influence of example, showing first, by example, that we possess really that which is to be taught to others. It matters not what our profession is, if the fruit does not correspond. What is Protestantism with all its professions, if the vital principle of the Gospel be wanting? If it can say to the poor outcast, in rags and poverty, "Be ye clothed, be ye warmed," when it only remains with the lip, of what value or benefit is it, or ever can be to the world. True and genuine Christianity aims at the abolition of all this—it exalts the humble beggar to a free position, which will recognize in him a brother, and he can say with as much right as the pious crowned monarch, "I am a king," and both having part and lot in the same Hope, are fellow travelers for a blissful eternity. We say this is the object of Christianity, and this principle was fully carried out by its Author when he condescended to wash the feet of his disciples, and in case of the early Christians who nursed and watched over the sick, both heathen and Christians, in times of pestilence and war, which extorted from the lips of the enemies of Christianity, the memorable confession, "See how these Christians love one another." This was carrying out the cardinal principle of the Gospel. But when we come to look for it in our day, we look in vain. It must either have been lost, or a necessity created, which demanded a change, or else the system we now have and in spite of opposing forces are endeavoring to carry forward, is something different, *toto coelo*, from that which had place among the apostles and early Christians. This very fact is cause for alarm; for either we must have outgrown the apostles and early Christians in wisdom, which is not likely, or else we may be hewing out for ourselves cisterns which can hold no water.

It becomes then a very interesting and important problem, to ascertain the cause why so little progress has been made. Our author charges the system directly with a want of the proper principle, namely, Charity. If this be true, another very serious question presents itself: Has Christianity developed itself in accordance with its own principles, or may we not have foreign elements mixed in, so that we are now engaged in upholding a system which is not Christianity? These are questions now which force themselves upon our consideration, and it betrays a stupid mind and a want of proper feeling and

insight into the great subject of Christianity, if we can "rule them out" by a mere flourish of the pen.

What then is the face of things which the religious world presents? What is the prevailing spirit which now rules? There is but one answer which can be given, and that is, the spirit of sectarianism. This spirit began to manifest itself at once, shortly after the Reformation had commenced, but the grand principle then being private judgment, the originators of new sects claimed equal power and authority with that of the Reformers. The Reformation principle was about to be moulded, for as yet it had not developed itself fully and settled into a particular form. This we see in the "Zurichan prophets." Hence then, a want of power and authority to decide in all cases of a spiritual kind, and asserting obedience, which province always belongs to the Church, as the bearer of truth. Sects then began to multiply and no power was at hand which could curb this terrible monster. Before Luther, Zwingli and Calvin, passed from time into eternity, the principal trunk of the Reformation had divided itself into two great confessions, and how many little sects, in addition, need not here be mentioned. As time rolled on, one sect after another appeared, each claiming the right to read and interpret Scripture for itself, no one daring to interfere or molest them in doing so. On the continent of Europe and in England also, we find sects of all sorts, from the very origin of the Reformation down to the deceived Mormon. But Europe presents a small picture in comparison with our own fertile America. Our motto is, "Liberty and Freedom," both in Church and State. Under this banner, free scope is given to every grade of mind. History shows that the spirit of sectarianism has been very busy. One sect after another is born, without much travail and pain, and arises with the greatest ease imaginable. We have them of all sorts and sizes. The Mormon worships perhaps as reverently as some of his neighbors. One spire after another meets the eye, all pointing upwards to one home, while distraction and confusion reign in our midst. It would be, perhaps, a task to enumerate all the divisions of Protestantism since the Reformation, and that this spirit of division is still going forward, is evident, from the fact that a party lately arose among the Mormons, styling itself the "New Church," with seven rulers answering to the branches of the golden candlestick. Alas! what light! What makes this picture more sad, is the fact of an overbearing Phariseeism on the part of all our sects,

when we are hearing the continual cry, "We are right, you are wrong." This spirit of condemnation falls in with the idea of the Church, which is one, but how mean and contemptible does it not appear upon the lips of our modern sects.

It may be asked now, Is this spirit of division necessarily included and comprehended in the principle of Protestantism? It is not our intention to discuss this question, as this would lead us away from our present design, and we will merely remark, that it is either comprehended in it or else the Reformation has developed itself falsely, that it has not been true to its genius and laws. Either position is alarming, but yet one or the other must be true, so that one horn or the other of the dilemma must be chosen. If we say the former, then the Reformation stands condemned at the very start—if we say the latter, then it would seem as if there were a necessity to make the experiment, *de novo*. But our common Protestantism does not seem to see or feel the force of the objections which lie against the system. They will tell you, we are all one in reality, as was discovered by the world's convention at London, where perhaps Infidel and Turk could have united and joined hands with the advocate of Christian Union. If we all are one, why not realize the prayer of the Saviour, by coming into a close and vital union? Why so many confessions, if this be true? Why must each sect stand for itself to the exclusion of all the rest? Alas! this boasted union is only imaginary. The only place it does seem where individuals meet in union, is on the broad platform of the Tract Society, and there the union, of course, is of the character proposed and sought after by the "members of the world's convention." It sounds harsh upon the ear, when we hear the Tract orators say, that if they cannot meet anywhere else in union, they can here on this broad platform—they can leave their respective sects to which they belong, and come together here and shake hands, when in heart and real sentiment they are as divided and as far from each other as ever. They can say, Hail brother, when with the concealed dagger they are prepared to stab him under the fifth rib. Instead of savoring of a Christian spirit, it is the very essence of Infidelity. To hear men, and that Christian men, talk of meeting on this latitudinarian platform, and shake hands and do that which they cannot do in the Christian Church, the body of Christ, smacks strongly of some element foreign to Christianity. Is it possible that the Tract Society develops the great cardinal truth of Christianity, Charity, which the

Christian Church cannot do, to which it belongs as one of the three graces? Such an admission would be fatal to the very existence of the Christian Church. But yet what does this fact prove? Simply this, that the Tract Society has taken the place of the Christian Church, and the Church has failed to develop her own grand principles. This is the infidelity of the orators which make their appearance at its anniversaries. It shows, furthermore, the idea some men have of the Christian Church, and also their idea of Christian union. It seems to them, that the Church is a body of men associated together for the advancement of some common end, and the Church is often, in this view, called a Society, with powers similar to that of the Odd Fellows and Sons of Temperance. So too with Christian union. It is an outward coming together, a shaking of hands, with pleasant, smiling faces, when heart may be arrayed against heart, as deadly as ever before. Alas! for such ideas of these glorious truths; when, we may ask, will they ever be realized? Protestantism, with such conceptions, must ever remain separate and divided.

Sectarianism has had full sway since the time of the Reformation, whether it belongs to the system or not. Let us then examine into its spirit, in order to discover the principle which rules it. In the history of sectarianism, we have a large mirror where each one appears to advantage, after having applied the proper paint, and then in it will appear images, each answering to the original as projected by the author. The hero of each sect speaks and paints for himself, and the confusion which appears on the mirror, reminds one of a spiritual Babel. The Bible is honored and venerated by all, (except perhaps the Roman Catholic, as we are told) and it is really wonderful to hear so many different notes produced by striking the same key. The spirit of the Bible, as we all know, or at least ought to know, is peace, brotherly love, kindness and above all charity. But what is the spirit which rules the religious world? It is not that of love. Each sect feels itself called upon to carry out its peculiar mission, and this must be performed in the best manner possible. It sets out then in its appointed crusade, taking captive all that fall along the way, for which sometimes unprincipled measures are adopted and carried into effect. There is a spirit of opposition, no one can deny this, actuating the different sects, which enters into their zeal and activity. Christians of various branches are arrayed one against the other, and with this emulation they set to work to

labor in the Lord's vineyard. It cannot be disguised, that a certain feeling of jealousy and envy is harbored between the different sects, which often leads them to undue length. Where this is the case, party zeal and party spirit are encouraged, which often take the place of the Christian virtues. These worldly elements mix themselves in with those that are Christian and give us a perfect alloy, the original being adulterated, having lost in value and worth. The spirit actuating the sects is a destructive one. They all appear upon the battlefield fully equipped with royal, spiritual weapons, drawn of course from the Bible, and with these they proceed to do execution. They can censure and blame others, and at the same time glorify themselves, and then proceed and act over the very acts censured and condemned in others. Every movement of these sect champions tells us that they are engaged in a deadly conflict, endeavoring to gain the mastery, not over Satan and his spiritual allies, but over their colleagues who likewise call themselves Christians. This is not only the case here but elsewhere, so that instead of saying, Behold how these Christians love each other, you are forced, reluctantly, it may be, to say, See how they hate each other. But we may be told this is a holy emulation. Why then not manifest a proper Christian feeling and spirit? If the principles of Christianity actuate the sects, why the bitter discord and selfish spirit so often witnessed? No, the reason seems to be a want of the spirit of Christ. Charity, the keystone in the Christian arch, is wanting, without which, all our professions will be heartless and vain. Is it any wonder then, that there is such an amazing amount of infidelity and worldliness, when the world looks on and sees these fruits developed from professed principles. Sectarianism then is opposed to charity and instead of having the Christian world united and drawn together, which should be the case under the banner of Christ, having charity inscribed thereon, we behold a constant repulsion, but no attraction. And why is this? In the language of the author, the fault lies at the door of the friends of Christ. They are divided, their interests come into conflict and clash, and progress, under such circumstances, must be very slow and uncertain. The stigma lies then full upon the followers of Christ, who profess to be the salt of the earth.

But another deduction is to be made from these facts. This monstrous system not only clogs and fetters the wheels of the Gospel car, but is decidedly opposed to vital piety and religion.

What is the form of piety we often find in our miserable sects from Alpha to Omega? We discover a certain mould—a certain type into which piety is cast. It may be made to take in the holy laugh or develop itself into the long beard which must worship in this way and no other. As soon as it is removed from its moorings, it is restless and uncertain, and yet piety should be constant and regular, having deeply and extensively infused into it the principle of charity, the very substance of the Gospel. Piety, in our sects becomes sectarian, bigoted; reminding one of the parable of the Pharisee and Publican: “Stand back, for I am holier than thou.” If this is the effect which vital piety has on the heart, then the pious Christians (not sect Christians) of other times were greatly deceived. Charity then must be set up as the mark, it is the aim towards which we must all look, it must be more extensively infused into our Protestantism, in order to prepare it for reaching the great end before it. Whether this can be done under its present form remains a problem for future solution. Taking this view, the position of the author remains, namely, a want of charity on the part of those calling themselves Christians, which accounts for the slow progress Christianity has made, and the one-sided individual, sectarian piety which we find developed in all the sects. Whether this is the spirit of the Gospel commanding us to “deny ourselves and to take up the cross and follow Christ,” is not for us now to say.

We turn now to another phase of this interesting book. We have seen that sectarianism offers no soil for the growth of charity, and that the system is detrimental to personal piety. We have said that the author has some spiritual home, the atmosphere of which, moulded his thinking. This his book clearly shows. Where it is remains a mystery still, but he develops his hatred to creeds, confessions, catechisms, &c., and with many of the sects of our day he advances forward with the torch manufactured by himself, and the little light he gets through his own glasses. In this way, we fear, he destroys the very principle for which he contends. He becomes a powerful advocate of private judgment, and the free use of the Bible, the very principle of sectarianism, so that each one can see and understand for himself. This, as we have said, is the very soul, the very principle of every sect. There is no sect, from the Reformation down to this time, that does not insist fully as much on having the Bible and the free use of reason, as our author. Even the Roman Catholic loves *his* Bible, and his Church was

the guardian of it before the Reformation commenced, or any of our sects were born. Every sect cries out, The Bible and private judgment, no creeds, no confessions, no catechisms, why be hemmed in by these boundaries, why not let us do as we please? We have the Bible, we can read and interpret for ourselves, and we love freedom and hate restraint. No wonder with this idea that we have such a Babel. We would not wish to be understood as denying private judgment or the use of the Bible; we would only contend for the proper use and not abuse. This, by the way. Such is the principle of this hateful system, and in it no charity can grow. The food that nourishes it is denied it, its roots are cramped and it is at best, such as we have it, but sickly and drooping. The author is careful to say that he is no advocate of the idea, that it is immaterial what men believe, and yet he tells us, each one is to read and interpret for himself and so come to the truth. This involves a contradiction. He believes what he does, because he grew up under the spirit of that confession, be it written or unwritten. If he is a Quaker, he grew up under the influence of Quakerism and inhaled that atmosphere. It matters little whether he have a written confession or catechism, the thought, the leading ideas have become fixed and settled, and growing up under this, with an open Bible in the hand, he becomes as much the slave to his confession, creed, or catechism, as any one who studies a written confession or memorizes a written catechism. And under these circumstances is there room left for the growth of charity in such soil as this? We fear it is individualism, as we had it before. So the author says among other things,

"Every man, with the Scriptures in his hands, is bound to search them anxiously, carefully, and with an honest desire after the truth: it is his duty to supply himself with all the help he can, both from books and living teachers; but in the last resort he must believe for himself and not by another; his belief must be built on his own convictions, and not on those of another. A man's religious mind, the state of his soul in its relations with religious truths, must be made up from his own investigations, decisions and exercises, and not those of another. He is bound to perfect himself in belief and practice, to the utmost extent of his capacity: and no doubt all men fall short of their duty in this respect. It is obviously absurd to bind men by creeds and confessions, and expect them to keep together and be uniform in faith or speculation.

Such efforts can only produce a seeming uniformity, and exert a decided influence towards hypocrisy or want of candor." Page 42 and 43.

Here it is said that uniformity cannot be attained, and he becomes thus an advocate for the wildest sectarianism, running it into gross individualism, the very curse under which the religious world now lies. Can Christian charity find a home in such rank infidelity as this? We have our doubts. But now let us see what ground there is for the opposition to confessions, creeds, catechisms, &c. 'Tis true, if they were but mere "indices," we might do without them, and then if found in error they could easily be corrected, and tinkered into shape, or, if this would be too much trouble, the matter could be left at rest, as nothing is gained or lost. We beg leave, however, to differ on this point. We confess ourselves suspicious, and have doubts as to the safety of such procedure. For our own part, we would never choose such a tinkerer for *our* spiritual guide. Our fears would be aroused, and we would always feel that we had no guaranty that the substance of our faith would not be tinkered out of shape, so that our poor soul could find no place whereon to rest. This too belongs to the system of sectarianism. It hates creeds, confessions, catechisms, &c., and true to its spirit, it puts into shape whenever any become warped by usage or time. True to this spirit, the Augsburg Confession has suffered vastly. The Smaller Catechism has felt the same violent hands. And yet this spirit, with all its mutilating and even rejecting, will stand up and say, *this is the substance of our faith—this is our creed*. The spirit, as we have said, is true to itself. It hates instead of loves. Under its ruthless hand the system of Truth always changes, so that if you wish to examine it, "you must shoot it on the wing," for it will not remain at rest long enough for you to take deliberate aim. It is sheer individualism. If this be right—if it be true, where have we the guaranty of truth? Is truth so changing as all that? If so, then religion becomes, of all things, the most uncertain. But truth is ever the same, Christ himself is the personal truth, with whom is no change. He is the same, yesterday, to-day and forever. And can we for a moment suppose, that since his advent to this time, it continued to change, clear out of shape, so that some skillful hand was needed to bring it to its original shape? Christianity has a shape—a substance of its own, this cannot vary as our sects tell us. It was truth when the personal truth was in the flesh, and con-

tinues so for all ages. This life must be preserved and according to the promise of the Saviour, he is with his Church always even to the end of the world. It is delivered from one age to another and the doctrines of the Church we have then in the creeds of the early Church, which have been handed down even to our times. The very fact that so little account is made of these early creeds, embodying the faith of the early Church: the very fact that even the venerable confession, the Apostles' Creed, can be corrected, shows the avowed hostility against all symbols, ancient or modern, and is in perfect harmony with the destructive spirit to which the enemies are sworn. This spirit carried out to its legitimate consequence gives us the locust-swarm of sects, each one with an open Bible in the hand, as a matter of course, and reading into it its system, barren as it always is, as it is apprehended by the private judgments of its hero. Here again, as before, under such individualism (not piety,) charity finds no home and no soil in which it can grow. It withers and dies.

After these points are disposed of, on which we conceive the book to fall in with the radical Protestantism of the age, the author endeavors to point out the law of charity as manifested among the early Christians. The relation in which the Saviour is made to stand to slavery, is something wholly different from what we find among our modern abolitionists. As he is the great author of freedom itself, he proclaimed no law against its existence, nor against those who were the more immediately interested and concerned in the transaction. The only rule which he enforces is that of Love, infusing this great motive power into the hearts of those who heard him, and thus taught them to do as ye would be done by. Under this powerful influence the spirit of emancipation commenced and was carried forward, and in proportion to its prevalence, was the power and activity with which it was carried on. This spirit of emancipation was spiritedly entered into, until the internal power or force was interrupted or in a great measure destroyed, which showed its effect upon emancipation at once. All the mighty effects produced, seem to have been effected under the influence of charity, the chief of the graces. Charity had effect not only on the institution of slavery, but produced powerful manifestations in every department in which it could find room to become active. Hence we are informed that the principle of charity manifested itself powerfully, in ransoming the captives taken in war and doomed to slavery. "One of the

marked characteristics of Christian kindness is seen in the liberality exercised in ransoming from slavery its constant recruits. In many cases whole communities were impoverished by their efforts in this way, and instances are not wanting in which men sold themselves into slavery to procure the means of redeeming others. When Genseric took and pillaged Rome, he carried off a host of its best citizens, as captives, and landed them at Carthage, in Africa, where, husbands being separated from wives, and parents from children, they were sold into bondage. Christians at Rome sent after their unhappy brethren all the means they could command towards their redemption and relief: but the prisoners found Christians in Africa. Deogratias, bishop of Carthage, gave himself to the work of recovering these slaves of Vandals and Moors. To prevent separation of families he purchased a large number of them. The churches of Carthage were fitted up with beds and furniture and became the habitations and hospitals of those who were descendants of the former enemies of that city. To meet this great expense, the gold and silver ornaments and vessels of the churches were sold. Medical attendance and nursing were liberally bestowed upon the numerous sick. The good bishop day and night gave his personal superintendence and aid to this great and good work, and this under the weight of a feeble old age." A. D. 450. pp. 68, 69. Surely these were exhibitions of the principle of charity, of which, modern, Protestantism can furnish no parallel. The author now follows charity in all its manifestations from the early Christians on to the period of the Reformation. His idea of the exhibition of the principle becomes somewhat confused and irregular through the period that follows. Monasticism, we are told, originated at an early day. In the course of time it grew to a great and powerful system. The influences which it exerted upon the world, are beyond computation. The Church claimed of right the control. The wealth of her members was poured into her lap and her pulse of charity told upon all ranks of the community. She had it in her care "to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to redeem the captive, to aid in the cure and care of the sick, the infirm, the halt and the blind, and for the support of a generous hospitality." The charity of the Church, was manifested not only in her midst and among her own members, as is the case now-a-days with our miserable sects, but as genuine charity always will, its manifestation was seen everywhere. "When the plague raged in Alexandria, in the time of the Emperor Gal-

lianus, Christians distinguished themselves, in contrast with the pagan population, by their undaunted courage and persevering care for the sick, dying and dead. They omitted no duty and fled from no contact in the care of those laboring under the frightful malady, in closing the eyes of the expiring, in cleansing the bodies of the dead, and in carrying them to their graves: and as fast as the ranks of those thus exposed were thinned by death, others stepped in to fill their places. These sacrifices were made not only for Christian brethren, but for the heathen, who were deserted by their own families, and left to die without a single attendant, in the streets as well as in the houses, and their bodies to go unheard and unburied." pp. 71 and 72. The very fact that we have such powerful exhibitions, in this early age, shows clearly that charity was not something mechanical in the Church, as we find it in our day, but that the life of Christ was infused into his followers, which brought about these glorious results. But this spirit of charity is to be traced through the whole period of the Church, even to the very threshold of the Reformation, and from thence onward even to our times. If this be true, which Church history establishes beyond a doubt, then it follows that there was a real continuation of the kingdom of Christ upon the earth, which had not become extinct, even through the dark ages of our author. Where we find the Gospel principle of charity unfolded and developed, as was the case through this period, we are forbidden to adopt such an infidel conclusion. The very principle which he upholds and shows to have been at work even then, is fatal to his Church during that period. There is no other conclusion possible; for either you must say that Gospel charity is possible beyond the pale of the Church, where Christ is not; or you must admit that all was effected in the bosom of the Church. If we take the first, we may as well scatter the Church to the winds and join hands with the infidel, and expect salvation without coming to Christ. But this point need not now be pressed. We have said that the system of charity did not cease its exhibitions with the Reformation. It continues even until now. The Catholic Church always had regard to this great cardinal truth. In this respect she has produced saints, and when we come to compare her operations with those of our miserable sectarianism in every form, she throws all far in the shade. The spirit of charity, as in the bosom of the Church reached necessarily her members, and we find in her, some of the noblest examples of self-denial in

the sphere of charity. The influence which was exerted upon the world through the charitable zeal of Bernhard and Anselm before the Reformation and of Hay and others since, cannot be told. Whilst the sects of the Reformation were engaged in warm and angry discussions and debate, and in their blind zeal "left large regions uncultivated, when they quarreled about their several boundaries, whilst the land on each side was running to waste," the Catholic Church was engaged in developing still further, in a practical way, the great principles entrusted to her. "It is clear that opinions have, by these contests, been magnified into undue importance, and these disputes have absorbed time and attention which belonged to other subjects. They have given a harshness and severity of outline to sectarian differences, at once forbidding and unchristian." p. 93. "If we examine the articles, confessions of faith, creeds, and catechisms of Protestants, if we look into their controversies, if we attend their convocations, conferences, conventions and assemblies, we find that the burden of the whole has been doctrine, theology and Church government. The Scriptures are searched unceasingly, . . . and may not this study of the Scriptures have been made too subservient to sectarian opinions and too little conducive to the active duties of Christian love?" pp. 94 and 95. Protestantism, as we have it now, seems to have no time for the unfolding of this great cardinal truth, and what we have in it, in the way of liberal contributions and bequests, do not spring from a heart overflowing with Christianity, from which charity springs. The tracts on systematic beneficence do not reach the subject. The object is not to bring about a system by which to contribute, but to have the heart imbued and filled with the spirit of our ever adored Saviour, and then will every heart say, "Behold Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor." Our beneficence is selfish, and it may have place with the infidel as well as the Christian, and no doubt now has; but this is not Gospel charity, for this, true and genuine, holds only in connection with vital piety. In bleak Unitarianism, it is a plant which cannot grow, and so too in our selfish sectarianism.

From this point now it is easy to see over into the enclosure of the Church, as it is fashioned by our author. On this point, it is to be feared, he falls in with the reigning infidel notion of the age. But let him speak for himself. "All the errors of Romanism were not left behind by those who came out of that Church. The idea of a great mysterious organization, a hea-

ven-ordained corporation, which is the medium of communication between Christ and his followers, still clings to the minds of many. The disposition to Judaize, 'tithe mint and rue, and pass over judgment and the love of God,' has not been exhausted, but has been visible in every age since the days of the Apostles. 'Lading men with burdens grievous to be borne,' 'putting yokes upon the necks of disciples,' has been done in modern times, and continues to be done, until a further reformation takes place, or until men become too enlightened to be fit subjects for such spiritual domination." pp. 96 and 97. It is difficult to see what idea of that glorious order of grace, "the Church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all," the author of this book has. In his view, Christianity is magical, reaching the individual somewhere from the clouds, without any constituted order or method. With him history, and especially Church history, is made up of "bits and fragments," loosely thrown together, like the stone upon the heap, without any vital connection. You can take any number off and you still have the heap. With this loose notion, you can do anything with history and the Bible. Our Protestantism can be patched to anything prior, and with all imaginable ease dissect the body and then commence and put together a better subject than the master hand, Time, ever could. No wonder that some portions in the history of the Church are dark and gloomy. No wonder, with such an idea, that they can abuse and ridicule history with all the slang infidelity can command. But what else is it than joining hands with Voltaire, Hume and Gibbon. It is a denial of Christ. The author's view, if we can apprehend it at all, is to be freed from all spiritual domination, to cast to the winds creeds, catechisms, confessions, not to say anything of such an order as the Church, to disrobe her priests and let every one silently and quietly, in his own way (is this freedom of conscience?) take his Bible and read for himself, and find the way to heaven. Why have the *pfaffen* to tithe and domineer over the people? What use for any order? Why not have each one to start for the kingdom in his own strength? This spirit, discountenancing all these means and orders, now turns and out of respect, calls the Church a Society, where persons club together and assist each other to reach an end which could not be reached so well in any other way. To talk of the Church as an order of divine grace, which Christ instituted in the world, as the bearer of life and grace to a fallen world—to say that she is

the mother of all God's children, smacks too strong of Romanism. With a deadly hatred towards the Catholic Church in which were born our Reformers and to which we trace the origin of our respective families, they rush into an extreme on the other side and tell you we claim nothing of this. Our religion, our Christianity comes from the Bible, this is our warrant, to this we must turn. So, and what becomes of the Saviour's promise, "Lo I am with you always?" Where was his body? Of course, according to them, in the Bible, from thence it was dragged forth to light. What a conception of the Body of Christ as compared with that of the apostle Paul. To the Ephesians he says, that God "hath put all things under His feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the Church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." And to the Colossians, "He is the head of the body, the Church," "We being many are one body in Christ." "As the body is one and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ." "Therefore he saith, when he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men, . . . And he gave some apostles and some prophets and some evangelists and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, till we all come into the unity of the faith in the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, &c." In these passages the reality of the Church is clearly held up, an idea contrary to that of the author. St. Paul, here shadows forth the Church under the figure of a body, and then raises the figure into a reality, so that the example or argument, passes by a sort of transfiguration into the mystery of Christ's mystical body, as when he says, "We are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones." To speak in addition of the ancient formula, *Extra ecclesiam, nulla salus*, and the ancient faith, "he that hath not the Church for his mother cannot have God for his father," would be horrible and shocking to their conceptions. The view of the author differs from all this, and yet in this we are told are to be developed the different graces spoken of in the Gospel, faith, hope, charity. But in such barren soil it is easily seen, they cannot, they will not grow. What we have here is only a bastard production, fit for nothing. No wonder then that the Protestantism, which has this view, never developed the principle of charity. It demands some-

thing fairer, such as pure Evangelical Protestantism as we have it in the palmy days of the Reformation.

From the view which the author takes of the Church, the relation which the individual sustains to her must necessarily follow. He regards the Church as a Society, established as a convenience, and men come together here to reach ends, which could be reached without her. So he says, page 97, "To step in between the soul of man and his Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, to assume the office of a mediator between them, or of arbiter and absolute interpreter, is an act of usurpation so daring and impious as to be incredible, if our knowledge rested on less evidence than our eyes and ears. This intervention of man between God and his creatures, is not at all confined to members of the papal Church. The assumption is not strange in the Protestant world. The Gospel is to be preached to every creature: instruction is to be given to every extent that is practicable: those for whom it is intended are to receive it humbly and teachably, exercising all their faculties to understand and digest: but the opinions then formed, the faith then built up, and the working of the affections then excited, the union between God and the soul then formed are operations wholly between God and his subject, man, in which no Church or ecclesiastical agency or office can have any share. The sooner men are made to feel, individually, and as masses, the great fact that their eternal salvation depends not upon any Church or form of religious organizations, but upon their individual reception of the truth—not upon their union with any religious denomination, nor upon their observance of any forms or ceremonies, or mode of worship, but upon their individual union with God in Christ, the sooner will Christianity acquire a new progress and surmount the barriers which now retard its movements." This view cuts off the ancient formula, *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*. The author would look upon the early Church fathers and their faith, "as an act of usurpation so daring and impious as to be incredible," and hence there is no use for such an institution to usurp individual rights. The author speaks of "the teachings of Christ," of "the reception of truth," but where, we may ask, is this truth to be found? Is it in the world, is it everywhere? Then Christ must be so, for he is the personal truth. Then again, how is it to be made over to us? In the view of the author, all is sheer magic, his religion—his idea of piety is magical, and being so, is nothing at all. Can charity find a home here? It is hard to see how. And yet in this

magical way he contends for something which cannot develop itself in such barrenness and nihilism as this. In what way, we may ask, did grace reach the pious Jew? Was there not a necessity for him to come into contact with the order of grace, instituted by Jehovah? *In the temple*, the Shekinah dwelt. *There* the priest sacrificed. Thither the Jew had to come. This was the command of Jehovah. Might not the Jew have reasoned just as rationalistically as our modern rationalists, and said, why such an interposition on the part of the priest? Why not every one worship and sacrifice as would best suit himself? Why go to the temple at all? Why not do all this at home? But no, the command of God was to go *there*. With the devotions there the blessings were connected. And so in the Christian system of grace. There is need for the chosen ambassador of God. The Christian Church is the channel through which grace is made over to the people. She is the body of Christ, and beyond her, we have no way revealed how any spiritual life can exist and reach those on the outside. As such an order, there must needs be shepherds, ambassadors of God, organs through which blessings are to be made over to the people. It was so among the Jews. The people then were united to God through the priesthood and the temple. Of such a bald, abstract notion, as the author holds up, the Old Testament order knew nothing. There was a system of grace. So in the new dispensation. The Saviour chose his apostles, the people were not indiscriminately called, but through the chosen vessels of the Saviour. The apostles healed diseases, performed miracles in his name. Divine power passed over upon the deceased through the apostles. If this be so, which no believer in the Christian system can deny, it follows that the relation which the individual sustains to this order, is as the members to the Head. These are united, not outwardly, as the stone upon the heap, but organically, and that *through the body*. The individual cannot cast aside the Church, for through her he is united to the body of Christ. He alone is the door into the sheep-fold. "No man cometh to the Father but by me." But he is in his "body the Church," and hence connection with him must have place in the manner and way appointed and instituted. Let us not climb into the fold some other way for fear of being denominated "thieves" and "robbers," but come through the door, which is Christ. The author contends for charity in the system which he upholds and presents, whatever it may be, but it is the very same which we now have, the wide,

accommodating latitudinarianism, which has not produced it, and it may be inferred that unless penetrated with proper contents, never will. As it now stands, it seems to be destitute of the very principle.

With the author of this book, the end which the glorious Reformation was to reach, and which was reached, was to rescue the sacred Bible from destruction and loss, forgetting, of course, that "numerous editions of the Bible were published in the principal languages of Europe, under the patronage of Popes, Cardinals and Bishops, long before Protestantism came into being . . . In our own country, the Catholics published not less than twenty or twenty-five editions of this Holy Book, of every size." What became of these editions that were published, if they did not reach the people? As the Reformation then was called to this work, the great subject of charity was neglected, and in all the creeds, confessions, catechisms, &c., according to the author, it is not once named. What an idea of Christianity, which requires rules for every form and department of our human life. This was not the object of the Reformation. That was to assert, over against the Romanists the clear doctrines of the Gospel, the doctrine of justification by faith, without works, in the sense of Popery, nor to make and adopt rules for the government of life. The object was to plant the principles of the everlasting Gospel deep and firm, so that they might spring forth and develop themselves into glorious fruit. This has been the case where the planting has been proper, and where proper conditions for growth have been at hand, the fruit which must necessarily follow has never been withheld. Charity then, does not so much enter into the conception of Christianity—the subject here is Christ. It belongs not to the *Creed*, but flows forth from it rather as the golden fruit. So the obedience of the moral law, he obeying it, must practically love God and in reality love his neighbor. So of the individual who finds Christ in the Church, having his heart and mind penetrated with his spirit, will, as a necessary consequence, bring forth fruit and proper works, such as the Gospel demands, without producing which his profession is vain, and becomes as sounding brass and tinkling cymbals.

So the author says: "The Reformers took the Bible in their hands, reared the standard of truth, swept off the rubbish of Romanism, and erected the fabric of Protestantism, but overlooked, in their readings of the New Testament, its imperative injunctions of brotherly kindness. Their building was massy,

of noble and severe outline: its frame-work of truth was of impregnable strength, yet it was cold, forbidding, and uncomfortable: it was neither warmed nor lighted by charity . . . Look into the theology of the Reformation and see if it be not subject to this reproach. It is a form of Christianity with charity left out: and yet if this form implied a strength of faith which 'could remove mountains,' it would be 'nothing.' It is a monstrous technicality: it is sculptured marble, white and beautified, but rigid and unfeeling." pp. 111 and 112.

If this be true, which we are not prepared to endorse, how, it may be asked, can Protestantism bring forth charity, seeing that in all its principles the idea is excluded? It is vain to hope for it, and it is a form of Christianity then, destitute of the very principle of the Bible. It may have faith to remove mountains, &c., but without charity it is sounding brass and tinkling cymbals.

In perfect keeping with this idea, and under its influence, have efforts been put forth for the relief of the world. Devoid of all charity, the Gospel, such as it necessarily became in hands destitute of proper principles, it claimed triumphs everywhere. Everywhere activity and energy have been widely manifested, but these, according to the author, have not been always according to the pure motives of Christianity. Our civilization and modern achievements may after all owe very little to the influences of Christianity. So he says, "The energy which has achieved so much in Great Britain and the United States, and other Protestant countries, has not always been controlled by the pure motives of Christianity. No, far from it." Speaking then of the success through two centuries, he says, "Yet the full benefits of Christianity have been brought home to a few only of those who have enjoyed all these advantages. It may be feared that not a tenth of the people of any Protestant country can be truly claimed as having been unfeigned disciples of Christ, taking their ministers as judges." pp. 122 and 123.

A very serious charge. But in all candor, it is to be asked, does it not contain too much truth? Is not the ministry (I mean the person, not the office) given too much to selfishness, and taken up with the world? It is too plain, and something which cannot be denied, that dollars and cents too often rule the minds, and it is to be feared the hearts too, of many who profess great love for Christ.

As to the systematic beneficence, of which we lately had a

good deal, the author views it in another light, and to us, with a great deal of force. He shows that often the men of the world rule whole congregations, and he says, page 128, "The whole expenditure of Protestant congregations of almost every denomination, for every purpose, religious and philanthropic, is derived, in a large degree, from those who are not acknowledged to be real disciples of Christ." "It would be impossible to distinguish in all this work what share is taken by those of whom it is said 'It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God,' but it is well known they partake largely and wield an important influence. Money in too strong a sense, is the main-spring of a large portion of this activity: remove this spring and the machinery would stop. Whence comes this money? It is not the voluntary offerings of crowds who come up cheerfully and pour their contributions into the treasury of the churches. It is levied, nay even exacted, by a system and under influences which do not permit denial; under such penalties as the givers are afraid to incur. It has become a great business to raise money for religious and benevolent purposes. A man may live in the house of another, if he pays the rent: he may own real estate in any county, if he pays the taxes: so he may have a seat in the house of God, if he pays its assessment. He may occupy a respectable position in the Church, and in the society around it, if he contributes liberally, when called upon, to all numerous demands which religious and charitable associations make upon him. It would be hard to conjecture how much of the money levied in this way would be got, if it were left to flow in solely by the spontaneous movements of the contributors. Certainly a very small portion. It is a regular system of business, this systematic benevolence; and if this feature be taken away, the whole must fall to the ground, unless some other life be breathed into it. A vast amount of good may be done, many good Christians may mingle in these labors; yet this system is not Christianity, nor has it the purity or vitality of the Christian system." pp. 130, 1, 2.

Such extracts like these are frequently in this book and we have here made them for what they are worth. At the same time, they lay open a sore which it is painful to behold. That alas! too much of what the author charges upon Protestantism is true, cannot be denied. Our time will not permit to enter further into the subject. His appendix we must leave untouched.

Enough has been said to show that our present state of Protestantism, or in other words sectarianism, cannot produce the fruit for which the author contends, and it becomes us then as upholders of it, to see to it that such awful charges as are made be rolled off and legitimate fruit produced. What are all our professions if devoid of fruit? Sounding brass and tinkling cymbals, and of such worth too much, with sorrow and regret be it said, is by far the greater portion of our present Christianity.

It is not our intention to enter into a discussion of the subject of charity, as the length of this article already forbids it. We would merely say, "that charity or the love of God is the greatest thing he can give us: for himself is love: and it is the greatest thing we can give to God: for it will also give ourselves, and carry with it all that is ours. The apostle calls it the bond of perfection, it is the old, and it is the new, and it is the great commandment, and it is all the commandments: for it is the fulfilling of the law. It does the work of all other graces, without any other instrument but its own immediate virtue. . . . It is a grace that loves God for himself: and our neighbors for God. The consideration of God's goodness and bounty, the experience of those profitable and excellent emanations from him, may be, and most commonly are, the first motive of our love, but when we are once entered, and have tasted the goodness of God, we love the spring for its own excellency, passing from passion to reason, from thanking to adoring, from sense to spirit, from considering ourselves, to an union with God: and this is the image and little representation of heaven: it is beatitude in picture, or rather the infancy and beginnings of glory."

We now take leave of this book, being assured that the subject it presents is an important one, the revival of which we greatly need, with the hope, that, objectionable as it is in many respects, it may be widely circulated and extensively read, and be the humble instrument in bringing Protestantism to see that the very cardinal principle of the Gospel is, to a great extent, wanting in its midst.

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ART. VI.—THE GROWTH AND MISSION OF THE CHURCH, WITH THE MEANS BY WHICH IT MAY BE SECURED, APPLIED SPECIALLY TO THE GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH.*

THE history of the Christian Church is one of various trials and fortunes. It has its dark as well as bright spots; for whilst there have been periods in which the Church has gone forth in her might and power, conquering and subduing her proudest foes, as in the early ages of Christianity and at the time of the glorious Reformation; there have also been periods when she has appeared greatly cast down and afflicted, as if deserted by her glorious head and king. But various as the changes have been through which the Church has been called to pass, in her struggles with the powers of earth and hell, she still lives the pride and glory of the world. And it matters not how fierce, or violent the conflict may yet become, she will never be overcome, or lose her existence amid the sands and deserts of this world, but true to herself, she will continue to arise and gain one conquest after another until all opposition shall be brought to an end and her light and glory appear as the sun in his brightness. As this, however, can only be effected by fierce and violent conflicts, during which many a pious heart may despond, like the children of Israel when they hung their harps upon the willows, and wept, let us consider *how the Church, and particularly that portion of it, whose special claims it is one object of this Review to advocate, may attain her full growth and strength, and so fulfill her mission in the world?*

Before we, however, proceed to give a direct answer to this question, it may not be amiss to make some remarks upon the rise and growth of the Church, which, like the development of life under every other form, is gradual, requiring the presence

* This article contains the substance of a discourse preached at the opening of the Synod of Ohio and adjacent States, at its last annual meeting.

of certain conditions to complete and perfect it. It may indeed be said to be God's usual plan in accomplishing his purposes, not to effect them by any sudden, or extraordinary display of divine power; but by a steady and gradual process, which although it may be slow in its operation, is sure in the end to surmount every hindrance and opposition. The tall and sturdy oak, for instance, does not instantaneously spring up to perfection, as by some magical force; but the seminal principle which lies in the acorn gradually unfolds and develops itself according to the laws of its own life, so that years are necessary under the most favorable circumstances, to complete its growth. So it is also in reference to the whole vegetable kingdom—the seed is first cast into the ground, after which we have the tender plant, then the blade, then the blossom, and last of all the full grown ripened fruit. So too it is with the life of man, certain stages and conditions, must necessarily be passed through before it can reach its highest and ultimate form. And what is thus true in the sphere of nature, is equally true of the life and power of Christianity; for here also, according to divine appointment, there is a process through which the Church must pass before she can reach her ultimate state of development. The Bible never represents Christianity or the Church, as something that is full grown and complete from the start; but as tending and pressing forward to a state of perfection, “at the restitution of all things,” when the tabernacle of God shall come down and dwell amongst men. This is evident to every one at all familiar with the teachings of Christ upon this subject. “The kingdom of heaven,” said he, “is like unto a grain of mustard seed, which a man took and sowed in his field, which indeed is the least of all seeds, but *when it is grown*, it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof.” (Math. 13; 81, 82. This, not to say anything of the other parables of our Lord, touching upon this subject, clearly teaches that there is a process, or state of development, through which the Church must pass before she can attain her full growth in the establishment of the new heavens and earth in which God shall be all and in all.

This growth or enlargement of the Church is no mere accumulation of parts thrown together in a loose and outward way. It is no addition of individuals and nations to the number of the faithful in the same way in which a man would fill up a given number by making constant addition to it from with-

out, any more than the same thing may be predicated of the growth of the plant, or of the human system. The Church is no aggregation of individuals thrown together like the particles of sand : but is everywhere represented in the word of God as a living unit, all of whose parts spring from one common root and centre, and which are therefore held together by the presence and power of one common life, just as all the leaves and blossoms of the plant are but the evolution of the power lodged in the seed. Hence, when we speak of the growth of the Church, we do not merely mean that there is an increase in the number of them that believe, or that there is an enlargement of the territory which it covers ; but that there is also along by the side and at the bottom of this an internal development of its life which has been continually making itself felt by a deeper and more thorough penetration and transfusion of itself into everything that pertains to the interest of man. This does not, of course, imply that there is any change in the nature or essence of Christianity, so that its contents are not the same at any two given periods of time, any more than there is any essential difference in the plant at different stages of its growth. All the life and power which the Church now possesses, or which she may hereafter possess, even though it be an hundred fold greater than it now is, was comprehended in her constitution from the start ; so that when we speak of the growth, or enlargement of the Church, we mean nothing more than the evolution and development of its life in the actual history of the world, which always remains true to itself, notwithstanding the various outward forms it may assume.

This, as we have already remarked, is gradual and steady in its character. *The kingdom of heaven cometh not with observation.* It is by no violent or revolutionary measures that it seeks to establish itself in the world. Its weapons are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of the strong holds of Satan. Its conquests are made, not by fire and the sword ; but by the silent and secret penetration of its spirit into all the different forms and departments of life with which it is brought in contact, which it gradually transforms into its own divine and heavenly image. And although we may not at all times be able to discern its onward course, in consequence of the various hindrances and obstructions which may for a time, apparently, retard its progress, yet it is still all the while operating secretly and powerfully, like leaven, and will in due time authenticate its divine character by surmounting all op-

position which may lie in its way. It is thus that the Church as to its rise and growth is carried forward in the world, which, although it may be slow in its progress, so that centuries may pass away before it reaches its ultimate form, will, nevertheless, press forward with inward necessity until its mission is accomplished, in the subjugation of the world to Christ, when all things shall be made new, and the Church appear without spot or wrinkle or any such thing.

Such now being the nature of the rise and growth of the Church as a whole, we may naturally expect the same to hold true of every part that is animated by her true life and spirit, so that it is not to be expected that the various divisions of the Church which have any right to a separate existence, can fulfill their mission in a day or month; for if this should ever be the case with regard to any of the existing denominations of our land, it would be a most conclusive evidence that there was no just occasion for any separation in the first place, and that those who were active in bringing it about, were actuated more by self-will, and vain glory, than a desire to promote the glory of God in the salvation of men.

For wise and important reasons, which we may not be able fully to comprehend, God has permitted the Church of the present age to be rent into various fractions and divisions. This we do not regard the true and proper form of Christianity, but consider it at variance with the unity of the Church, which is one in Christ; but as God has permitted it for a season, in order that the different sides or phases of Christianity may in this way, perhaps, the more effectually be carried forward to their ultimate form, and so at last be blended together as a living unit, it becomes the solemn duty of every portion of the Christian Church to consider well its peculiar mission, with the means by which it may the most speedily be effected. And believing, as we do, that the German Reformed Church, although not numerically as strong as some of the other denominations of our land, is pervaded with the true spirit of Christianity, and forms a part of the body of Christ, it becomes a question of deep and solemn interest to us, to know how she may arise to her proper glory and strength, and so fulfill her mission in solving the difficult and mighty problem of Christianity. *By whom shall Jacob arise? for he is small.* This is a question well worthy our serious and prayerful consideration.

Let us not, however, in making the admission, that our denomination is numerically small along side of some of the other

tribes of God's Israel, be understood as implying that the German Reformed Church is a weak and insignificant body, whose existence may be swallowed up in that of other denominations, without any particular loss or detriment to Christianity as a whole. This, we are aware, is the light in which we are sometimes viewed and represented by those who are either ignorant of our history and character, or desire to deceive our people, and so bring them the more easily into connection with their own particular organization, which they have vanity and presumption enough to believe to be the most perfect embodiment of the life and power of Christianity. Such a view, however, is as false as it is presumptuous; for the claims of the German Reformed Church are not to be thus ignored and set aside. She is no plant of yesterday's growth, which may be expected to drag out a sickly existence for a few years, and then cease to be, leaving others to effect what she had not the power to do. She claims for herself a character as honorable and legitimate as that of any of the other denominations of our land. Her history is most intimately connected and intertwined with the history of Protestantism itself, and is filled with incidents of such thrilling interest, that any one who has been cradled and reared in her communion may be proud of the connection. Her origin, as a distinct branch of the Church of Christ, she traces back to the period of the glorious Reformation, when the Church was led from her captivity out of the Romish communion, where she had been oppressed by dead formalism and corruption, to the more advanced position of Protestantism, which has since been the main stream of the life and power of Christianity. Nor was she a mere idle spectator of this great and mighty struggle in which the Church gained such a signal victory and triumph over error and corruption, but was one of the chief actors in the scene. And as no one, not blinded by prejudice, would think of calling in question the legitimate character of the Reformation as a work of God, so it would be equally presumptuous to deny the divine character and mission of the German Reformed Church, which embodies in its constitution some of the most prominent and essential features of this great and mighty movement, to be unfolded and carried out in the actual history of the world. Her founders were among the leading spirits whom God chose and honored as the instruments, which were to effect the deliverance of the Church, and lead her to the lofty position which she so fearlessly assumed in the sixteenth century. If it were

at all necessary, we might here bring forward a host of names of blessed memory, which stand in intimate connection with the German Reformed Church, and give prominence to her history and character. We might appropriately speak of Zwingle and his co-adjutors, who commenced the work of reforming the Church as early as the year 1516. We might mention the name of Calvin, of world-wide renown, distinguished alike for his giant intellect, ardent piety, and logical precision. We might speak of Ursinus, of immortal memory, as the chief compiler and expositor of the far-famed Heidelberg Catechism, which will forever remain as a monument of his greatness and piety. We might speak of the devoted and lion-hearted Schlatter, whose untiring missionary labors contributed so much to the establishment of our Church in the wilds of America. Yea, we might greatly extend the list by recalling the names of others whose praises will be in the Church till time shall end, all of whom were active in establishing and carrying forward to its present lofty position, this portion of the Church of Christ. But surely nothing of the kind is necessary to give us a true idea of our character and mission, and to inspire us as their lawful successors with a holy zeal to do honor to their memory by carrying forward to its ultimate form, the work which they so nobly commenced, and for which they were willing and ready to sacrifice their fortunes and their lives.

To us, then, it is no question of doubtful character, whether we should at once go forward with true and hearty interest in building up the German Reformed Church as a separate and distinct denomination, or suffer her existence to be lost and merged in the other divisions of the Church of Christ. Our duty evidently is to go up and take possession of the land that stretches out before us, white unto the harvest. We have already hesitated too long, and so lost some of the fairest and most inviting portions of our territory, which have fallen into the hands of others, whose zeal and devotion to their particular interests should cause us to blush. Our brethren, who are scattered in every part of the great West in a state of destitution, are calling to us, in imploring strains, to send them the word of life, and not force them to lose their connection with the Church of their fathers and their choice.

And why, we might here ask, when our brethren of other denominations are striving, with a holy zeal and emulation, to strengthen and enlarge their borders, should we hesitate and

falter in building up this old and venerable Church of the Reformation? Has she shown less zeal in advancing the interests of vital godliness and purity of doctrine than other denominations of our land? Is her name less honorable, or her ancestry less remarkable for their piety and devotion to the cause of God? Is her Catechism, which she has received and expounded with hearty interest for nearly three hundred years, and which has, perhaps, been admired and praised more than any other, less orthodox, or practical in its tendency, than those of later date? Is no regard to be had to the wrong that would be done to the religious character and feelings of thousands, who would be deeply grieved if told, that, henceforth, they must move in an entirely different religious atmosphere from that which pervades the German Reformed Church? Or can any other denomination of our land as effectually fulfill the mission which God has assigned us? If not, why should any one hesitate to devote his time and talents, as thousands have already done, to the upbuilding of this portion of the Israel of our God? Rather let us buckle on our armor afresh, and devote ourselves, with renewed interest, to this great work. And believing, as we do, that there is but one voice among us in reference to this matter, let us now proceed to show how we, as a Church, may arise to the position which God designs us to occupy along side of the other denominations of our land.

By whom shall Jacob arise? for he is small. Small numerically, but entrusted with a great mission. Small, and yet not the weakest of all the tribes; for, when we look at the immense territory over which the German Reformed Church stretches in our country, not to say anything of her existence in the father-land—when we look at her membership, numbering nearly 100,000—her ministry, not to be surpassed in self-denial and devotion to the cause of Christ—when we look at her churches, with their spires reaching to heaven—when we look at her institutions of learning in the East, and West, and South, and her papers and periodicals, which find their way into thousands of families, and which have spoken in tones that have been heard in the distant portions of our country, awakening the most earnest minds to an investigation of truths of the deepest interest and importance to the Church at large—when we consider all this, she rises before us already in solemn grandeur, although not full grown and complete, which leaves room for the inquiry, *how may she arise and fulfill her mission*

in the world? which is the question we now propose to consider; and, in doing so, we would remark,

First of all, that, if the German Reformed Church would ever arise and fulfill her mission in the world, it is of the highest importance that she preserve *her true spirit and genius, together with every thing peculiar to her as a distinct portion of Christ's kingdom.* Every denomination that stands in living connection with the Church has a spirit peculiar to itself. And though we may not always be able to define, in clear and intelligible terms, what this is, as distinct from the spirit which lives and breathes in other portions of the Church, yet every one, who allows himself to think at all upon the subject, is conscious of its existence. Who does not feel, for instance, that the spirit and genius of Lutheranism are something very different from those of Methodism? So every one feels that the religious life and atmosphere, which we find in the Presbyterian Church, are not the same as those which exist in the Episcopal Church. The same remark is true of the German Reformed Church; for, whilst we have much in common with every other denomination that stands in organic connection with the Church as a whole—whilst we love them all in as far as they are pervaded with the spirit of Christ, and desire to live upon terms of Christian fellowship with them all, we are, nevertheless, not one and the same with them, but have a spirit and mission peculiar to ourselves. If this be not so, there cannot, in our view, be any satisfactory apology for the present divided state of the Christian Church. To us, it is a clear case, that if the type and spirit of religion be one and the same in all the denominations of our land, it is a most wicked thing to mar the unity and strength of the Church, as is done by the many fractions into which it is split. If Lutheranism, Methodism, Episcopacy, Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, and every other ~~ism~~ of our land, be one and the same in every respect, the sooner the walls which now separate them from each other can be broken down the better. The only ground upon which it is possible to allow and advocate the existence of separate denominations is, that each one has a spirit peculiar to itself, and that its mission is to exemplify, and carry forward to its ultimate form, some particular side, or feature, of Christianity, and that, when this is done, its separate existence will be lost in the general stream of the Church, which, at last, to complete its unity, will be outwardly as well as inwardly one.

Assuming it, then, as an established fact, that the German Reformed Church, although small when contrasted numerically with some of the other portions of the Church of Christ, has a spirit and genius peculiar to itself, it is a clear case, that, if she would ever prosper, and fulfill her mission in the resolution of the difficult problem of Christianity, *she must remain true to herself*. Instead of endeavoring to see how closely she can imitate and conform herself to the religious life of other Churches, it is of indispensable necessity to her future growth, that she become conscious of her own true life and spirit, that she may the more effectually preserve and cultivate them. Just as soon as elements, foreign to her own peculiar life, are permitted to find a place in her communion, will her peace and unity be disturbed, and she become the abode of strife and contention. How often has the truth of this remark been verified in the history of more than one of the denominations of our land? Nor does it require more than a very partial acquaintance with our own past history, as a Church, to see its correctness as it respects ourselves. Every one at all familiar with the rise and growth of the German Reformed Church, knows full well that wherever she has been fairly represented, her true life and spirit unfolded, her doctrines faithfully preached, her order and purity maintained, and her customs prudently observed, she has gradually arisen to strength and eminence; whilst, on the other hand, wherever there has been a departure from this course, and customs and usages have been introduced, foreign to her true life, even though they may at first have been attended with the most striking results, which lead their fond, though deceived, admirers to believe that they would effect great and mighty changes, their ultimate tendency has been to weaken her energy, and create misgivings and strifes, which have spread like a pestilential atmosphere, over some of the loveliest portions of our Zion, blighting every fair prospect. How sacredly, therefore, ought not we, to whom God has entrusted the interests of this portion of his heritage, to guard against any and every innovation foreign to our genius and spirit, as a Church? The moment we become reckless in this respect, we may inscribe in large and legible letters upon our standard, *Ichabod—the glory is departed*.

From what has now been said, we may infer that what we need more than anything else to secure our future growth and prosperity, is not, as some might suppose, any great and sweeping change in the present order and constitution of our Church.

—it is not the introduction of any new forms and customs more in accordance with the maxims and opinions of the world—it is not any new symbol of faith which shall be less positive in its doctrinal statements—it is not a reconstruction of what our fathers have done and handed down as a precious legacy—it is not the substitution of a name, which shall fall more pleasantly upon the ears of those whose sensibilities seem to be shocked by the mere mention of whatever is German in its accents—instead of any and everything of this kind, we need to become conscious of our own peculiar life and genius, as a Church, and to be fully pervaded and penetrated by them.

To enter into anything like an accurate or extended description of what the peculiar genius of the German Reformed Church is, would be foreign to our object, and would, at the same time, be a repetition, to some extent, of what has been well said in a small, though interesting work, published a few years since at our Office of Publication, on *The History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism*, to which we refer those who may desire information upon this point. It may not, however, be amiss to state that what is peculiar to us as a denomination, appears with special prominence in every question and answer of our Confession of Faith, which we profess to love as a true and faithful exposition of the doctrines of salvation—it is seen in our liturgy, in our prayers, in our hymns and forms of devotion—in a word, in the literature which has sprung from the very heart of our Church, giving expression to her true life and spirit in words that breathe and burn. And whilst upon this subject we cannot refrain from making a passing remark upon the importance of supplying ourselves with a denominational literature. As yet little has been done in this respect. Our attention has thus far been directed mainly to the cultivation of the immense territory which has stretched out before us, which has left but little time for patient thought and study. And as a matter of course few additions have been made to our literature as a Church, whilst the labors and researches of our fathers, who being dead, yet speak, have been suffered, to a very great extent, to lie buried in languages which but few of our people could either read or understand. The time, however, has come for a different course of action, and it is a pleasing fact to know that this want is now being very generally felt, as may be inferred from the commencement that has been made within the last few years, to meet this deficiency, and the avidity with which our people have laid

must be of a peculiar stamp to meet the wants and realize the hopes of the Church. A ministry that might move with ease and labor efficiently in the Episcopal, Baptist, Presbyterian, or even Dutch Church, is not just exactly what is needed in the German Reformed Church to secure its growth and prosperity. For if it be true, as we have already shown, that the German Reformed Church has a genius and life peculiar to itself, it is easy to see that no ministry that is not fully pervaded and transfused with these, can effectually meet its wants and accomplish its mission. Hence, what is wanted more than any thing else in the ministry that shall subserve the purposes of this portion of the Church of Christ, is not so much intellectual and theological culture, eloquence, philosophical learning, or metaphysical acuteness, important as these things are in their place, as to be eminently Christian or Christ-like, in the sense in which this may be affirmed of us as Church; or to use the language of another, "it must be the living counterpart of what constitutes the fundamental principle of our symbol of faith." Such a ministry as this, although it may be greatly deficient in what the world considers necessary to insure success, will, and must make itself felt, in unfolding the true life and genius of our Church, as may be inferred from our past history, which has been one of more than usual success within the last few years. Men who have been accustomed to look at matters only from their own peculiar stand-point, which is often not a little contracted, may become alarmed at looking at its bold and striking results, and raise the hue and cry of "heresy," "Romanizing tendency," and a thousand other evils, until the confusion becomes equal to that of Babel, yet it heeds it not, further than to blow the mist away from its own clear perception, so as to go forward in the accomplishment of its own appropriate work. This is the ministry we need to secure the growth of the German Reformed Church and to enable her to fulfill her mission in the world. And it is of the utmost importance to our future prosperity as a Church, that immediate and earnest efforts be put forth to meet this want.

In close and intimate connection with such a ministry, we may here, without making any extended remarks, merely mention as necessary to unfold the peculiar genius of our Church, *the permanent endowment and support of our theological and literary institutions.* Past experience fully corroborates the fact that no denomination can attain any great permanent growth without its own institutions of learning which shall embody

and give expression to its peculiar life and spirit in a scientific form. And if there has been any one thing that has contributed more than another to retard our progress in days gone by, it has without doubt been the want of properly endowed and supported institutions of learning. Had we from our first establishment in this country provided an institution that would have been to the German Reformed Church, what Princeton has been to the Presbyterian Church, who can calculate the influence it would have had upon our growth and prosperity. It is too only in this way that any denomination can effectually supply itself with a ministry adequate to its wants and necessity, and preserve its peculiar and distinguishing features. Let those who desire to see the German Reformed Church rise in her greatness and strength and so unfold her true character, not stop in their efforts until our institutions of learning, which have been started under such favorable auspices in the East, West and South, be placed upon such a substantial and permanent basis, as will invite the youth of our Church and country to come and drink of their crystal fountains; and let the Church have a particular care that those who are called to preside over these institutions be men, who shall possess, in an eminent degree, the life and spirit peculiar to us as a denomination, so that the streams which issue from these fountains shall partake of our true character, and soon their fruit will be seen in every part of our land, making glad the heritage of our God.

Another thing of great importance to us as a Church, that we may fulfill our mission in the world, *is the necessity of a more thoroughly digested and extensive system of Church extension than any that has hitherto been in operation among us.* All the different denominations of our land are beginning to feel the special importance of this subject, and to give it the attention which it demands. And if this be true of those whose missionary field is comparatively small, what special claims should it not have upon us, in view of the immense territory which stretches out before us. For in addition to the emigration that is continually going on between the different States of our Union, we have to provide the word of life for the immense foreign German population that is annually landed upon the shores of our happy country. Hundreds and thousands of these have already been scattered in all our different cities, towns and villages. These persons must be supplied with the stated means of grace, or else they will be ensnared by the

specious and deceptive forms of error, that are abroad in the world, and so endanger the stability and perpetuity of our free institutions. And to whom can they so justly look to have their spiritual wants supplied as to the German Churches, in which most of them have been reared and educated. As our missionary field is, therefore, extending itself so widely, we must, if we would not be treacherous to our interests, adopt such measures as will meet the wants of our brethren, who are allied to us by such close and tender ties. We must, if we would not lose our territory and give over to others, what properly belongs to us, have not one, or a dozen points supported by our missionary contributions, but have our pioneers and missionaries in all the different states, territories, cities and towns, where our people are found living in a state of spiritual destitution. If this be not done, much of our ground will be wrested from us in a comparatively short time, in consequence of our own indifference and inefficiency.

But important as all this is, it is not of itself sufficient to accomplish the object contemplated; for unless there be at the same time a *spirit of missions*, which shall pervade our entire Church, so as to take possession of the hearts of our people and prompt them to great and generous acts, no system of Church extension, however well digested and adapted to the wants of the times, will be of any great account. Hence, it is of the greatest importance to our future growth and prosperity as a Church, that all proper measures be employed to awaken, and extend such a spirit throughout the length and breadth of our Zion, that the time may soon come when all our waste places shall be repaired, and the wilderness bud and blossom as the rose.

But we have already extended our remarks farther than we had intended, and can, therefore, merely allude to other points intimately connected with our future growth as a Church, upon which we might dwell with propriety, amongst which we may mention the necessity of greater union of effort in all our attempts to advance the interests of our Zion—the necessity of a spirit of greater liberality and forbearance—the necessity of more devotion and zeal in the cause of Christ, with confidence in him as present in his Church directing and controlling all things for his own glory and the salvation of men; but we must leave the reader to carry out in his own mind, these and other thoughts, which may suggest themselves in connection with our subject.

Such then are some of the things which we regard as of the utmost importance to the German Reformed Church in her future growth and history, that she may fulfill her mission in the world. And who is there that can have any serious doubts of their efficiency? They are the means by which she has overcome one difficulty after another until she has reached her present position by the side of the other denominations of the land. Let us then, with these weapons of our warfare, go forward with full confidence in Him who has said, "Lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world," and we may expect to see still greater evidences of the presence and power of God in our midst. Wherever we look, our eyes and hearts will be cheered by indications of solid and substantial growth. Year after year, when we come together in our ecclesiastical assemblies, to review the mercies and dealings of our heavenly Father, all will be constrained to say in delightful astonishment, *What has not God wrought?* The Church will go forward in unfolding her true life and spirit, until at last her mission is fulfilled, in her full growth and development, when God will say to us as the instruments through which it was effected, "*Well done good and faithful servants, enter into the joys of thy Lord.*"

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G. W. W.

ART. VII.—ROMANIZING TENDENCIES.

THAT there are strong Romanizing tendencies at work in many sections of the Protestant Church is a fact which it is useless to deny. We judge of tendencies by their results, and recently, as we are aware, the conversions from Protestantism to Romanism have been alarmingly numerous. These conversions are not only from the ranks of the illiterate and ignorant; but some of the most learned, scientific, and earnest men of the age have left the Protestant ranks and embraced the Roman Catholic faith. We might here mention the names of Professor Philips of Berlin, afterwards of Munich, Stalberg, Schlegel, Veith, Molter, Beantain, Dr. Newman, with his many respec-

table associates, Mr. Brownson, Dr. Huntingdon, Bishop Ives, &c. Such conversions as these have been the occasion of great exultation and triumph amongst Roman Catholics, and of fear and alarm amongst Protestants. To account for them upon the hypothesis, that these men have been actuated by selfish and iniquitous motives, is by no means satisfactory : for, in many instances, there was no sinister motive to be gratified ; but, on the contrary, the step taken required the utmost self-denial and sacrifice.

When, in the sixteenth century, such men as Luther, Melancthon, Jonas, Osiander, Brent, Agricola, Zwinglius, Bucer, Oecolampadius, Haedio, and others of the same spirit, felt themselves called upon to renounce Popery, it was an easy matter for their enemies to impugn their motives and traduce their characters ; but the deep and powerful religious movement of that age was not to be accounted for in any such outward and summary way. So, on the contrary, the fact that some great men of our day feel themselves called upon to renounce Protestantism and embrace Roman Catholicism, is not to be explained by the supposition, that they are men of doubtful character. If it were a settled fact, that Roman Catholics and Roman Catholic converts are all a set of knaves, as their enemies would have us believe, we need feel but little concern about the "Romanizing tendencies" of the age, or about the ultimate success of our Protestant cause.

Let us acknowledge, that those who differ from us in their faith and their views, are as honest as ourselves, and endeavor to account for the "Romanizing tendencies" of the present age in a more rational and satisfactory manner. By a careful examination of their nature and ground, we shall discover, that they do not spring from a healthy Protestant Church theology as such, or from a true Protestant churchliness ; but from the spurious and counterfeit Protestantism of our day. To start the question whether a sound Protestant theology, or true Protestantism, can be anything else than churchly, were to insult the memories of the Reformers of the sixteenth century. The thought never entered the minds of these great men of encouraging abstract confessions of faith and abstract systems of thought : they were deeply imbued with the spirit of *reform* ; but not with the spirit of radicalism : they issued their protest, not against the Church as the bearer of the Saviour's life in the world, and the standard bearer of divine truth ; but against the enemy which had come in like a flood, threatening to de-

stroy the entire heritage of God. They stood out as firmly against the radicalism and fanaticism of that age, as against the disorders and corruptions of the papacy itself. Their great object was to *reform* the old Church, and not by any means to become the founders of new sects. "The Reformation was quite the opposite of a revolt; it was the re-establishment of the principles of primitive Christianity;" it was the effort of the Church herself to throw off the diseases, that had long afflicted her body; it was the development of a powerful and a vigorous Church life, showing that Christ had not forgotten his promise to his people: "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." The voice of Protestantism is the voice of the ever living God in the Church of Christ, denouncing error and sin in whatever form they may appear. The spirit of Protestantism is the spirit of Christ revealed in the Church, warring against the spirit of antichrist; and the principle of Protestantism is the principle of divine life, which starts in the person of Christ and unfolds itself in the Church, which is his body.

Protestantism comprises three things: these are the name, the faith, and the Church; or, in other words, the appellation, the confession, and the Church. The name, all admit, is in this acceptance a novelty, which originated in the sixteenth century, and as late as the days of Luther. The patrons of the Reformation in Germany protested, in 1529, against the unjust decision of the Diet of Spire, and in consequence were called Protestants. An old institution, therefore, came to be distinguished by a new name. Protestantism, in its modern and ecclesiastical application, began to signify Christianity. But changing a sign does not change the signification. Britain, according to the ancient appellation, is now called England, without any change in the territory. The ancients called that Hibernia, which the moderns call Ireland. France was formerly named Gaul, and Columbia lately Terra Firma; whilst these divisions of the European and American continents, notwithstanding the new designations, remain the same. "But the name itself is not important. The sign is nothing when compared to the signification. The antiquity of the Protestant faith is easily shown. The theology of the Reformed is found in the Bible, in the fathers, in the primitive creeds and in the early councils."* Catholicism, *not* popery, according to the

* Edg. Variations, p. 6.

primitive designation, and Protestantism, as rightly understood, are *identical*. This view might be sustained by many of the most credible and respectable witnesses.

The idea that God is in history was often advanced by the Reformers. "The world," said Luther, "is a vast and magnificent game of cards, made up of emperors, kings, and princes, &c. The pope for many centuries beat the emperors, kings, and princes. They yielded and fell before him. *Then came our Lord*. He dealt the cards: he took the lowest for himself, and with it he beat the pope, that vanquisher of the kings of the earth. . . . This is the ace of God. As Mary said: "He hath put down the mighty from their seats and exalted them of low degree." "The history of the Reformation shows," says Dr. J. H. Merle d'Aubigné, "that nothing new can be made out of things old; and that if, according to our Saviour's expression, we require new bottles for new wine, we must also have new wine for new bottles. It directs man to God as the universal agent in history,—to that divine word ever old by the eternal nature of the truths it contains, ever new by the regenerative influence it exerts; which purified society, three centuries ago, which restored faith in God to souls enfeebled by superstition, and which, at every epoch in the history of man, is the fountain whence floweth salvation."

Hence it was that the Reformed recognised and professed their faith in the creeds of the ancient Church. The Apostolic, the Nicene, and Athenasian formularies of belief were adopted by the Protestant Church and have been distinguished by their general reception in Christendom. The confessions of Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian, Gregory, and Lucian, were also regarded as orthodox, and were venerated and esteemed. This accounts for the remarkable degree of harmony, which characterizes the different confessions of faith that made their appearance in the Church during the Reformation period. Though they appear under a diversity of form, it is evident that they are all the product of a previous Church life, and not the productions of single individuals who had ignored the history of the past. The fact, that Catholicism and Protestantism are identical, and that the Church of the Reformation is the continuation of the ancient Church, and not a new organization, is also evident from the systems of theology and the general evangelical literature which appeared in the sixteenth century. In all these writings, as well as in the confessions, do we hear the Protestants in Germany, Switzerland, France, Holland,

England and Scotland, professing with one voice: "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." The object, that was present to their faith as thus professed, was a *real, Holy Catholic Church*. Whilst, in their view, Catholicity and Apostolicity were ideas distinct from, and opposed to the errors of the papacy, they were, at the same time, opposed to unchurchliness and rationalism. Protestantism is then purely Catholic and historical. It is the religion which squares fully with the idea of humanity. It is the historical development of the Church which is built upon Christ, the Apostles and Prophets, whose dominion will extend till all the kingdoms of the world shall have become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ. It is the Church of the living God, coming up out of the wilderness, with garments dipped in blood, going forward to the land of Canaan and the City of the New Jerusalem.

From this, it must follow, that the piety and theology, which are the most churchly and catholic, are also the most decidedly Protestant; and, on the other hand, that piety and theology, which are the least churchly and catholic, are also the LEAST PROTESTANT. Whatever the sects, that have separated themselves from the historical Church, may affect to be, they are *not Protestants*. The Protestant Church does itself an immense wrong by awarding to the sects its own name. All classes of men, no matter what they are, if they do not belong to the Roman Catholic communion, are now-a-days acknowledged to be Protestants. No matter how rationalistic or infidel the sect, no matter how vile and wretched the characters, who step forward to oppose the papacy, they are regarded as champions of the Protestant cause. From such advocates, good Lord, deliver us. Let all, whom it may concern, know that the sects and infidels are *not* Protestants. They could never be owned as such by the Reformers. "It is only in the Church that the Gospel of Christ is fully taught, and rightly understood; for the various sects, such as the Ethnics, the Philosophers, Jews and Turks, are either entirely ignorant of it, and thus reject it; or else, they add to their errors what little they have culled from the doctrine of the Apostles, the use of which, however, they do not properly apprehend nor understand, as is true of the Arians, Papists, Anabaptists, and all other heretics; some of whom hold errors concerning the office of Christ, and others concerning the person of Christ, the mediator. These great distinctions prove that the doctrine of the Church alone should be taught and held fast to, whilst the

doctrines and religious systems of the sects, which oppose the truth, should be rejected and shunned, as the perversions and wicked devices of the devil; according as it is written, "Beware of false prophets." "And keep yourselves from idols." (Math. 7: 15. 1 John 5: 21.*)

It must also follow from the premises here laid down, that true churchliness, or a sound churchly theology, cannot tend to Romanism. It is just as unnatural and impossible, according to the established laws of history, for the Protestant Church as such to become Roman Catholic, as it is for Christianity to return to Judaism; albeit, Christianity came from Judaism, and Protestantism from Roman Catholicism. "Salvation is of the Jews." Those persons, therefore, who, in their superior wisdom, have decided, that the churchly theology of our Reformed Zion is Romanistic in its tendency, are rather wide of the mark. It is common, however, for persons riding in steam-boats and railroad cars, to imagine that the trees and other objects which they see, are moving with incredible rapidity. So the sects and unchurchly denominations and individuals may easily imagine, as they are rapidly sailing towards the regions of light, that the Church, which stands firm on the platform of the ancient creed, is fast floating in the opposite direction. These by-passers are continually warning us of the danger to which, as they conceive, we are exposed; they cry continually, "Beware of the beast, beware of antichrist, have no fellowship with the works of darkness." They are not aware, that, in their way of escaping from Rome, they have left the Church of Christ itself in the rear; they have lost the very *idea* of the Church, the ministry and the sacraments. To be churchly, sacramental, liturgical, is in their view, to be Roman Catholic. So they will have it, in spite of everything that can be said to the contrary. "We will defend," say they, "the faith once delivered to the saints; we will preserve the legacy bequeathed to us by our pious forefathers; the Bible is our religion, and our worship is spiritual." Deluded souls! do you not know that, in taking the Bible from the ark of the covenant, you have committed theft and sacrilege, and that the spirit of God does not rest upon those who dishonor his Son, and the means of grace which he hath ordained? Do you not know, that the branches that are cut from the vine must wither and die? Do you not know that your subjective piety must become extinct,

* Dr. Ursin's *Catech.* page 4.

if it be not sustained and nourished by the objective in religion? Have you yet to learn that no man liveth to himself, and that there is a communion of saints?

But we are gravely told: "That which has been may be again. Catholicity once gave rise to the papacy and its accompanying evils; therefore a churchly theology may again tend to the same evil end." This statement can only hold in a modified form. Not everything which has been can be again; the world cannot again be destroyed by a flood;—Abraham cannot again be called from the land of Haran;—Joseph can never again be sold into Egypt;—the Israelites can never again be oppressed by Pharaoh. The types and shadows of the Old Testament dispensation which prefigured the coming of Messiah, being fulfilled by his advent, can never again be fulfilled by the coming of another; the Word can never again be made flesh, as it was when the only begotten Son of God was conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary; Christ can never again be crucified; he cannot again rise from the grave and ascend into heaven. No other Church can ever be planted on the Rock of ages, than that which was planted on the day of Pentecost. So the past history of the Church *is past*; the days of her infancy are *past*; her early struggles are over; the ten Roman persecutions can never be repeated; the long and painful discipline of the Church, during the reign of the papacy, is *past*; the power of that reign is broken, and it can never regain its former dominion. The Church has reached the period of her adult age, and she claims the right of breathing the pure air of Gospel liberty. "Not as though she had already attained, either were already perfect; but she follows after, if that she may apprehend that for which she is apprehended of Christ Jesus." She still appears in her mixed character, and, like her once crucified and now glorified head, she bears the marks of her wounds and bruises.

It is readily conceded that heresies, which once sprang up in the Church, may spring up again in a new form; and it seems that, in the same proportion as the Church increases in age, do heresies increase in number and in strength. We are fully aware, that the spirit of antichrist, so graphically described by St. John, and which revealed itself so powerfully in the forms of Gnosticism, Manicheism, Ebionism, Pelagianism, &c., though the sects known by the corresponding names have long since passed away, still lives. Its power is everywhere felt in the Christian Church. The principal forms, under which this

spirit now reveals itself, are Rationalism, Sectarianism, and Popery. It is quite a mistake to suppose, that the spirit of popery is confined to the Church of Rome; it is also powerfully at work in the Protestant Church. As the ancient heresies, however much they differed in form, often ran into one another, thus showing that they all proceeded from one and the same spirit, so the spirit of popery often reveals itself amongst the rationalists and the sects. Rationalism, sectarianism, and all other heresies, however great the number, all belong to the same family: hence we often find full grown popes amongst the rationalistic and fanatical sects; indeed they are found in almost every part of the Protestant communion. Dr. — is a pope, Dr. — is a pope, the Rev. — is a pope, the Synod of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church is a pope. These are the Liberii and Felices, who are contending for the chair of St. Peter.

But do the heresies spring from the life of the Church or from the diseases in her body? We can easily conceive, that certain persons coming in contact with a healthy Church life, or a churchly theology, may be driven by it either to infidelity or to Romanism; but is this consequence the result of the theology, or of the diseased state of the persons in question? The natural tendency of the sun's light is to warm, to beautify, and fructify the earth; but shining upon marshy places and stagnant waters, it causes putrid vapors to arise, which infect the surrounding atmosphere and spread death and devastation. The natural tendency of the sun of righteousness is to lighten every man that cometh into the world; but we know that the Gospel is to many, not a savor of life unto life, but a savor of death unto death. Does this death spring from the fountain of life or from the diseased state of those who die?

We can easily conceive also that devoted Christians, who are of a melancholy turn of mind, and who look continually on the dark side of Protestantism, may despair of its ultimate success, and giving it up as a forlorn hope, they may seek a connection with the Church of Rome. It is natural for a child, that has despaired of the life of the parent, to seek the protection of the grand-parent; yet, to do so before the parent is really dead, cannot be regarded as proper in any case. We can conceive even of a grave, earnest, and profound theologian, who has done more than any one else to bring the Protestant Church to a consciousness of her advanced position, becoming so much disheartened in the day of conflict and trial, as to give

up the entire cause which he had espoused, and retire from the field, seriously revolving the question in his mind, whether, after all, there may not be more good in the Church of Rome, with all her corruptions, than in this distracted and confused Protestantism. The question here again arises, whether this step on the part of the theologian is the result of his churchly system of theology, or of the terrible evils and sad defects in the Protestant Church. It may show constitutional weakness, or a want of faith; but has the constitution been weakened and the faith destroyed by the system of theology, or by the anti-christian spirit, that spirit of the devil, which, in the name of spiritual piety, and in the form of an angel of light, opposes Christ and his holy truth? True churchiness, or catholicity, so far from being the source whence Romanising tendencies spring, is the healthy activity which alone can counteract these tendencies.

There is a great variety of motives by which the converts to Romanism have been actuated. Many of them have published their motives to the world, and have defended their course by the most powerful and cogent reasoning. One has made history the study of his life, and by applying the principles of his science, he has been led to embrace the Roman Catholic faith. Another is an artist, and from a love of the beautiful realized in an external form, he goes in the direction of the ancient city. You may hear one draw his arguments from the science of mental philosophy: in the Catholic religion, he conceives, is alone to be found the system adapted to the wants of man. You may read a political economist, who tells you that, having investigated the principles of that science, he was forced to admit that only in the Catholic morality could he discover the principles whereon it could be honestly conducted.* Another has been discussing the principle of social rights, and has thus been led to embrace the Roman Catholic faith, believing that, upon this foundation alone, the great superstructure of society can safely rest.†

What can be said in view of these facts? Does the study of history, the fine arts, mental and moral science, &c., lead to Romanism? So it would seem. Why not then commence a crusade against the historians, the artists, and the philosophers? Why does not the religious world prefer charges against them

* De Craux Lect. Pol. Economy.

† Adam Miller.

and convict them of heresy? To study history and the other sciences in the spirit of the Christian religion, as is evident from the examples here given, will doubtless lead to Catholicism, and if Protestantism fail to authenticate itself as the Catholic religion, the tendency must be to *Roman Catholicism*.

In most instances, however, within the last few years, the persons who have been converted to Romanism, or have been tending in that direction, have been influenced by their investigations of the great "Church Question" itself, or some subject intimately connected with it. As we are expressly taught by the creed, the essential characteristics of the Church are *unity, catholicity, holiness, and apostolicity*. This unity, it is conceived, must be external and visible, as well as internal and real; there must literally be one fold, as there is one shepherd; one faith and one baptism, as there is one Lord. The type of this unity is not sought so much in the harmony of the Church's confessions of faith, as in some central Church authority, and, not being able to find a visible bond of union in the Protestant Church, the serious inquirer, forgetting that the Reformation of the sixteenth century is of God, submits himself to the Church authority which has its centre in the pope of Rome.

The ideas of unity and catholicity are inseparable. The all animating power of the Christian Church is, like leaven, to pervade the whole lump of humanity, taking up and assimilating every part to the character of its glorious Head; all the relations of life, and also the arts, sciences, and literature are to be brought under the animating and sanctifying influence of the Gospel of peace. The serious student of the "Church Question," living perhaps in some section of the Protestant community where religion has degenerated into a mere morality, not being able to discern the true nature of Catholicity in the Protestant system, swings over, like Mr. Brownson, from the extreme of congregationalism to the extreme of popery. Where unity and Catholicity are wanting, *holiness*, the third essential characteristic of the Church, must be wanting likewise; her members are characterized by formality, worldly mindedness, and dishonesty. Then the devout and serious mind is naturally drawn towards the sanctuary which is distinguished by the sign of the cross, and where "Holiness" is inscribed upon the door posts, the walls, and upon the altar. Then the Holy Catholic Church cannot be of yesterday; her history must be traced to the time of the inspired Apostles, i. e., there must be a regular, unbroken Church succession from the time of the

Apostles down to the present time. The student of the "Church Question," not being able to trace the line of succession through the labyrinths of Protestantism, conscious that out of the Church there is no salvation, connects himself with the Church which bears the most evident marks of age. Here then we have before us the startling fact, that, in all such cases as are here described, Romanism is more successful in authenticating itself as the Catholic religion, than Protestantism.

What can be said in view of this humiliating fact? Shall we institute a judicial inquiry, and bring those great men, who have ventured to investigate the "Church Question," to merited punishment? This experiment has been tried and found wanting; no inquisition can arrest the growing evil; freedom of inquiry and liberty of thought must be tolerated. Shall we then, on the contrary, acknowledge that the claims of the Church of Rome are founded, and that the Protestant Church has no claim at all to the Christian name? Are Roman Catholics right and all Protestants wrong, in regard to the true nature and history of Christianity? Shall we desert the Protestant cause and "*en masse*" surrender ourselves to the great power that has opposed us? Shall we acknowledge that our Protestant religion is not Catholic, that it does not square at all with the idea of humanity as a whole, and that the wants of our religious nature can only be satisfied in the Church of Rome? To this it must come at last, if the mode of thought, which characterizes a great portion of the Protestant world at the present day, should ultimately prevail. This spiritualistic and outward mode of thought resolves all religion into a system (if system it can be called) of abstract notions and doctrines. The holy Bible itself is violently sundered from its living connection with the Church of Christ, and its contents measured by the contracted judgment of the single individual, without any regard to the united wisdom of the pious of past ages, or of the present time; the great doctrines of our holy religion are separated from the pillar and ground upon which alone they can safely rest, and every man is to be the infallible interpreter of them for himself, not being accountable to any power for his belief and practice, excepting the invisible authority of God alone.

It is never dreamed of indeed that God has revealed a power in the world, or that he has established a kingdom on earth to which the children of men are bound to submit. Though Christ once tabernacled in the flesh, he is now above the clouds,

"in the spirit land," and is in no sense present with the Church militant, except as God is every where present beholding the good and the evil. It is true, he has sent his Spirit into the world to convince men of sin, of righteousness, and a judgment to come, and to take up his abode in the hearts of his people; but the union between Christ and believers must not be regarded as vital and real by any means, but merely as moral. There must of course be worshipping assemblies, and ecclesiastical meetings. It may be well to have preachers, meeting houses, and occasionally, say twice a year, it may be well to administer the elements of the Lord's supper. All these things may serve as outward helps to devotion; but then the Church must not be regarded as grace-bearing by any means; the ministry must not be viewed as a divine institution, and, as to the sacrament of the supper, great care must be taken not to discern in it the Lord's body; that is up in heaven, and this is nothing more than a commemorative ordinance. Thus the whole of religion is resolved either into an *abstract spiritualism* or an *abstract formalism*; the two natures of Christ and his Church are effectually sundered, and thus the fact that the Son of God has come in the flesh is denied.

It requires but little penetration to see, that this mode of thought tends to undermine and disorganize entirely the Church of Christ as a divine institution. The Protestant religion, according to this view, is a baseless fabric; it is a mere negation; it is sliding sand, and furnishes no solid ground of faith and hope. It is not necessary to burden the pages of the Review with quotations from the writings of Pseudo-Protestants to show, that our judgment in regard to their mode of thought is correct. Every one knows, that the unchurchly and unsacramental religion of our day is decidedly the most popular amongst many Protestant denominations, whose confessions of faith are even amongst the *most churchly and the most sacramental*; whilst, amongst others, it is the most acceptable to favor the observance of Church forms and ceremonies. Abstract spiritualism has, perhaps, the truest representatives in the sect of the Quakers, as every one knows they make no account at all of a visible, historical Church, or forms of worship; even the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper are discarded. God is a spirit and they that worship him must worship in spirit and in truth; that is, the spirit of the worshipper must be brought into close and intimate fellowship with the Holy Ghost by a direct and immediate influence; so that no

means of grace can be of any value whatever ; every one worships and preaches "as he is *moved* by the Spirit."

Abstract formalism also seeks fellowship with God through the Spirit ; yet this cannot be obtained without the use of certain divinely prescribed forms. Our salvation is *conditioned* ; if, for example, the original form of Church government was the Episcopal, then all Christians must become Episcopalians in order to be saved ; if that form was the Presbyterian, then to be included in the covenant of grace we must all become Presbyterians. If immersion was the primitive mode of baptism, then all must be immersed ; if the sitting posture at the Lord's table was observed by the primitive disciples, then it is still the most pleasing in the sight of heaven to assume this attitude at the communion. Did Christ and the Apostles kneel in prayer, then should all Christians in every age of the world kneel to worship God acceptably. Those who observe these divinely prescribed forms may expect the Holy Ghost to be poured out upon them in copious effusions ; yet it is not conceived at all, that there is anything *sacramental* in these forms ; that is, there is no idea, that the grace of God is in any way bound up or united, with the ordinances of his appointment ; the connection between them and the spirit is entirely external, and not internal and necessary ; it is like that between a sand heap and the surrounding atmosphere. The spirit of religion and its form are not in living union ; but the one holds its place over against the other, leaning upon it at the same time for support. Were spiritualists consistent with their own notions, (we cannot say faith,) they must all join the Quaker sect ; but Quakerism, as is well known, is continually running out into infidelity ; therefore, it is thought safest and best to connect a few simple forms with religion, always keeping it before the people, that the spirit is one thing, and the form another. Thus precisely it was necessary for Gnosticism and Manicheism to lean upon one another for mutual support ; yet the one denying the humanity and the other the divinity of Christ, they could never bring the world to a consciousness of a saving relation to God ; and thus it is precisely with the two prevailing forms of error that afflict the Church at the present time, namely : *abstract spiritualism* and *abstract formalism*, the one making no account at all of the humanity of Christ, or the human side of religion, and the other denying the divine presence in a *real, living, and organic* form, can never satisfy the religious consciousness of man.

Here we have the very ground and reason of the "Romanizing tendencies" of the age. Let any one but examine the motives of the converts to Romanism, and he will discover that they all ground themselves in the fact, that, in their case at least, Protestantism has failed to authenticate itself as the catholic religion. And why is this? It is just because the temple of God has been so defaced, by its professed friends, as to make it impossible to recognize its true character; it is because all spiritualists and formalists fully corroborate the teachings of the Church of Rome in regard to the Protestant religion. Bishop Hughes, for example, preaches a sermon to show that Protestantism carries in it the principle of its own dissolution, and Dr. Berg, of Philadelphia, a distinguished Protestant polemic, corroborates the sermon by answering it with a mere rhetorical flourish, thus admitting that he has no positive arguments to offer.

Bishop Kendrick declares, that union of spirit without identity in faith is chimerical. "Union of charity," he says, "is a fond imagination of those, who would cover the shame of disunion by affecting to cherish what, at best, is but sympathy for the errors of their fellow-men. Truth is the essential characteristic of the Church, which is its pillar and ground; and unity can only exist in the common admission of truth in all its fulness. There cannot be *one Church* without unity of government, and this cannot be without a ruler. There can be no general or permanent order without a controlling power." This statement of the Roman Bishop is fully corroborated by all spiritualists and formalists, who acquiesce in the divided state of the Protestant Church, and who know of no life principle, which, in its development, will bring the scattered and bleeding fragments of the Saviour's body together, and present the Church to the view of man as a beautiful and organic whole.

What can be more chimerical than the idea that all believers can be *one*, according to the meaning of Christ, whilst they are divided into scores of denominations and sects, all occupying the same territory, and each one striving for the ascendancy over the rest? "Neither pray I for these alone; but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be *one*: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." This union for which the Saviour prays must be external and visible as well as spiritual, otherwise it could certainly not be an evidence to the world of his Messiahship.

The necessity of an actual and outward union is inculcated in all those scriptures which present to our view the idea of the Church. Everywhere in the New Testament is the Church spoken of as *one*. Are the members compared to the branches, then they are all pervaded and animated by the same spirit and life which are in Christ, the true vine. Is he the head of the Church, and are believers baptized into his mystical body, then it is asked, "Is Christ divided?" Is the Church compared to a temple, then it is one building in the Lord. Indeed there can be no scriptural truth more obvious than this, that the bond of Church union must be external and visible as well as internal and spiritual. All schemes of spiritual union, that do not look to a real outward union also are purely utopian and imaginary. Those persons, therefore, who ignore this truth, however pious they may affect to be, and however violent they may be against the Church of Rome, are actually on the side of the papists, who say that the Protestant Church is not *one* in fact and can never become one in reality.

Though these Pseudo-Protestants, (for we repeat that they cannot be Protestants in the sense of the Reformers,) may calumniate and abuse the papacy never so much, not standing on any positive Church ground, having no faith in the Church as such, all their opposition to Roman Catholics is just so much influence on their side. This influence has of late come to be very powerful and almost irresistible; there has been a general falling away from the true faith in the Church, which was so heartily professed by our pious forefathers, in the days of the Reformation. Those who have thus fallen away, according to their own reckoning, now comprise almost the whole of the "religious world." When the soundness of a churchly system of theology is to be tried and tested, it has come to be very common to say, that the judgment of the "whole religious, or evangelical world" is against it: i. e., the whole weight of this influence is brought to bear against all Protestant churchliness, thus giving the papists undisputed possession of the ark of the covenant. If as Protestants we have no Church consciousness, if we must continually ask, "Where is the Church, and where is the stream of her life," it is not a matter of surprise that we should see many persons tending in the direction of Rome. This explains the remarkable phenomenon, that in those very places, where this spurious Protestantism has its strongest representatives, the Church of Rome is most successful in gaining converts. She has always been the most suc-

cessful in building the largest cathedrals, and gathering the largest crowds of worshippers where she has had the assistance of such men as Drs. Breckenridge, Brownlee, and Berg. If these men had the spirit of a Luther, a Zuinglius, or a Calvin, it is doubtful whether there would, by this time, be a single papist in the city of Baltimore, New York, or Philadelphia; but having just the opposite spirit, the influence has just been in the opposite direction. These cities are now the strong holds of Romanism; and it is to be feared indeed, if the Synod of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church should persist in its present purpose to lend its entire influence in the same direction, the whole State of New York, and those parts of New Jersey and Pennsylvania that belong to its jurisdiction, will before long become entirely Roman Catholic.

Inasmuch then as abstract spiritualism, as it is propagated by our so-called "evangelical Protestant world," to say nothing of its infidel character, tends to further the cause of Romanism, it cannot be expected, of course, that the abstract formalism of Protestants will be able to stand before this opposing power. It must be acknowledged, in all candor, that when we come to consider the human or formal side of the Church, we can scarcely find a single trace of unity or catholicity. It is impossible, from the stand point of the formalist, to maintain that the present divided state of the Protestant Church is a unity in the form of diversity. The many forms which the Protestant Church life has assumed, are not only DIVERSE, but they are different from, and opposed to, one another. What fellowship, for instance, can there be between Prelacy and Presbyterianism? What communion has old Lutheranism with Methodism? Where is the bond of union between the Baptists and the Moravians? These different forms of religion are all in open conflict with one another. Though each denomination and sect may, in its own way, have tested its form of Church government and worship by the word of God, it is evident that they cannot ALL exist by a divine right. This is impossible in the nature of things. They may all be wrong; but they cannot all be right. This fact is readily conceded by spiritualists; according to their view one form is as good as another, if it only serves to aid the cause of "spiritual piety." But with the formalist the case is entirely different. He maintains that the Church must have a divinely prescribed form, otherwise there can be no salvation. It follows, of course, from this mode of thought, that there cannot

be more than one right form of Church order and life. But here is just the difficulty. What denomination of Christians has this only right form? the Lutheran, the Presbyterian, the Episcopalian, or the Baptist? The last two named claim to be right to the exclusion of all others; but in their efforts to maintain their rights, they spend much of their force against one another, and when the ancient Church of Rome comes, and presents her long established claims, showing that she has still the identical form of government, doctrine, and worship, which she had in the beginning, the presumptive evidence appears at once to be in her favor.

To leave all other forms of Protestant Church life out of view, let us enquire, for the sake of illustration, whether the formalism of the Church of England can sustain itself, on the "jure divino" principle, in opposition to the imposing claims of Romanism. We select this particular type of Protestant formalism, because it is acknowledged by Roman Catholics that the Church of England bears more evident marks of unity and catholicity, than any other Protestant denomination. The Right Rev. J. Millner, in one of his letters to James Brown, Esq., uses the following language: "Perhaps, however, you will say, that the work of unity, which is wanting among the endless divisions of Protestants in general, may be found in the Church to which you belong, the established Church of England. I grant, dear sir, that your communion has better pretensions to this, and the other marks of the Church, than any other Protestant Society has. She is, as our controversial poet sings: 'The least *deformed* because *reformed* the least.'"

Now it is a remarkable fact, that all the evidence that can be adduced from history, in favor of the episcopacy of the English Church, is just so much evidence in favor of the episcopacy of the Roman Church. The advocates of English prelacy maintain, that the presumptive evidence is in their favor. In the Jewish Church there were three orders of ministers: the High Priest, the Priests and the Levites. In Christ's time there were three orders: Christ himself, the Apostles, and the seventy disciples; and after Christ's time we have three again: the Apostles, the elders or bishops, and the deacons. But if the prelacy of the established Church of England is to rest upon this evidence, may not the primacy of St. Peter and his successors be established by precisely the same evidence? If Christ took the place of the Old Testament High Priest, is it not quite natural to suppose, that upon leaving the world, he

would appoint a successor to take his place? Or, in other words, as Christ had taken into his own hands the keys of his kingdom, while on earth, why not place them into the hands of St. Peter, as he had promised, instead of distributing them amongst the Apostles generally?

The promise of the primacy was explained by the ancient Church fathers precisely as the Romanists interpret it at the present time; and as the Church of England professes just as much veneration for the fathers as the Church of Rome, their testimony in regard to the point at issue, must, of course, be relied upon as valid. The testimony of Tertullian on this subject is as follows: "Was anything concealed from Peter, who was styled the Rock on which the Church was to be built, who received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the power of loosing and binding in heaven and on earth?" Origen says: "Peter on whom the Church was built, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, left one epistle which is generally admitted; for neither against the Rock on which Christ built his Church, nor against the Church shall the gates of hell prevail." Cyprian writes thus: "Our Lord, whose precepts and admonitions we ought to observe, establishing the honor of the bishop, and the order of his Church, speaks in the Gospel and says to Peter: 'I say to thee that thou art Peter and on this Rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: and to thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth shall be loosed also in heaven.' Thence through the series of times and successions, the order of the bishops, and the Church flow on; so that the Church is established upon the bishops, and the very act of the Church is governed by the same prelates. Since then this is the case, I am surprised, that some, with audacious temerity, have ventured to write to me in the name of the Church, whilst the Church consists of the bishop, the clergy, and all the hearers." This quotation is peculiarly worthy of notice, not simply on account of the high standing of the author; but because he declares in the most unequivocal terms, that the whole Church is represented by one central Bishop. Frequently in his writings does he speak of Peter as the Rock on which the Church is built; "the representative of Episcopal power," "the organ of the Church, and the living personification of the principle of unity;" "There is one God, one Church, one chair, founded by the voice of the Lord upon Peter."

Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem; Basil the Great, Archbishop of Cesarea; Gregory of Nazianzum; Chrysostom; Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis; Cyril of Alexandria, and so on to the end of the chapter, all bear substantially the same testimony. All their evidence goes to substantiate the Roman Catholic view of Episcopacy, and not that of the Church of England. Yet whenever English Episcopalians argue in favor of their prelacy, and against our view of ministerial parity, they almost invariably adduce the testimony of the very fathers whom we have here named. All their testimony taken together *does* establish Episcopacy beyond the shadow of a doubt; but it happens to be the Episcopacy which has its centre in the Roman See. Have we not here, in all probability, the very reason why more great and earnest men have, of late, been converted to Romanism from the Church of England than from any other denomination? Why do they not stand firm upon the platform of the "Established Church," if it be really founded upon the Rock, Christ? They must of course have their doubts in regard to this, and fearing that the "establishment" may after all be only founded on King Henry VIII, they venture their all upon that ancient "establishment" which is acknowledgedly founded upon St. Peter.

This is not intended by any means as an argument against the Church of England as such, much less is it intended as an argument in favor of Romanism; but simply to illustrate the fact *which* every person ought to know, that no arguments conducted on an abstract principle can be of any avail in satisfying the religious consciousness of our nature; *no abstract systems of religion*, whether spiritual or formal, or both combined, can possibly authenticate themselves as the holy catholic religion, which squares fully with the idea of humanity as a whole. Consequently that entire body of Protestant systems, which are based only on abstract notions, principles or doctrines, however good and true they may be in themselves, setting itself up as the true Church of God in the world, shows its vulnerability and weakness at every point; it may parade its forces against those of the pope of Rome, and make a great show of superior strength; but all this is but the prelude to a disgraceful, yet a loving surrender to the opposing power.

But upon a still more minute examination of this subject, we shall discover that the "Romanizing tendencies" of the age do not only spring from a consciousness of the weaknesses and defects of Protestantism, as a system of abstractions; but also

from the fact that there is a natural affinity between Pseudo-Protestantism and Romanism. "Es ist nicht alles Gold was glänzet:" not everything is Protestant that goes by that name. The antichristian spirit that has so powerfully revealed itself in the Protestant Church, in the forms already specified, is not without a parentage; neither did it make its appearance on the stage of human action for the first time within the last century. Where this spirit originally came from we are not expressly told; but doubtless it came from beneath and not from above. St. John says that it was at work in the Church already in his day. Antichrist succeeded then already, some way or other, in securing for himself a seat in the temple of God, "exalting himself as God," continually trying to dethrone the king of Zion. Some honest persons maintain that the Church of Rome herself is antichrist, others contend that the pope is meant, whilst not a few of the learned argue that the Apostle describes the spirit which characterized the heretical sects, who denied that the son of God had come in the flesh. All will admit, we presume, the truth of the Apostle's statement, that every spirit that denies the central fact of the incarnation is antichrist, whether it be the spirit of the pope or of the sects. We presume also that it will be generally conceded that the history of antichrist is coeval with the history of the Christian Church; or, in other words, that the Church has always been obliged to contend with that wicked spirit, which, under an endless variety of forms, has denied the central mystery and fact of the Christian religion: and if Protestantism be the continuation of the ancient Church, as we have shown, it must be expected, of course, that it will have its antichrist. This will be the case as long as the Church continues in her militant state.

It is no doubt in view of the fact that the spirit of antichrist assumes an endless variety and diversity of forms, that the Apostle says, "*there are many antichrists.*" But no matter how great the number, and no matter how violently they may at times oppose one another, they all belong, as previously intimated, to the same family. Our Protestant antichrists are the regular descendants of the papal, or Roman antichrist; they are flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone; there is a communion of antichrists as well as a communion of saints. This being the case the antichristian spirit of *spiritualism* and *formalism*, which has gained such great power in the Protestant Church, will naturally seek fellowship and communion with its kindred spirit in the Church of Rome. What is the specific

difference between the abstract formalism of Pseudo-Protestants, and the grand and imposing formalism of the Romanists, except that the one is more subjective and the other more objective? May not the Protestant, who believes that his salvation is *conditioned* by certain forms, feel himself perfectly at home in the Church of Rome, where he may enjoy the free use of all the forms to which he was previously accustomed, and as many more as he may conceive to be necessary to satisfy all his religious wants? What can be more congenial to the feelings of such an one than the splendid ritualism and ceremonialism of the Roman Catholic Church? In view of this fact, the great wonder is, that there are not many more formalists leaving Protestantism and embracing Romanism than there really are; for where is the Protestant communion whose forms and ceremonies will bear a comparison with those of the Roman Church? The probable reason why there are not more persons visiting Rome to admire her beauty, and to participate in the solemnities of her worship, is because it is not quite popular. Let the tide of public opinion once turn in that direction, and it may be expected that the gates of the ancient city will be crowded with anxious converts.

Abstract spiritualism, as we said before, cannot hold its place in the temple of God, without the use of forms; it immediately runs itself out into bald infidelity, and thus showing the "cloven foot," it is at once unchurched. It, therefore, leans upon formalism for support; but where in Protestant Christendom can such ample help and support of this kind be found as in the Church of Rome? How can spiritual piety be materially aided with the few simple forms that are in use amongst Protestants? In many of the Churches there is no ritual at all; the worship is all "extemporaneous," there are simply exhibited now and then the emblems of our Saviour's broken body and shed blood. If it be necessary for the "pious" to use outward helps to devotion, why not go at once where these helps are abundant? Why not enter that magnificent cathedral where every object that meets the eye is commemorative of some great spiritual truth; where all the ceremonies have a tendency to elevate the mind above the things of time and sense, and to introduce it to the glorious realities and beauties of the temple of God in heaven? Did spiritualists but know the great advantages that might accrue to them from such a course, they would doubtless all soon leave the Protestant ranks, and enter the Roman Catholic communion; they

need not necessarily believe there, that the Son of God has come in the flesh; they may make just as broad a chasm as they please between the human and divine sides of religion, and if the forms of public worship should not fully answer the purposes of "spiritual piety," this may, if it choose, perfect and complete itself in Monasticism. The proper home of abstract spiritualism and fanaticism is the cell, or the cloister. Who can tell the difference between the shouting fanatic and the monk? The former, though he may be in the midst of a dense crowd, is as effectually separated from his fellow men as the latter; there is no actual communion between him and his fellow worshippers; if he were to listen to the sermon of the preacher or to the prayers of the congregation, he would "grow cold" in a single moment, and soon lose all the religion he ever had. His mind must be so entirely *abstracted* from every thing around him, as to have direct fellowship with the Spirit of God alone.

Thus we see how, in religion, as elsewhere, extremes meet; that Pseudo-Protestants, whether spiritualists or formalists, need but change their name in order to become Romanists. Yet these are the very persons, who are continually raising the "hue and cry," "Romanizing tendencies," "beware of antichrist," whilst, if they were unmasked, they would themselves be the very personifications of the spirit of antichrist. Whether their mode of thought, or their principles literally lead them to Rome or not, matters but little; their characters are the same; and the reason doubtless of their present affected zeal for the orthodoxy of the Protestant Church is the very fact that there is now a mode of thought powerfully at work, which brings their true spirit and character to the light. The wicked and base design of undermining and destroying the fair temple of God has been discovered. The fact that there are antichrists at work in the Protestant Church can no longer be concealed. The tendencies of our refined spiritualism and formalism are coming to be understood: they go either directly to infidelity or to Romanism, and consequently to the destruction of Protestantism.

The only remedy for these evils, we repeat, is to be found in true churchliness. The hope that the Protestant Church will be able successfully to counteract and overcome all "Romanizing tendencies," depends upon her ability to throw off the diseases that afflicted her own body. She must be able to authenticate herself as the *Holy Catholic Church*, over against

the errors of Romanism on the one side, and all forms of infidelity on the other. Should she fail in this she must be given up entirely as a forlorn hope. It becomes a question, therefore, of great practical moment, whether Protestants have still faith in the Church as a divine supernatural fact; or, in other words, whether they still have the faith of the creed? Without this there can be no true Church consciousness, just as little as there can be any true Church life.

This faith cannot rest upon the evidence of sense, or report; neither can it spring from abstract theories or doctrines. Through the medium of the senses we hold communion with the natural world; but they have no power to raise us above the natural to the sphere of the supernatural and spiritual. The evidence of report is also of great value in the transactions of common life. Through this medium we become acquainted with many important facts and occurrences; but it must necessarily resolve itself into the evidence of sense; for it can only bring to us the news of what others have seen and heard before us. Science, theories, and doctrines are likewise of immense value and importance; and supernatural truths may become objects of science as well as natural; but our knowledge of them cannot originate faith: "Neque enim quæro intelligere ut credam, sed credo ut intelligam." *He that believeth* "shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." Faith, being the gift of God, is the highest conceivable form of evidence. Hence, it is expressly said to be "the substance of things hoped for, the *evidence* of things not seen." Heb. 11: 1. It is the organ through which we take in the things of the supernatural world, the things which ear hath not heard nor eye seen. As it is written: "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him." 1 Cor. 2: 9.

Faith, having for its object the supernatural world, is something far higher than natural belief. It is the form of union and communion with the spiritual and eternal. The Church, therefore, as an article of faith, is included in the *mysteries* of religion, and can only be apprehended and understood in its living and necessary connection with the other articles of the creed. Indeed none of the great spiritual realities that are introduced to our notice in these articles can be at all apprehended as separate and isolated facts. Thus, for example, our Catechism says, in answer to the question, "What believest thou when thou sayest, I believe in God the Father Almighty,

maker of heaven and earth?," "That the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, (who of nothing made heaven and earth, with all that is in them, who likewise governs and upholds the same by his eternal counsel and providence) is for the sake of *Christ his Son*, my God and my Father." No one can believe in, or know God the Father, except through God the Son, as we are expressly told: "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." John 14: 6. And as the first article of the creed can only be apprehended in its connection with the succeeding articles that ground themselves on the person of Christ, so the article of the Holy Ghost also springs from, and is conditioned by the fact of the incarnation. As the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, no one can say in truth, "I believe in the Holy Ghost," who denies the fact that the Son of God has come in the flesh. In this article of the third Person of the adorable Trinity are included all the articles that follow: "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." "The communion of saints," &c.

Thus the whole creed, with all its comprehensiveness and fulness, is actually *one*, all gathering itself up in the person of him, in whom dwelleth the fulness of the God-head bodily. The Church is the form in which the great realities and glorious mysteries of our holy Christian religion are actualized and perpetuated in the world. Hence it is called "the Church of the living God;" "the pillar and ground of the truth;" "the body of Christ, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." Therefore, whosoever believeth in the Church as the form of the Saviour's life and presence in the world, also believes in *all* the articles of our undoubted Christian faith. He believes in *all* the mysteries of godliness. He has, in a word, the true religion, which can satisfy every conceivable want of his nature. His faith may be tried by the actual condition of the Church in the world. He may mourn over the desolations of Zion, and his mind may be greatly perplexed in view of the divisions in the body of Christ; but, conscious that he has been baptized into that mystical body by the Holy Ghost, and that he is under the influence of a plastic power, which is assimilating his character to that of the glorious Head of the Church, he is assured that by this same power all her divisions will be healed, and that, when her warfare is accomplished, she will be *one* in reality as she is one in idea, and that "she will be without spot or wrinkle or any such thing." Those Protestants

who have this faith can go neither to infidelity nor to Rome. How can those who enjoy the pure waters of life that flow from the Rock, Christ, and the manna that cometh from heaven, return to the muddy waters and to the flesh pots of Egypt? Those professing Protestants, on the other hand, who have not this faith, whose religion (if they have any religion at all) is entirely subjective, may forever thank their stars, if they do not, in the end, find themselves in a worse place than either Egypt or Rome.

M. K.

Reading, Pa.

VIII.—WANNER ON THE FAMILY.

THE FAMILY; OR MARRIAGE RELATION AND RELIGIOUS TRAINING OF CHILDREN. *By Rev. A. Wanner, Pastor of the German Reformed Church, in Washingtonville, Ohio, and vicinity. Chambersburg, Pa., M. Kieffer & Co., pp. 238.*

THE nature and responsibilities of the Marriage relation, as well as the duties which ordinarily arise out of it towards children, cannot be too fully understood nor too deeply impressed on the general mind. Much of what may be termed the miseries which sometimes attach to married life might be avoided, were those who enter into this state to do so, under correct views of its nature and a proper sense of its weighty responsibilities; and a vast amount too of the evils which result to individuals, to families and to society from the improper training of children, might be prevented, were the duties of parents towards their offspring properly understood and faithfully discharged. Everything, therefore, which is calculated to throw light on these important kindred topics, and to aid in preventing the evils to which we have referred, must receive a hearty welcome from all who wish well to the human race. In this view, the work, whose general title is announced above, we should think, must meet with a favorable reception.

We are not without works from able writers, treating on some of the topics embraced in the general subject discussed in this volume, which are of great value in their place. As far as our knowledge extends, however, there was still ample room for the introduction of just such a work as Mr. Wanner has given to the public; yea, more: the circumstances of society as they exist, to a great extent, at the present day, create an imperious necessity for it. We have here the

nature and responsibilities of one of the most important relations in society, as well as the relative and direct duties which necessarily arise out of it, presented in a comparatively short compass, and that in such a form and style as to make the work not only intelligible, but also highly acceptable to all, even to such as possess but a limited education, who are desirous of understanding the duties of their position, with a view to their faithful and successful performance.

The views taken of the nature and the responsibilities of the marriage relation are indeed elevated, and such as find comparatively little countenance at present in society; but they are still only such as are fully warranted by the word of God, and on this very account, it is the more important that they should come generally to prevail. There is a disposition also, in the midst of the radical and rationalistic tendencies of the age, to overlook the nature and undervalue the importance of Christian nurture, especially as this is included in the proper idea of what is technically termed educational religion; and hence the efforts of the author of the present work to place this subject in a proper and forcible light, must be regarded as truly seasonable and welcome.

The brief limits allowed us in this notice, will not permit us to enter fully into the merits of the important topics discussed in this work. For the satisfaction of our readers, however, we shall yet give a brief outline of its contents. The work includes two general divisions, the first treating of Marriage, and the second, of the Religious Training of Children. Under the first division, we have discussed such topics as the following: Marriage an institution of divine appointment; Intermarriages with the world forbidden in Scripture; Intermarriages with the world, sinful, and expose to the just judgments of God; United head of the family; Marriage relation designed to continue until death; Relative duties of husband and wife; The husband placed at the helm of the family; Concluding remarks. Under the second division, after some introductory remarks and a chapter devoted to the consideration of the importance of the subject, we have discussed the following topics: The religious training of children, the duty of their parents and not of others; Religious training of children and parental authority; The exercise of parental authority; Religion and the spiritual guardianship of parents over their children; Parents should dedicate their children to God in holy baptism; Religious nurture; Common school education; Religious influence from abroad; Catechisation of adults with a view of preparing them for Church membership; Parents should furnish their children with suitable reading matter; Miscellaneous topics and concluding remarks.

Chambersburg, Pa.

F.

ERRATA. Page 132, in the note, after "the exclusive reference of the 13th and 14th chapters of the Apocalypse," insert "to *heathen* Rome."

Page 137, line 29 from top, read "unhistorical" for historical.

Page 139, line 29 from top, read "Christianity" for "Protestantism."

